

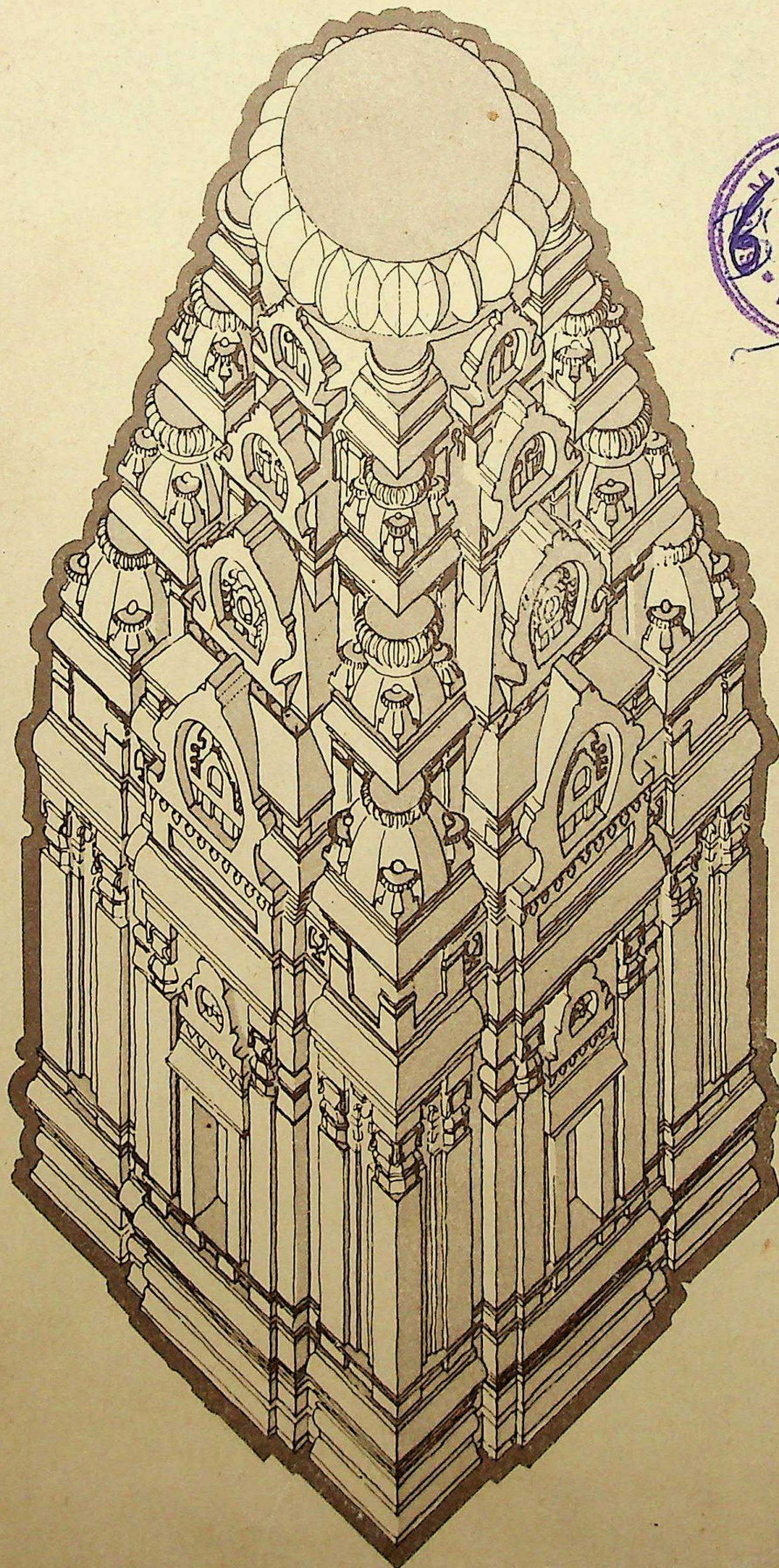
ENCYCLOPAEDIA

OF

# Indian Temple Architecture

NORTH INDIA

FOUNDATIONS OF NORTH INDIAN STYLE



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American Institute of Indian Studies  
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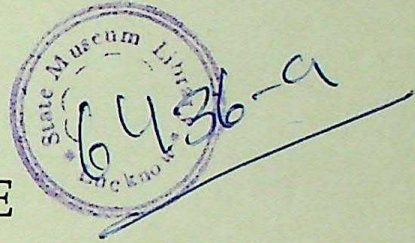




ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF  
Indian Temple Architecture

NORTH INDIA  
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NORTH INDIAN STYLE

c. 250 B.C.—A.D. 1100



Edited by

Michael W. Meister • M.A. Dhaky • Krishna Deva

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# Preface

Hindu temples result, in the early centuries A.D., from a felt need to give shelter to images that could make present for worship a divine force that otherwise remained invisible. "Seeing" the divinity — in this period increasingly presented in both aniconic and anthropomorphic form — becomes the central act of this developing form of worship, for which architects were called upon to provide a suitable environment.

Vol. I of this *Encyclopaedia* has covered the Drāviḍa form of architecture as it developed in southern India. Vol. II, which begins with these volumes, traces the evolution of that form of temple architecture known as Nāgara, found principally in northern India but with extensions also into the Deccan under the Calukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasties.

Building on earlier pan-Indian forms of urban and domestic architecture, architects of the Drāviḍa mode of temple in South India had created, by the late sixth or early seventh century A.D., a palatial structure out of recognizable wooden forms to act as encasement for the inner sanctum in which the divine image was placed.

In North India, on the other hand, architects in the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. participated directly in the process of religious and symbolic experimentation that made visible forms of divine manifestation possible. A variety of solutions resulted, some tied directly to the ontology of manifesting divinity (as is the case with the created cave-cells at Udayagiri and the simple masonry cave-like cells that followed in Central India in the fifth century A.D.). Some solutions mixed sheltering fence-forms with that of the altar, as in later maṇḍapikā shrines. Kashmir, building partly on earlier Gandhāran forms, by the early seventh century A.D. had created a pragmatic pent-roof shed as shelter for divinity that survived there as a regional form for many centuries.

Some architects, however, began to play with symbolically subtle solutions to the need for an architectural shelter for divinity that led, by the sixth century A.D., to a new form of monument — the Nāgara temple with its Latina śikhara — that spread widely across North India as a symbol for an emergent Hinduism. This form — potent in its architectural vocabulary — provided a symbolically vital integument for the interior sanctum, in which manifesting divinity was revealed.

This volume provides a background for the formation of temple architecture in North India, surveying the varieties of North Indian experimentation and their survivors as well as the emergent, dominant form of early Nāgara structure in western, central, and eastern India and the Deccan. Further volumes will carry the evolution of this form forward and explore its expression and efflorescence in the high Hindu "medieval" period and after.

The style code used throughout this volume as reference for Chapters and Plates follows the Style Outline given below:



## Style Outline

### Vol. II, part 1: Foundations of North Indian style

- I. *Beginnings of North Indian Style, c. A.D. 350-650*
  - A. *Uttarāpatha style, c. A.D. 360-575*  
Guptas and their feudatories
  - B. *Early Vidarbha style, c. A.D. 350-500*  
Vākātakas (main branch)
  - C. *Early Vidarbha (Vatsagulma) style, c. A.D. 450-500*  
Vākātakas of Vatsagulma
  - D. *Aparānta style, c. A.D. 480-533*  
Traikūtakas of Aniruddhapura
  - E. *Kuṅkaṇadēśa style, c. A.D. 540-610*  
Mauryas of Purī
  - F. *Late Vidarbha style, c. A.D. 550-650*  
Kalacuris of Māhiṣmatī and Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Ēlāpura
- II. *Varieties of North Indian style, c. A.D. 500-1100*
  - A. *Upper India*
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  - B. *Central India*
    1. *Daśārṇadēśa style, phase 1, c. late sixth – late seventh century A.D.*  
Minor dynasties, maṇḍapikā and early Nāgara traditions
    2. *Mālava style, c. early sixth – late seventh century A.D.*  
Aulikaras, Mauryas, and minor chieftains
    3. *Daśārṇadēśa style, phases 2 and 3, c. mid-eighth to early tenth century A.D.*  
Pratīhāra period, maṇḍapikā shrines
    4. *Ḍāhala style, phase 1, c. late eighth – early ninth century A.D.*  
Kalacuris of Tripurī, maṇḍapikā shrines
  - C. *Western India*
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Use of this outline for subsequent volumes in this series tentatively is as follows:

**Vol. II, part 2:** Period of Early Maturity, c. A.D. 700-900

- III. Nāgara styles of common lineage
- IV. Nāgara styles of separate lineage

**Vol. II, part 3**

- V. Beginnings of Medieval Idiom, c. A.D. 900-1000

**Vol. II, part 4**

- VI. High medieval period, c. A.D. 1000-1300
- VII. Sultanate period, c. 14th-16th century A.D.
- VIII. Mughal period, c. 16th-17th century A.D.

**Vol. II, part 5:** Annotated Glossary and Comprehensive Index.

Style and patronage are difficult masters, and sources of creativity in architectural matters are nearly impossible to attribute in ancient India. In these volumes we follow styles, while dividing chapters according to the likelihood of dynastic patronage. The realities of local guilds and master architects can only be suggested, though through them the greatness of this architecture was created and continually given expression.

**Conventions**

As in Volume I, the system of diacritics used in this volume modifies that used by *Epigraphia Indica* only by using *c*, *ch*, and *ṣ* to suit international convention. As in *Epigraphia Indica*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and most Archaeological Survey of India publications, *ē* and *ō* are used in order to make possible the distinction between these forms in Sanskrit and *e* and *o* in words of Dravidian origin.

Drawings made by the Institute have scales in feet or miles. Others retain those provided by their sources.



## Acknowledgments

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Support for research has consistently been available from responsible Government authorities in India, including past and present Directors and Directors General of the Archaeological Survey of India — for this volume, Mrs. Debala Mitra and M.S. Nagaraja Rao — and from a variety of Indian State Departments of Archaeology. We thank the State Departments of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka. A.P. Jamkhedkar, in particular, has provided new material and insight concerning the important contributions of the Vākāṭaka dynasty through his chapter in this volume. Epigraphic advice has been available through the offices of the Chief Epigraphist and Director, Epigraphy Department, Mysore, and with the help of Dr. G.S. Gai, and Krishna Deva, consultants for this volume. As in Vol. I, part 2, drawings of monuments in Karnataka have generously been shared by Dr. George Michell and his team of architects.

In Varanasi, the staff of the Institute's Centre makes continued work on this project possible. The Librarian, J.S. Yadav; Archivist, R. Sharma; Chief Photographer, Dayasaran; Photographer, D.P. Nanda; Assistant Photographers, Omprakash and Sankata Prasad; and Draftsmen, Dorai Raj, Dorai, A.T.P. Ponnuswamy, N. Ravi, S. Pandian, and Vidhubhushan Singh have all contributed in various ways to the continuing quality of these volumes.

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The editors acknowledge with particular sadness and regret the support and contribution of Dr. H. Sarkar, past Joint Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, President of the Indian History Congress, scholar and friend, whose sudden, untimely death has deprived us of light and knowledge. To him we dedicate our minds and hearts.



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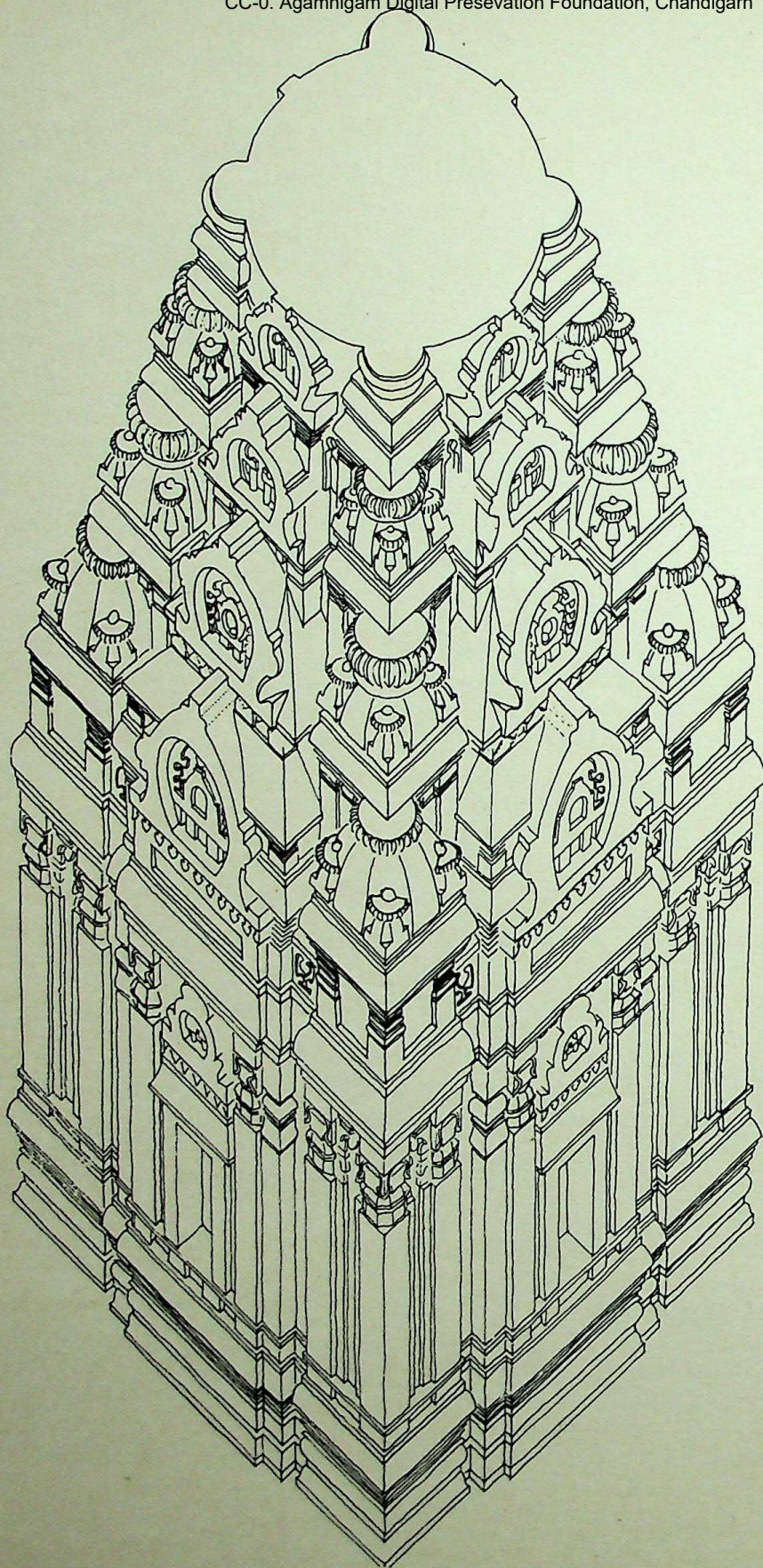






TEXT





Frontispiece. Rājim, Rājīvalōcana temple, c. A.D. 600. Axonometric drawing.  
(Courtesy and copyright: Michael W. Meister.) (See p. 230.)



## CHAPTER 1

Pan-Indian style: North India, c. 250 B.C.–A.D. 400

# Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas, Kuṣāṇas, Kṣatrapas

## Introduction

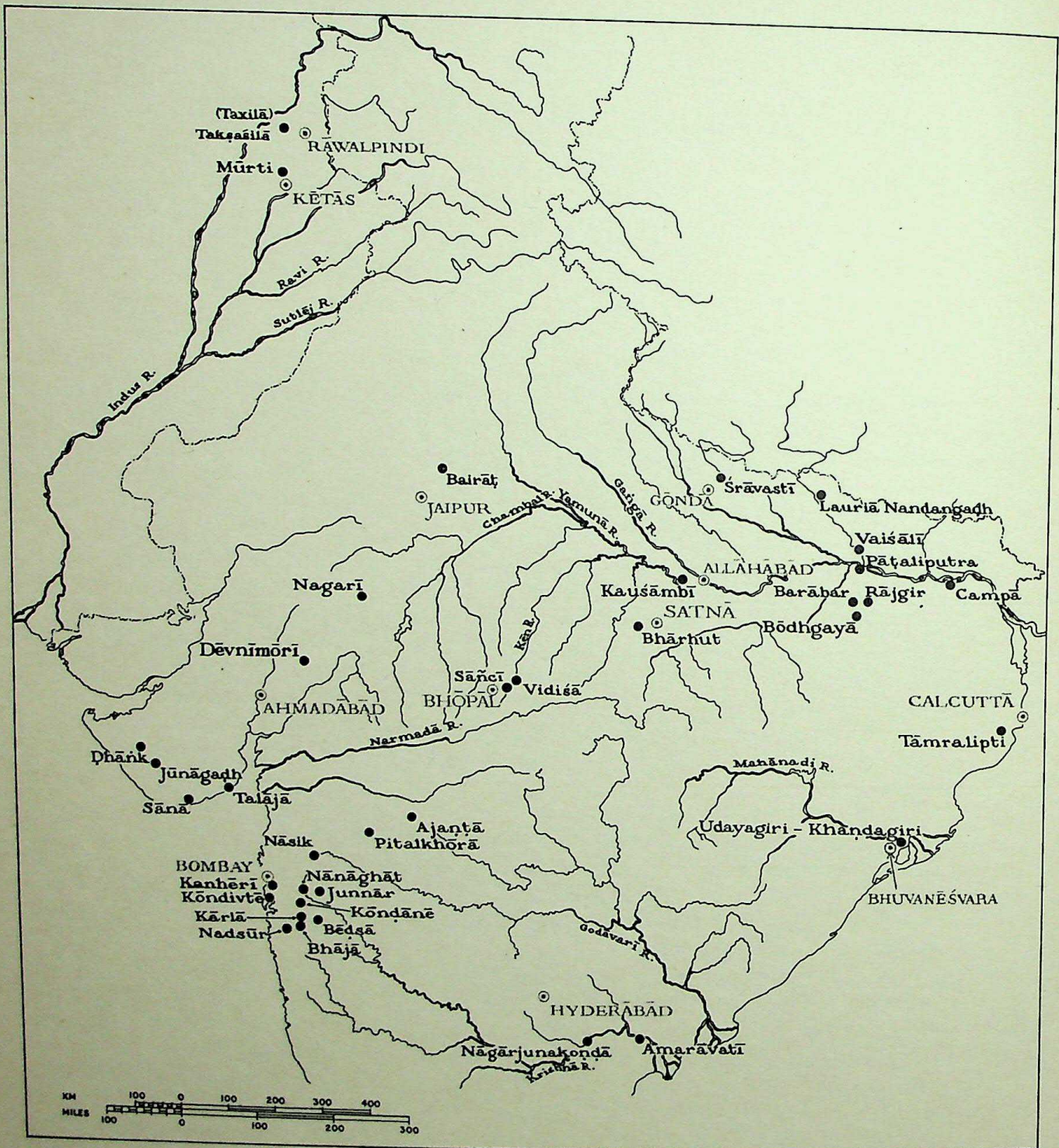
Texts from ancient India provide us an insight into the worship of divinities in India and the shelters devised for them. In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (c. fourth century B.C.), Pāṇini mentions a number of Vedic deities (Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Mr̥ḍa, Vṛṣākapi, Pūṣā, Aryamā, Tvaṣṭā, Sūrya, Sōma, Vāstōṣpati, Mahēndra, Apāmnaptṛ, Nāsatyā) who received oblations. Female deities include Indrāṇī, Varuṇāṇī, Agnāyī, Uṣā, Vṛṣākapāyī, and Pṛthivī, the last always referred to as a pair with Dyaus. Post-Vedic female divinities named include Bhavāṇī and Śarvāṇī (popular in the Vāhika and Prācyā regions), Rudrāṇī, and Mr̥ḍāṇī. Theistic devotion (bhakti) had its beginning in Pāṇini's time, a fact made clear by his reference to devotion to Vāsudēva and Arjuna, as from names like Varuṇadatta and Aryamādatta that indicate that the sons so named were born through the grace, respectively, of Varuṇa and Aryamā. Such devotion extended also to the Lōkapālas, to yakṣas, and Pāṇini mentions paired deities such as Śivavaiśravaṇau, Saṅkarṣaṇavāsudēvau, and Skandaviśākhau. Pāṇini knew of images under worship (arcās), the mention of which might presuppose the existence of shrines.

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (c. second century B.C.), which is a detailed commentary on Pāṇini, mentions the worship of Vāsudēva-Kṛṣṇa as both hero and deity; his identity as one of the four Vyūhas is well established and that with Viṣṇu is suggested. The performance of Viṣṇu's Balibandhana and Kṛṣṇa's Kāmsavadha exploits are popular. Patañjali mentions Śiva-bhāgavatas, the devotees of Śiva, and discusses their un-social practices.

The *Mahābhāṣya* specifically refers to the temples of Dhanapati (Kubēra), Rāma (Balarāma), and Kēśava (Vāsudēva), with worship attended by dance, music, and elaborate rituals. Contemporary representations of Kupirō yakhō (Kubēra yakṣa) are known from Bhārhut and of Balarāma from Mathurā. An inscribed image of four-armed Vāsudēva-Viṣṇu carrying gadā and cakṛa in his upper hands and clasping a mutilated śaṅkha in the lower hands, held against his chest, from Malhār (Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh), is assignable to the close of the second century B.C. Worship of Gaurī, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, and Yamī also had become popular.

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, a compilation completed as late as the third century A.D., refers to the placement within a fortified city of temples that enshrine Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvinīkumāras, Śrī (Lakṣmī), and Madirā (perhaps a fertility goddess associated with the cult of the Great Mother). The *Arthaśāstra* prescribes that images of Aparājitā (Durgā), Apratihata (Viṣṇu), Jayanta (Kumāra), and Vaijayanta (Indra)





Pan-Indian sites



should be set in niches as well as ones of Vāstudēvatās. Most deities in the *Arthaśāstra* are common to Pāṇini and Patañjali as well, and pertain to the earliest strata of the manuscripts not much distant from the age of Patañjali.

### Architectural Features

Early Buddhist and Jaina literature, as well as Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, refer to various types of structures and their embellishments prevailing in the early centuries B.C. and in the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa and transitional periods. Bas-reliefs from Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Bōdhgayā, Mathurā, and Amarāvati (c. second century B.C. to third century A.D.) corroborate this literary testimony. Such evidence can conjure up a picture of a contemporary Indian city, with moat (parikhā), rampart (prākāra), bastioned and turreted gate houses (dvārāṭṭālakas or gōpurāṭṭālakas), corner-bastions (karṇāṭṭālakas), ornamental gates (tōraṇas), and busy streets lined with private and public buildings, such as the royal palace (rāja-prāsāda or rāja-nivēśana), shops and emporia, puṇyaśālās, caityas, and an assortment of small, medium, and large residential houses (including multi-storeyed mansions).

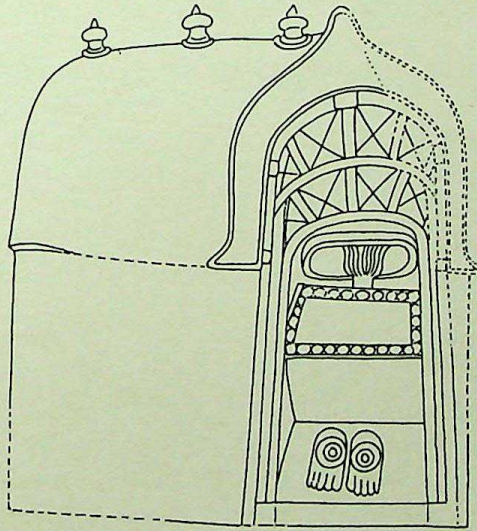


Fig. 1. Amarāvati. Relief labelled "Kūṭāgāraśālā of the Mahāvana at Vaiśālī," c. second century B.C.

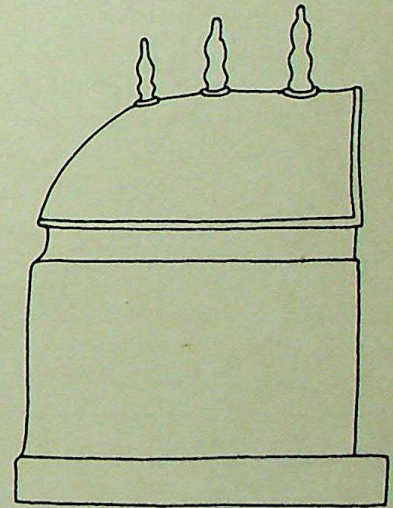


Fig. 2. Mathurā. Relief of Gajapṛsthākṛti shrine, c. first century B.C.

The mansions and the royal palace had various types of pavilions or chambers (known as kūṭāgāra, kūṭāgāraśālā, candraśālā, simhapañjara, or harmya). A kūṭāgāra or kūṭāgāraśālā was a roofed pavilion on any upper storey; the former normally was square on plan with a conical roof, the latter rectangular, with a vaulted roof with gabled ends crowned by small stūpīs or kalaśas. A candraśālā was an open type of pillared pavilion, normally on the sky-storey. A simhapañjara usually was a



bay-window projecting from an upper storey enclosed by a parapet (vēdikā), lattice (jāla), or bars (śālākās). Harmya was a rectangular kūṭāgāra topped by valabhī or sabhākāra śikhara situated on the uppermost storey.

Shrines were modelled after prevailing domestic structures and the forms of kūṭāgāra, kūṭāgāraśālā, candraśālā, etc. were freely borrowed from civil architecture. An independent shrine with a small chamber and peaked roof came to be designated kūṭāgāra or kūṭāgāraśālā (the former square with a domical roof, the latter rectangular with a vault). An example from Amarāvati (Fig. 1) is labelled the "kūṭāgāraśālā of the Mahāvana at Vaiśālī."

A basic form for a shrine was a modest platform with a top slab frequently depicted in Hīnayāna Buddhist reliefs. According to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (Yakkha-suttas), the Buddha once relaxed on the "ṭaṅkitamañca" in the bhavana of Yakkha Sucilōma at Gayā. The commentary explains ṭaṅkitamañca to be a stone slab resting on four other stones, obviously referring to a four-legged stone dais or altar. The term might alternatively have meant an altar carved with designs, as in the case of the Aśōkan period vajrāsana at Bōdhgayā.

Often such altar-platforms were placed under trees, which had been taken as objects of worship (caityas) in India from great antiquity. This combination of platform and tree occurs abundantly on bas-reliefs at Sāñcī (Plate 3), Bhārhut, Bōdhgayā, and Amarāvati. A tree enclosed by a railing is designated "cētiya" on an Amarāvati relief from the second century B.C. The provision of an umbrella (chatra), a mark of royal dignity, gave a similar significance.

Frequently the dais was enclosed by a railing (vēdikā) demarcating a sacred area (sthāna). This became in due course the symbol or cognizance of a shrine. While describing the caitya (shrine) of Pūrṇabhadra, the *Aupapātika-sūtra* uses the expression "kia-vēyaḍḍi," which Coomaraswamy interpreted as "having an earthen or stone slab altar." The term is equivalent to Sanskrit "vitardi" and means a railing or enclosure. In the *Aupapātika-sūtra*, the railing obviously was regarded as an integral part of a shrine. Made originally of bamboo or timber, this vēdikā subsequently was constructed of brick or masonry, and ultimately of stone.

Shrines of yakṣas, nāgas, and other divinities worshipped in the early centuries B.C. (copiously referred to in early Buddhist and Jaina literature) were of this sort. Yakṣa-shrines are called jakkhāyatna or often simply cētiya, bhavana, or āyatana.

Tree-worship is far older than worship of stūpas, supported by the fact that "caitya" originally meant "vṛkṣa-caitya" while "stūpa" denoted a funerary monument embodying the concept of memorial. Both existed before the time of Gautama Buddha or Vardhamāna Mahāvīra; the Buddhists (and, to a lesser extent, the Jains) adopted both forms and, to an extent, conceptually and formally amalgamated them. The stūpa came to symbolise the parinirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha and of past Buddhas, and the tree their enlightenment. By Aśōka's time, the worship of stūpas was well established, taking on the features and attributes of the older tree-worship. The stūpa became "caitya" and a stūpa-shrine came to be designated "caitya-grha," "cētiya-ghara," or "grha-stūpa."

Shrines represented on early reliefs show the following varieties: (1) a platform (with or without some symbol); (2) a platform under an umbrella; (3) a platform under a tree; (4) a platform enclosed by a railing; (5) a platform within a simple pillared pavilion; and (6) permutations and combinations of the above.

These shrines were mostly modest roofless structures, some had large compounds, a few were provided with one or more tōraṇas, and some are represented having roofs.



*Bōdhigharas (not illustrated)*

Bōdhigharas were Buddhist shrines meant for worshipping the Bōdhi tree under which Gautama received enlightenment. The spot is represented as a dais (Bōdhi-maṇḍa) under a peepul tree. Coomaraswamy has discussed literary references to Bōdhigharas and the early representations on bas-reliefs. He shows that these were hypaethral shrines, in some cases with two or more storeys (timber-built galleries that the worshipper could conveniently ascend for lustrating and honouring the Bōdhi-tree).

Bhārhut has yielded two reliefs of double-storeyed Bōdhigharas, one of which shows three doorways on the ground floor and two ornate windows; the upper floor represents a modest shrine, probably with an apsidal end. The other relief, labelled the "Bōdhō of Śakamuni," shows a large, complex structure with a circular plan and multiple ornate windows on the upper storey.

Sāñcī has four representations of Bōdhigharas, two of which appear to be octagonal, one circular, and one apsidal. Three are two-storeyed; the apsidal one is four-storeyed. The top storey of the latter has two ornate windows at lateral ends, as on the apsidal Bōdhighara from Bhārhut.

Of the two reliefs of Bōdhigharas from Amarāvati, one is circular, the other apparently rectangular, with a conspicuously tall upper storey, a śālā on each side, and a pair of projecting simhapañjaras supported on stilt-like pillars.

A relief of a Bōdhighara from Mathurā seems to depict a two-storeyed square structure with polygonal projections at the four corners. The spreading branches of the Bōdhi tree jut out of numerous windows on the ground floor and upper gallery.

*Other shrines (Figs. 2-10; Plates 1-3, 7)*

Other religious structures depicted on bas-reliefs at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Bōdhgayā, and Mathurā are largely of kūṭa, śālā, and cāpa types. A small apse-ended shrine (cāpākāra on plan and gajaprsthākṛti in elevation) with three finials on the śikhara is shown at Mathurā (Fig. 2). The Jētavana scene at Sāñcī shows three shrines, of which one is a small circular structure enclosed by a railing with an octagonal ridged roof crowned by a stūpī (Plate 1; Fig. 3); two are larger shrines having śālā-śikhara crowned by four stūpīs (Figs. 4-5) and with ornate entrances marked by gavākṣa arches that terminate in finials.

Two of the Jētavana shrines figured at Bhārhut (labelled "Gaṇdhakuṭī" and "Kōsamba-kuṭī") closely resemble the śālākāra shrines at Sāñcī. The ensemble of a small domed structure and two larger rectangular structures in an Amarāvati panel labelled "Sāvathi" (Fig. 7) confirms the tradition of Jētavana-shrines associated with the Buddha.

A nāga shrine shown at Sāñcī is a square pillared pavilion with an octagonal śikhara crowned by a stūpī (Plate 2). The domed śikhara is pierced by gavākṣa windows and enclosed by a vēdikā.

An example of a domed pillared pavilion with a kapōta-cornice is seen in the depiction of the Sudhamma-dēvasabhā at Bhārhut (Fig. 6). A more complex shrine, with a prāgrīva-like projection at the cornice level and a front window through the domical roof, is shown at Sāñcī (Plate 3). Larger pillared pavilions, roofed by a sabhākāra śikhara and with cornice, are also represented at Sāñcī. One has a single front window (Plate 7); the other, with two front windows, appears to be a two-storeyed structure, with vēdikā as balustrade on each storey. Two-storeyed shrines are frequently depicted at Bhārhut. One, with an imposing sabhākāra śikhara and crowned by ten



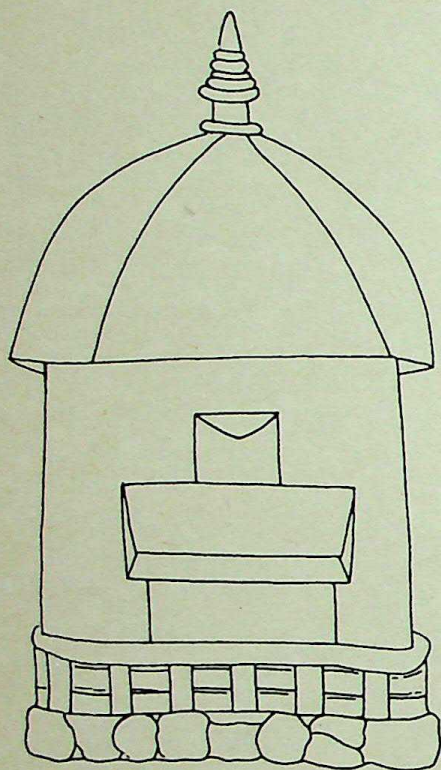


Fig. 3. Sāñcī. Relief showing circular shrine at Jētavana, c. first century B.C.

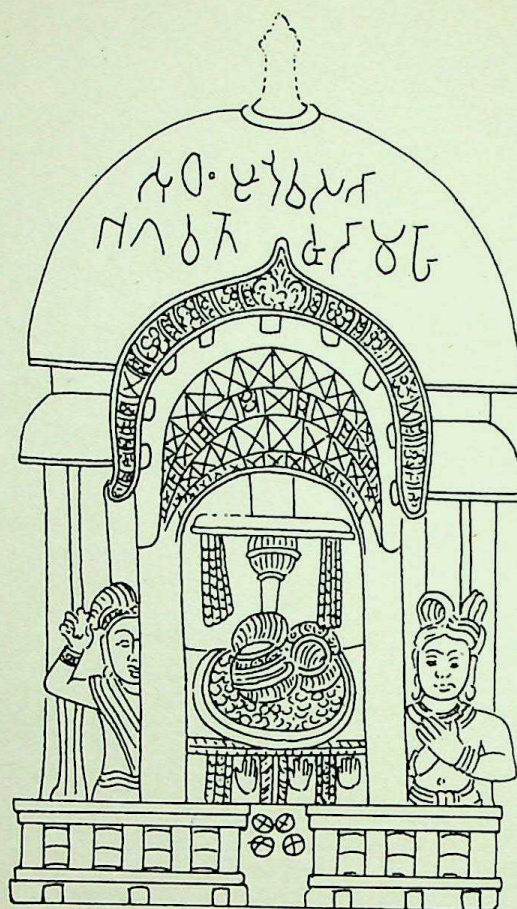
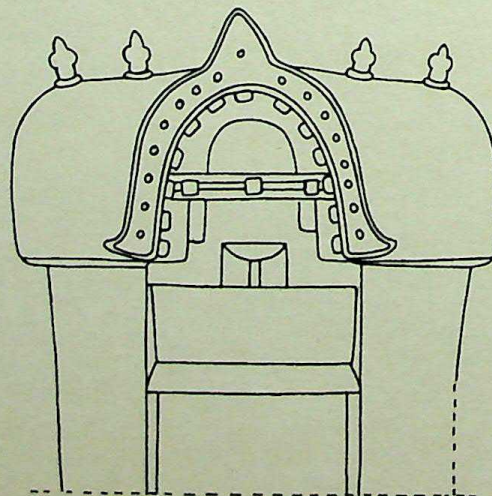
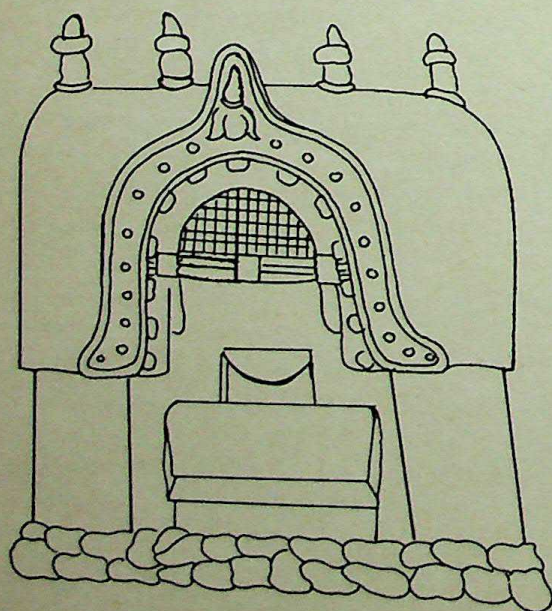


Fig. 6. Bhārhut. Relief showing pillared pavilion, labelled "Sudhamma-dēvasabhā," c. second century B.C.



Figs. 4-5. Sāñcī. Reliefs showing rectangular shrines at Jētavana.



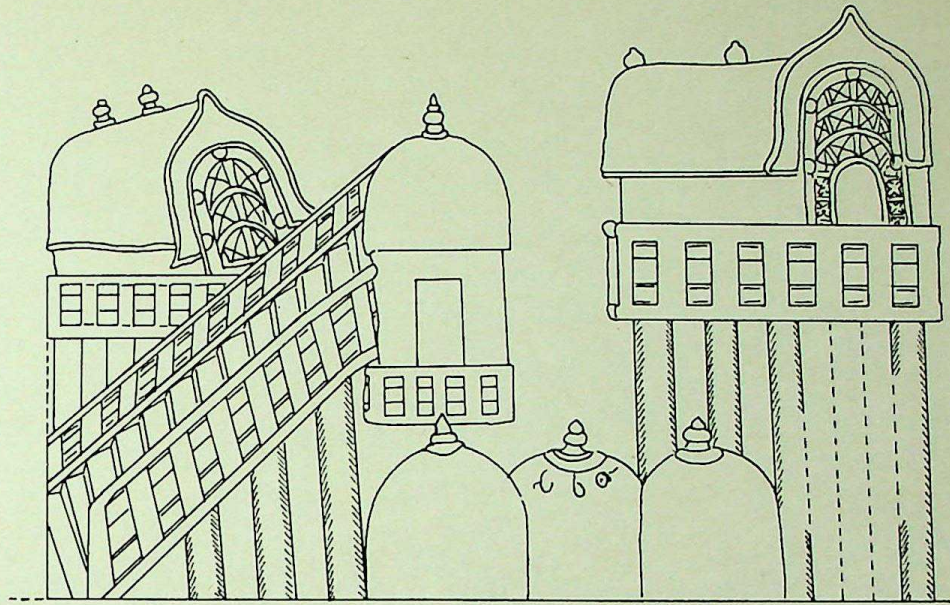


Fig. 7. Amarāvati. Relief, labelled "Sāvathi," showing Jētavana shrines, c. second century B.C.

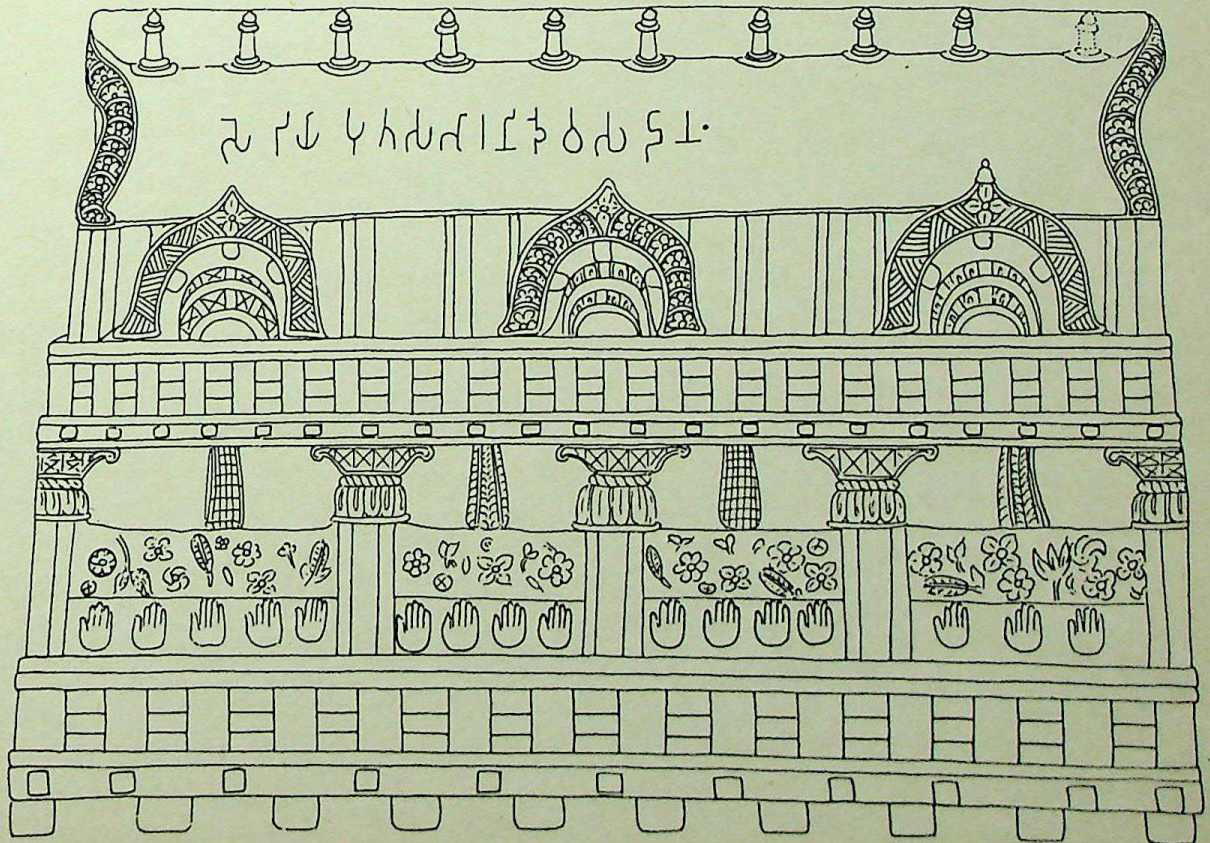


Fig. 8. Bhārhut. Relief of large sabhākāra pavilion, c. second century B.C.



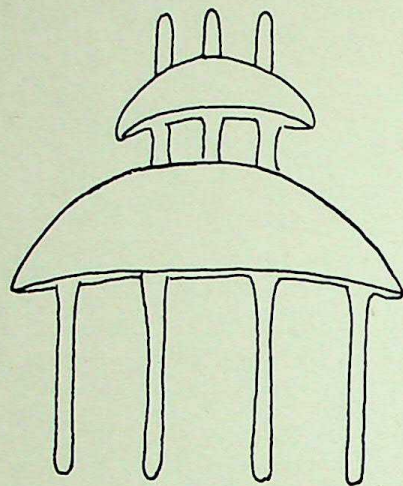


Fig. 9. Sōhgaurā. Design of double-level thatched hut on bronze plaque, c. fourth century B.C.

stūpīs. (Fig. 8), is enclosed by a vēdikā railing on each storey. The lower tala shows five stunted pillars with ornate capitals; the upper storey shows three gavākṣa-arches.

A shrine suggesting a double-level thatched hut (Fig. 9), engraved on a bronze plaque from Sōhgaurā inscribed in the Mauryan Brāhmī script, shows a form continued at Sāñcī, Bōdhgayā, and Mathurā.

Similar pavilions appear on roughly contemporary Audumbara copper coins; these depict three varieties of shrines (all Śaiva, as indicated by the presence of triśūlacum-parāśu). Variety "a" (Fig. 10a) is an elaboration of the Sōhgaurā type, with two kapōta cornices surmounted by a domical śikhara. Variety "b" has a square śikhara (Fig. 10b); Variety "c" is similar, but lacks pillarlets at the grīvā level (Fig. 10c).

#### Shrines in early epigraphy (not illustrated)

There is considerable epigraphic evidence, in fact, for the early worship of divinities in shrines. Two inscribed Garuḍa-dhvajas at Vidiśā, one set up in honour of the "supreme god Vāsudēva" by the Bhāgavata Heliodorus (a Yavana ambassador from the court of the Indo-Bactrian king, Antialkidas, of Takṣaśilā) in the 14th year of the reign

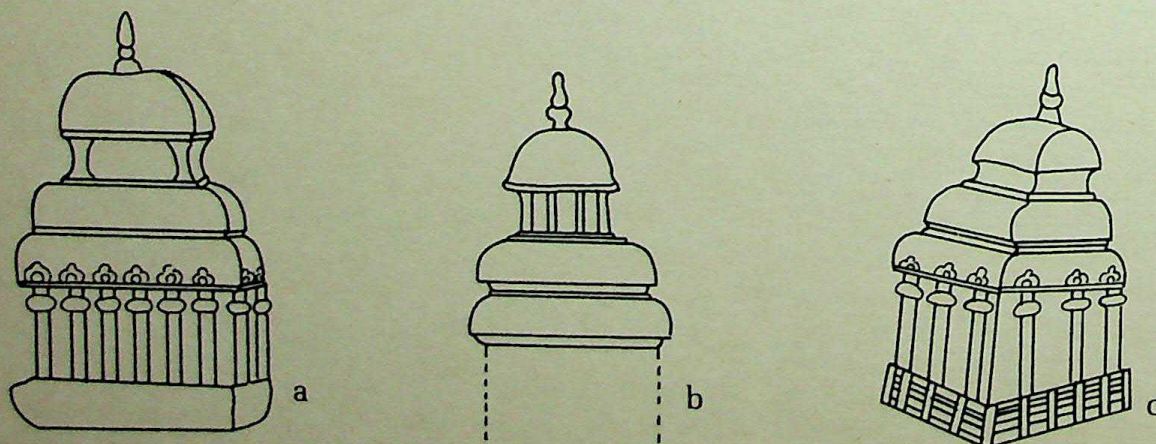


Fig. 10. Pavilion designs on Audumbara coins, c. first century B.C.



of Bhāgabhadra (c. 131 B.C.), the fifth Śuṅga king, the other erected by Gautamīputra Bhāgavata, the ninth Śuṅga ruler, in his 12th year, attest to the existence of Vaiṣṇava shrines. The first referred to must be the elliptical shrine for which foundations have been excavated near to Heliodorus's pillar.

Three inscriptions from Nagari, District Chittorgarh, Rajasthan, refer to the construction of a stone wall that encloses a place for worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudēva by the Bhāgavata king, Sarvatāta, who probably belonged to the Kāṇva dynasty. The site preserves a massive stone enclosure and the plinth of an elliptical brick temple.

The Nānāghāt (District Poona) inscription of Nāganikā of the first century B.C. refers to the performance of Vedic sacrifices by the Sātavāhana royal family and opens with obeisance to such divinities as Dharma, Indra, Saṅkarṣaṇa-Vāsudēva, Candra-Sūrya, and the Lōkapālas (Yama, Varuṇa, Kubēra, and Vāsava).

An inscription from Mora (Mathurā) of the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa (c. A.D. 10-25) records the installation of images of the five Vṛṣṇi heroes in a stone shrine. Another Mathurā inscription of the same reign, engraved on a doorjamb, records construction of a shrine, tōraṇa, and vēdikā at the mahāsthāna of Bhagavān Vāsudēva. Numerous Kuṣāṇa inscriptions also refer to the setting up of images of the Buddha and of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras and to the foundation of shrines for them.

An inscription from Nandsa, District Udaipur, Rajasthan, dated A.D. 226, records performance of Vedic sacrifices following construction of shrines to Brahmā, Indra, Prajāpati, and Viṣṇu.

#### *Maurya and Post Maurya Periods: Structural Remains (Fig. 11)*

From the time of Aśōka Maurya (c. 272-232 B.C.) to the early Kuṣāṇa period, evidences from rock-cut shrines and from surviving foundations of constructed shrines suggest that temples existed in circular (vṛtta), elliptical (vṛttāyata), and apsidal (cāpākāra) forms. The Ājīvika caves at Barābar, District Gaya, Bihar, which contain inscriptions of Aśōka and his grandson, Daśaratha, preserve both circular and elliptical hut-forms with domical or vaulted roofs. The façade of the Lōmas Ṛṣi cave replicates a large timber gavākṣa-arch, supported by curved rafters (gōpānasī) within an ogee-shaped frame of laminated planks, crowned by stūpī-finials. The architrave of the entrance represents jālavātāyana (latticed wickerwork) for the first time.

Also assignable to the Maurya period is the plinth of a circular brick-and-timber stūpa-shrine that survives at Bairāt, District Jaipur, Rajasthan. Enclosed by a pradakṣiṇā, the shrine was preceded by small prāggrīva. Temple no. 40 at Sāncī was originally an apsidal stone temple of the Maurya period raised on a rectangular plinth, the superstructure built of timber. Another unusual complex of four, elliptical, stone halls was unearthed at Rājgir (Rājagṛha), the ancient capital of Magadha. This complex has been identified with the Buddhist Jīvākāmravana-vihāra, but only the foundations survive. An apsidal brick temple was also excavated at Sārnāth and an elliptical brick hall formed part of the Ghōṣitārāma at Kauśāmbī, the ancient capital of Vatsa.

Structural forms prevalent during the Maurya period continued in subsequent centuries, as recorded in numerous bas-reliefs from Bhārhut, Sāncī, Bōdhgayā, Mathurā, and Amarāvati. The apsidal plan in this period perhaps was more popular than either the circular or elliptical plan. Buddhist cave-shrines begin to replicate complex wooden structures with apsidal ends, barrel-vaulted naves, and side aisles, but the type was not restricted solely to Buddhist use. Three astylar apsidal shrines in stone from c. the first century B.C./A.D. are known from Taxila (Takṣaśilā). Temple no. 18 at Sāncī was an apsidal shrine, and apsidal structures are shown on reliefs from Mathurā (Fig. 2) and Amarāvati (Fig. 1) as well. At Rāmatīrtham, Śaṅkaram, and



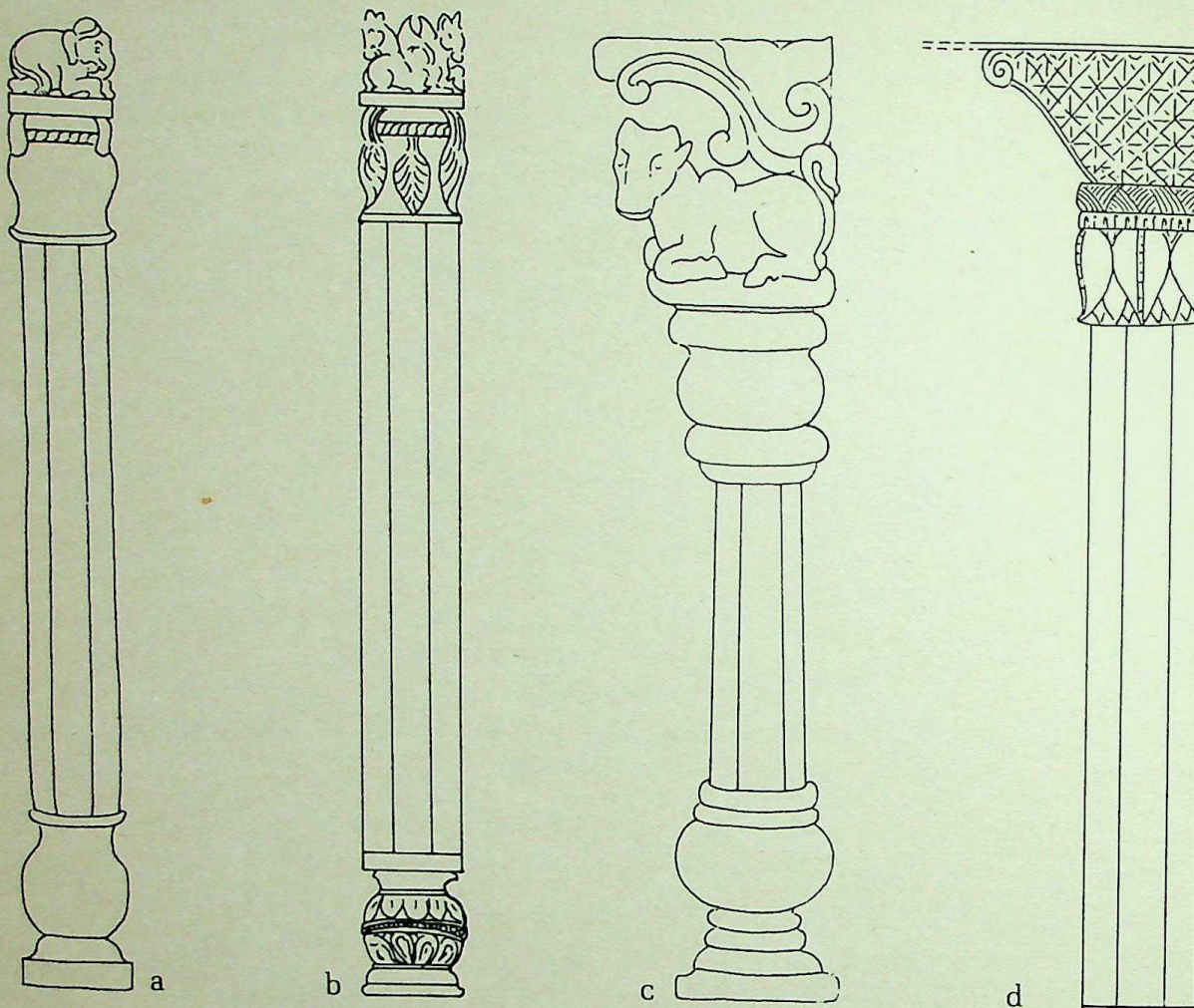


Fig. 11. Pillar reliefs:

- a.-b. Sāñcī, c. first century B.C.; c. Bōdhgayā, c. first century B.C.;  
d. Bhārhut, c. second century B.C.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā in Āndhradēśa, also, numerous apsidal temples of brick were constructed under the patronage of the later Sātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, these apsidal chapels begin to house images of the Buddha as well as stūpas. An apsidal temple enshrining Śiva is known from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and there are also examples of an apsidal Jaina shrine at Udayagiri, Bhuvanēśvara (c. 25 B.C.), and an apsidal Nāga shrine at Sonkh near Mathurā (c. second century A.D.).

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, by the third or fourth century A.D., also preserves rectilinear shrines with square cells, a type that ultimately eclipsed all other forms.

Pillar-types in this period include plain octagonal pillars with rake that follow a pristine timber tradition and are seen often in rock-cut shrines during the second and first centuries B.C. Later pillars develop a ghaṭa base and a capital-type that has affinity to the Maurya bell-capital but loses the ridges of the lotus petals and becomes simply an inverted ghaṭa. At Bhārhut, pillars usually lack ghaṭa base but show inverted lotus-capital, cable design, and large, flaring taraṅga-bracket adorned with criss-cross pattern (Fig. 11d). This pillar-type may later show an āmalaka set in a box above the ghaṭa, a stepped abacus, and various kinds of animal brackets. Variant forms with ghaṭa base



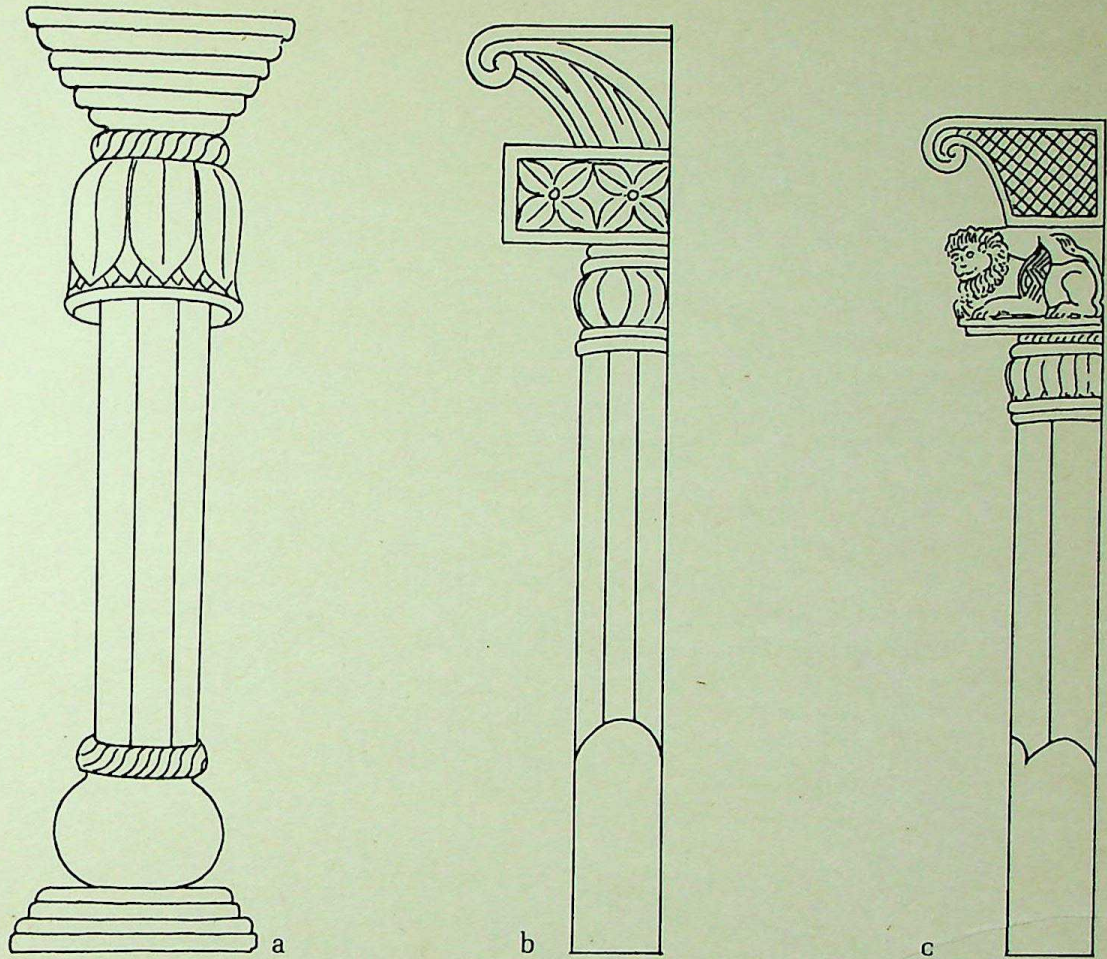


Fig. 12. **Pillar reliefs:**  
Mathurā, c. second century A.D.

and plain bell-capital appear on reliefs at Sāncī, occasionally surmounted by ghaṭapalava crowned by animals (Figs. 11a-b). A Bōdhgayā relief shows a pillar with a ghaṭa base and capital surmounted by a standing bull (Fig. 11c).

#### *Kuṣāṇa-period shrines (Figs. 12-13; Plates 4-6, 8)*

From the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. we get copious epigraphical references from the Mathurā region to Bhāgavata, Nāga, Buddhist, and Jaina shrines (the last called Arhatāyatana). The temples are known as pāsāda (prāsāda), stāna (sthāna), mahāsthāna, dēvalaya (dēvālaya), dēvagṛha, dēvakula, dēvakulikā, āyatana, and harmya. The temple hall was called sabhā or āyāgasabhā and the gatehouse of the temple was known as dārakōṭhaka (dvārakōṣṭhaka). There are also references to tōraṇa and to tōraṇa-prāsāda. Vēdikā is frequently mentioned meaning a railed enclosure around a temple. Thirty-three of the stone pillar-bases from Jamalpur mound at Mathurā, which constitute remains of Huviṣka's vihāra, bear donative records that label the bases "kumbhaka." The upper parts of the pillars, presumably of timber, have perished.



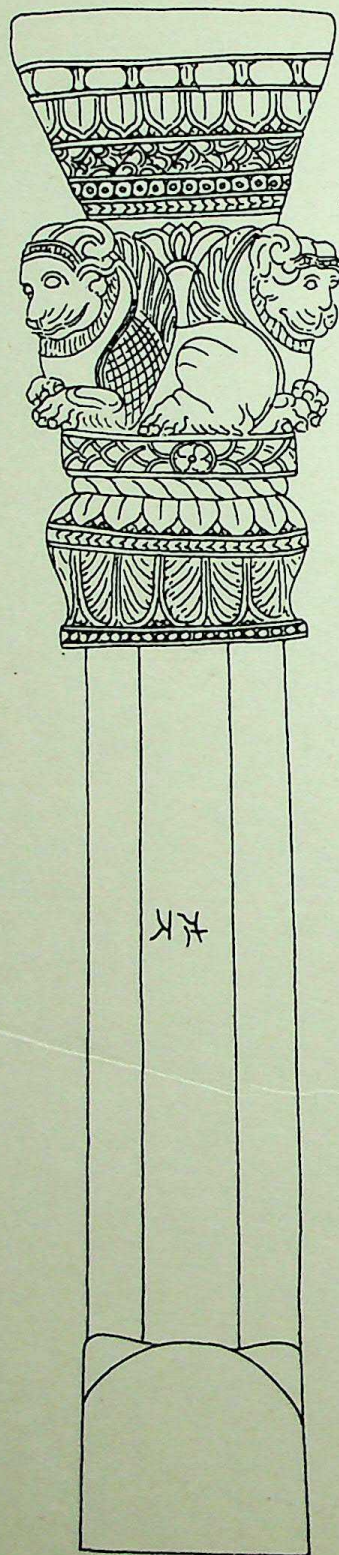


Fig. 13. Mathurā. Pillar, c. second century A.D.



The inscribed kumbhakas are square, stepped, made of local sandstone, with a circular groove on the top for accommodating a ghaṭa (of timber or stone or even sturdy terracotta). In reliefs from Mathurā, we get representations of such a pillar (Fig. 12a), with a ghaṭa placed on a stepped base, adorned with cable design on the rim and with an octagonal, probably timber, shaft rising above, with an inverted-lotus capital that may have been a loose sheath-like member made of timber. Above is a cable ornament and a broad stepped abacus that supported a beam.

A majority of the Kuṣāṇa pillars at Mathurā had no base (Fig. 12b), though the lower part of the shaft is square, with a semicircular cap as transition to the main octagonal section. Some examples have a thin abacus surmounted by an animal standard, usually representing a winged lion (Fig. 12c). Mathurā has yielded a few, actual, ornate pillars with such an octagonal shaft, inverted lotus capital, thin abacus, and adorsed animals at the top supporting a highly ornate, flaring bracket (Fig. 12d).

Buddhist stūpas and shrines of all sects were enclosed by stone vēdikās; no complete plan of an actual Kuṣāṇa shrine, however, has been recovered from the excavations at Mathurā. The *Rāyapasēṇiya*, a contemporary Jaina text, designates vēdikā as “padmavaravēdikā.” Most available fragments of doorways from Mathurā have a “T”-shaped format and were composed of śākhās carved with patravallī or padmalatā, garland designs, a chain of little triangles, and a rūpaśākhā carved with figures. A fragment from Sārnāth shows a vine meander (Plate 4). Mathurā lintels sometimes depict registers of devotees or Bōdhisattva figures (Plate 5) with a band of acanthus leaves above sometimes with jackfruit between (Plate 6).

Mathurā has yielded three reliefs of shrine-models that have broad bases and which taper towards the top. One is too mutilated to reveal its design. Two depict three-storeyed structures crowned by domical stūpīs (Plate 8). One of these has a square plan and stands on a moulded pīṭha; its ground storey shows a large, semicircular entrance, the two upper storeys are enclosed by vēdikās and show small semicircular niches. The other has an octagonal plan (Plate 8); each storey is fenced by a vēdikā, and each side shows a projected niche framed by pilasters supporting a gavākṣa-dormer.

Jaina canonical texts of this period like the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra-bhāṣya*, *Nāyādhammakahāṇ*, and *Rāyapasēṇiya* provide detailed descriptions and technical terms for various constituents of civil and religious architecture. The *Rāyapasēṇiya* in particular furnishes decorative details typical of the Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā. It describes the *Sūryābha-vimāna* of Mahāvīra, an itinerant capital city with all amenities. The text discusses city-gates, defences, and quarters teeming with caityas, stūpas, prēkṣāgāras (theatres), and numerous halls, lakes, lotus ponds, parks, gardens, and islands. The text enumerates decorative ornaments such as tōraṇa-śālabhañjikās, ceilings painted with vegetal and figural patterns, pillar-brackets bearing gandharvas and vidyādharamithunas, designs of aṣṭamaṅgalas, īhāmṛgas, numerous forms of latticed windows, flags, umbrellas, festoons, and arches embellished with garlands and bells, etc. Almost all the ornamental designs mentioned in such Jaina texts are present on Kuṣāṇa sculptures and reliefs from Mathurā.

*Kumrahār (Patna), terracotta plaque (Fig. 44, p. 106)*

A terracotta plaque from Kumrahār, Bihar, of probably the third or fourth century A.D. depicts a temple of six storeys often said to be a representation of the original temple of Mahābōdhi at Bōdhgayā. Each receding storey is surmounted by vēdikā. The lowermost storey in height is double those above and shows two levels of gavākṣa arches to either side of a colossal central arch that frames a large seated image. The second



through fifth storeys show five regularly spaced gavākṣa arches; the sixth storey is an open terrace with vēdikā-balustrade, corner finials, a central circular platform, stūpī, and a series of five umbrellas above. On the plaque, the temple has a fronting tōraṇa, and is enclosed by a square vēdikā.

Reliefs on the gateways of stūpa no. 1 at Sāñcī (c. 25 B.C.—A.D. 25) show the Bōdhi tree at Bōdhgayā surrounded by a hypaethral structure, and a vēdī of the Maurya period survives at the base of the existing tree along with a railing of the Śuṅga period set up around the late-sixth-century A.D. temple. The Kumrahār plaque undoubtedly provides the Kuṣāṇa model from which the straight-edged profile of the latter structure was derived, but to which elements of Nāgara organization were added. The use of vēdikā balustrades and gavākṣa-dormers on each storey is reminiscent also of palatial architecture as seen represented on the façades and porticos of Buddhist rock-cut caitya-halls in the Western Ghāts.

### *Kṣatrapa shrines*

The Kṣatrapas who ruled in Gujarat and neighbouring regions of Western India almost contemporaneously with the Kuṣāṇas have left few architectural remains. Of caves surviving in the eastern quarter of Jūnāgaḍh (Surāṣṭra), two bear carved ornaments on their doorways and are dedicated to Jaina worship. Both are attributable to A.D. 197/8, in the reign of Kṣatrapa Dāmajada I or Rudrasīmha I, son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāma I. The lintel of one doorway is adorned with aṣṭamaṅgalas, as seen also on roughly coeval Jaina āyāgapaṭas from Mathurā. On the lower part of the doorjamb are large nidhi-kalaśas with human heads, representing anthropomorphic forms of Padmanidhi and Śaṅkhanidhi. The second doorframe bears bold floral patterns on the lintel and a pair of circular pilasters with large ghaṭa bases, āmalaka-shaped capitals, and animal brackets on the jamb.

In Jūnāgaḍh, also, the Uparkōṭ caves show ornament of paired female busts within gavākṣas and preserve elegant pillars with delicately carved foliate scrolls carried by erotes, acanthus foliage, and supple figures of nude females. These caves may be dated to c. A.D. 400, towards the close of the Kṣatrapa period.

A cave at Jhinjhurihār, near Dhāñk in Surāṣṭra, preserves a pair of octagonal pillars enclosed by a vēdikā railing and is assignable to c. the second–third century A.D.

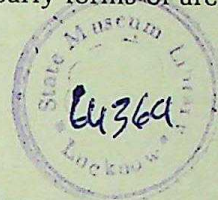
### *Dēvnīmōrī (not illustrated)*

The site of Dēvnīmōrī, situated on the Meshvo river a mile and a quarter south of Śāmalājī, District Sabarkantha, north Gujarat (ancient Ānarta), was a thriving Buddhist centre in the third-fourth centuries A.D. with two brick-built vihāras, an apsidal temple, and a mahāstūpa surrounded by a number of votive stūpas. Excavations before the flooding by the Meshvo dam project have revealed much of the design for the mahāstūpa and plinths for the remaining structures. The stūpa was built of brick with terracotta ornament. Placed on two receding mēḍhis (86 ft. and 70 ft. square), the incompletely preserved aṇḍa had a c. 54 ft. diameter. The lower mēḍhī was decorated with 12 pilasters on each side; the upper had ten, all of late Indo-Corinthian vintage, with stylised acanthus leaves. They stand on moulded bases, and are surmounted by courses adorned with chequers, acanthus leaves, dentils, and a bold kalaśa.

From the stūpa were recovered 26 terracotta Buddha images and a mass of carved bricks, medallions, and arched niches made of ornamental bricks. The figures as well as decorative elements seem to reveal a blend of Gandhāran with indigenous art styles. A relic casket from the stūpa bears an inscription saying that this mahāstūpa, enshrining



ing body relics of the Buddha, was built close to a mahāvihāra in 127 of the era of the "Kathika" rulers, during the reign of Rudrasēna. If 127 is referred to the Kalacuri era of A.D. 248, one gets a date of A.D. 375 for the stūpa, within the reign of the Kṣātrapa king Rudrasēna III. The script of the inscription agrees with legends on coins of Rudrasēna that bear dates between A.D. 348 and 378, and while the donative part of the inscription on the casket is written in Sanskrit, the lid is engraved with the "Pratītyasamutpādasūtra" written in a Prakrit dialect which is a variant of the Pāli original. This might also suggest an approximate period no later than the fourth century A.D. Other brick remains which give evidence for early forms of architectural ornament are discussed in the next chapter.



Krishna Deva

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**Genealogical Table: Guptas and their feudatories****Imperial Guptas**

Candragupta I (c. A.D. 320-345)

Samudragupta (c. A.D. 345-370)

Rāmagupta (c. A.D. 370-375)

Candragupta II (c. A.D. 376-413)

Kumāragupta I (c. A.D. 414-455)

Skandagupta (c. A.D. 455-467)

Narasimhagupta

Pūrugupta

Kumāragupta II  
(c. A.D. 472-475)Budhagupta  
(c. A.D. 475-495)**Parivarājakas**

Hastin (c. A.D. 475-518)

Saṁkṣōbha

**Uccakalpas**

Vyāghra

Jayanātha

Śarvanātha  
(c. A.D. 510-534)



## Beginnings of North Indian style: Uttarāpatha, c. A.D. 360-575

# Guptas and Their Feudatories

### Historical Introduction

Following the breakup of the Kuṣāṇa empire, North India was divided into a number of small independent states, both tribal and monarchical. One of these, in Bihar, made a bid for imperial status under the leadership of Candragupta I (c. A.D. 320-345). The first Gupta dynast to be designated Mahārājādhirāja, Candragupta added to the power and prestige of his family by marrying Kumārādēvī, a Licchavi princess; he seems to have ruled over all of present-day Bihar, eastern Uttar Pradesh, and part of Bengal.

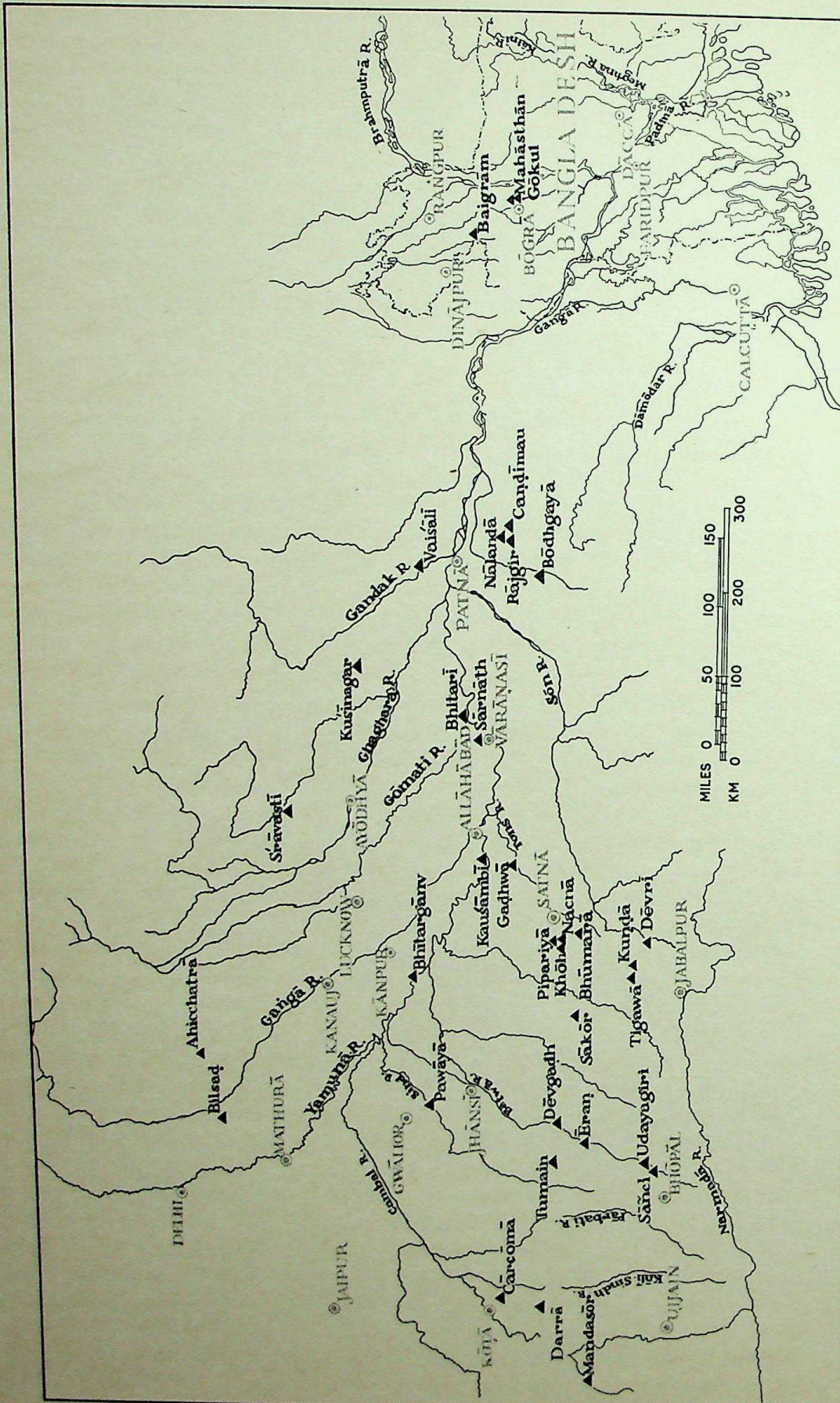
Candragupta I was succeeded by his son, Samudragupta (c. A.D. 345-370), who was a great conqueror, a versatile genius, and the real founder of the Gupta empire. His Allahabad pillar-inscription provides details of his political, military, and personal achievements. There it is learnt that he exterminated many kings and tribal states, made extensive conquests, and brought the whole of North India, with the exclusion of Kashmir, the Panjab, Malwa, Sind, and Gujarat, under his direct imperial administration. He also carried his victorious arms along the east coast of Kālīṅga to Kāñcī and made the rulers of the coastal kingdoms his tributaries. The Śāka and Kuṣāṇa princes of the west and northwest were brought under his influence, and the rulers of Sindh and other neighbouring islands were won over as subordinate allies. He even performed the aśvamedha sacrifice to mark his imperial status. A connoisseur of poetry and music, he was a liberal patron of poets and artists and struck many beautiful varieties of gold coins, including one type where the king is shown playing a vīṇā.

Samudragupta seems to have been succeeded by his oldest son, Rāmagupta, who had a short reign and an ignoble end. He is passed over by dynastic chroniclers, but three recently discovered Jina images from Vidiśā, inscribed in the reign of "Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta," make clear that he did achieve the throne.

Dynastic chroniclers record that Samudragupta was succeeded by a second son, Candragupta II (A.D. 376-413), who may have played a role in the events that led to the dethronement and assassination of his elder brother, Rāmagupta.

Candragupta II completed the conquest of North India by exterminating the Śakas (Western Kṣatrapas) from Mālava, Gurjarātra, and Surāṣṭra and by annexing their territories. He took the epithet Vikramāditya, which is a title traditional for a world-conquering hero. He encouraged trade and commerce and patronised the arts, letters, and sciences. The celebrated poet and dramatist Kālidāsa probably adorned his court. Candragupta II issued gold coins in large quantities and of many types; he introduced copper and silver currency, the latter modelled after Kṣatrapa coinage.





Uttarāpatha: Gupta sites



Caves at Udayagiri near Vidiśā, in Madhya Pradesh, were excavated during Candragupta's reign, perhaps under his direct patronage while he camped in the area during his western campaign. He called himself paramabhāgavata, and the image of Varāha rescuing the earth-goddess at Udayagiri (cave no. 5) likely was carved as an allegory of his rescuing Āryāvarta from Śaka domination.

Candragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta Mahēndrāditya, whose reign of 40 years (A.D. 414-455) was prosperous and peaceful, save near its close when he was attacked and lost his life on the battlefield. He, like his father, performed the aśvamēdha sacrifice and continued to mint coins in gold and silver. His favourite deity was Kumāra (Skanda), his namesake, whose image appears on his gold coins.

Skandagupta (A.D. 455-467), the son and successor of Kumāragupta, was the last of the great Guptas. He inherited a dominion that extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. His father died fighting an enemy whose invasion threatened the stability of the empire, and Skandagupta had to wage war amidst considerable hardship. His Bhitari pillar-inscription records even that he had to spend the night lying on the bare ground. Ultimately he succeeded, and enjoyed a peaceful reign. The Hūṇa invasion, however, which came later in his reign, proved even more formidable; through an heroic effort, however, Skandagupta was able to drive the invaders away. Such wars caused considerable financial strain, reflected in the debasement of his gold coinage, which deteriorated in both quality and variety. He was able, however, to keep his extensive dominion intact and even to undertake a remarkable project to repair the breached Sudarśana embankment at Gīrnār in Surāṣṭra, initially constructed by Candragupta Maurya. Skandagupta built a grand brick temple at Bhitari, near Vārāṇasī, dedicated to Viṣṇu; he set up a pillar there that bears an autobiographical inscription which is the main source for the history of his reign.

After Skandagupta, imperial Gupta power gradually declined, owing mainly to internal dissensions and rebellion in outlying provinces. Official Gupta genealogies ignore Skandagupta and trace the dynastic succession through Pūrugupta, the son of Kumāragupta I from his chief queen. Pūrugupta was succeeded by his sons Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta and their descendents. Of these later Gupta sovereigns, Budhagupta is the only one known to have ruled over a wide dominion, stretching from Bengal to Mālava. He ruled for about 18 years (A.D. 477-495) but cracks in the imperial structure had already appeared; these gradually widened, and shattered the edifice by the second quarter of the sixth century. The princes who followed Budhagupta were rivals and ruled over small provinces confined mainly to Eastern India.

A succession of emperors (from Candragupta I to Skandagupta) of such extraordinary talent is rare. Heroic, noble, with high physical and mental gifts, these Gupta emperors were inspired by an elevated ideal of royal duty. Under their strong and benevolent administration, North India enjoyed peace, prosperity, and an unprecedented creative upsurge in all spheres of life and thought. Sculpture and architecture, poetry, drama, dance, and music were cultivated in the Gupta age (c. A.D. 350-550).

By the Gupta period, India had come into contact with many foreign civilizations — Iranian, Hellenistic, Parthian, and Roman-Syrian; she freely borrowed art-motifs but had the genius to mould and absorb them so that they were integrated into an Indian cultural amalgam. The preceding art of Mathurā and Gandhāra had been permeated with foreign art-motifs. This process continued and even accelerated during the Gupta period, particularly after the conquest of the Kṣatrapa kingdom, with its access to the western seaboard. Many Motifs of Gupta art have a foreign origin, illustrated by the acanthus, vine-scroll, harpy, centaur, lion-head dentils, "T"-shaped



format of the doorframe, and even the plan of the early Gupta temple (which seems designed partly after the Roman-Syrian *prostylos* or *templum in antis*). While receptive to forms from past contact, India in the Gupta age built on that amalgam an art self-conscious in its image of an Indian civilization.

Unlike the previous art of Gandhāra and Mathurā, which at times was frankly extrovert, Gupta art turned inward and achieved a brilliant synthesis between external form and inner spirit. The plasticity of Gupta art was derived from Mathurā, its elegance partly from Amarāvātī, but the two underwent a sublime transformation, manifest in all its expressions. Art under the Guptas attained rare poise and maturity and emerged as the conscious vehicle for the intellectual and spiritual urge of the Indian ethos.

### Architectural Features

Before the period of the Guptas, architecture in India was dominated by timber structures, or ones conceived as if in a timber tradition (i.e., the early rock-cut caves). Bricks and stone slabs were sometimes used, but no elaborate structures were constructed of small aggregates. The foundation of Hindu temple architecture was laid during the Gupta age in a period when the structural potentiality of dressed stone had just fully been appreciated. The basic elements of the temple's plan, comprising a square garbhagṛha for the deity and a maṇḍapa for sheltering the devotee, emerged. Pressure to give the temple an architectural form was aided by the philosophical and religious urge of the age, with its accent on bhakti (adoration of the personalised deity, or iṣṭadēvatā), which enjoined the installation and worship of such popular divinities as the yakṣa, nāga, Vāsudēva, Viṣṇu, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Śiva, Skanda, the Buddha, or a Jina.

Surviving remains of brick temples in the Gupta period suggest the existence of one type with bhadrapīṭhas embellished with pilasters with a garbhagṛha placed on top. Derived from the multi-tiered stūpa-shrines of the Buddhists, this type was adopted for Brahmanical worship and designated as Ēḍūka in the *Viṣṇudharmōttara-purāṇa*, a text of c. seventh century A.D. that recommends the Ēḍūka type for enshrining a Śivaliṅga. The earliest surviving temple of the Ēḍūka type, however, of the early decades of the fifth century, is located at Pawāyā (ancient Padmāvātī) near Gwalior, and is dedicated to Viṣṇu. It consists of three bhadrapīṭhas with the sanctum on top. The loftiest example of Ēḍūka (c. 75 ft. high) was excavated at Ahichatṛā. This comprised five square bhadrapīṭhas, faced west, and enshrined a colossal Śivaliṅga on its highest bhadrapīṭha in a garbhagṛha. This temple, which has yielded remarkable terracotta panels of Śaiva narrative myths and figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, is assignable to the latter half of the sixth century A.D.

Simultaneous with the Ēḍūka type of Hindu structure, the Buddhist stūpa-shrine of a multi-terraced type continued to be built from Sindh (Mīrpurkhās) to Madhyadēśa (the Chaukhaṇḍī at Sārnāth). The circular brick Maniyār Maṭh at Rājgir in Magadha, probably dedicated to Nāga worship, is remarkable for its unique plan and sensuously modelled stucco figures. The ancient tract of Puṇḍravardhana in Vaṅga (now Bangladesh) also has yielded interesting specimens of Gupta-period brick temples, including a plain sāndhāra temple at Baigrām and two terraced temples at Gōkul and Mahāsthān (Gōbind Bhīṭā).

Examples of stone temples from early in the fifth century, such as temple no. 17 at Sāñcī or the Kaṅkāli Dēvī temple at Tigawā, are modest structures built of ashlar courses; these consist of a square garbhagṛha preceded by a shallow mukhamāṇḍapa,



its roof resting on a row of four pillars in front. Except for ornamentation on pillars and doorframe, this type is quite plain internally and externally. It may rise from a single kumbha-like base-moulding, have a plain kaṭi surmounted by paired kapōtas, and have a flat roof made of large slabs. Pillars are usually square below, octagonal in the middle, and circular above, crowned by a ghaṭapallava capital, a type introduced early in the Gupta period. Some pillars continue the use of a "bell-" or lotus-capital. The early Gupta doorframe shows two or three śākhās carved with rosettes, patravallī, and often a "T"-shaped overdoor (the extended cross-lintel is a relic of the timber-tradition). Sensitively modelled figures of river-goddesses on makaras (derived from the sensuous śālabhañjikās of the earlier tradition) are shown at the upper corners (these are not, in the early part of the fifth century, differentiated into Gaṅgā and Yamunā, a set that begins to appear at the base of the doorframe around the second quarter of the fifth century, as at Tumain).

The next phase of the Gupta temple, assignable to the second half of the fifth century, shows provision of a roofed pradakṣiṇā around the garbhagṛha, provision of a jagatī platform, an elaboration of the superstructure, sometimes further ornamentation of the doorframe, and the addition of sculptures or sculpted friezes on the façades. This phase can be illustrated by the Pārvatī temple at Nacnā, which introduces decorative motifs of gaṇas, mithunas, vidyādhara, and dvārapālas on the doorframe and a significant relief in the middle of the lintel representing a tutelary aspect of the deity enshrined. The Nacnā temple is noteworthy also for once carrying a square flat-roofed cell as an upper chamber; its plain façade was relieved by grilled-windows and had rustication imitating natural rock-formations, with miniature grottos harbouring wild beasts. The mouldings found on this temple include a very low kumbha with khuralip, heavy, widely spaced beam-ends, kalaśa, and an almost straight-edged chādyā-like moulding.

The slightly later nirandhāra Śiva temple at Bhūmarā on plan introduces two small shrines flanking the entry steps to its mukhamāṇḍapa; the upper varaṇḍikā of its jaṅghā, as on the better preserved Vāmana temple at Maḍhiā, was adorned by running friezes of lively gaṇas alternating with other ornamental motifs. The Bhūmarā temple has yielded candraśālās fallen from its dilapidated roof, which contain sensitive representations of Sūrya, Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, Yama, Indra, Kubēra, and Gaṇēśa. The Śiva temple at Sākōr, which almost duplicates the doorframe of the Bhūmarā temple, had a closed astylar mukhamāṇḍapa. Mouldings at Bhūmarā show slightly receding khurakumbha, kalaśa, and slightly concave kapōtapālī. Sākōr shows kapōtapālī with double flexion.

The next stage of Gupta temple-development, distinguished by the presence of a śikhara over the garbhagṛha, can be represented by the brick temple at Bhītārgāñv, the Daśāvatāra temple at Dēvgaḍh, and the brick temple at Bōdhgayā. These temples (the first dating from c. mid-fifth century, the second from the close of the fifth century) had roofs of a stepped pyramidal design. The Dēvgaḍh temple, showing a horizontal course of candraśālās on its now badly damaged roof, stands on a wide platform, approached by flights of steps on four sides. It is pañcāyatana, with a small subsidiary shrine beyond each corner of the platform. The central shrine has an elaborately carved doorway on the west and bhādra projections on the other three sides. These projections show superb figural compositions within framed recesses sheltered by projecting stone awnings: Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu (S), Gaḍendramōkṣa (N), and Nara-Nārāyaṇa (W). The jagatī platform was carved with running friezes of scenes from Rāma and Kṛṣṇa legends. The mouldings of the jagatī resemble those at Bhūmarā.

The brick Bhītārgāñv temple consists of a garbhagṛha and mukhamāṇḍapa, both



roofed by vaulted domes, connected by an oblong passage with a wagon-vault roof. Its jaṅghā is embellished with niches containing large terracotta images of Brahmanical divinities. The incompletely preserved śikhara is decorated with tiers of niches showing a variety of terracotta heads, busts, and full figures.

The brick Mahābōdhi temple at Bōdhgayā, which, in spite of repeated renovations, retains the basic form of its early seventh-century construction, shares many features of plan and design with the Bhītārgāñv temple including vaulted ceilings of compartments and the tall lancet window in the upper storey of the garbhagrha. Its garbhagrha carries a lofty śikhara of straight-edged pyramidal design demarcated into seven storeys by corner bhūmi-āmalakas.

*Pawāyā, terraced Viṣṇu temple (not illustrated)*

One of the earliest terraced brick temples of the Gupta period, dedicated to Brahmanical worship, has been excavated at the ancient town of Pawāyā (Padmāvati), situated to the south of Gōpagiri (present Gwalior) in Daśārṇadēśa. The temple comprised three receding bhadrapīṭhas; the lowest (about 140 ft. square) was plain; the upper ones (93 ft. and 53 ft. square) were decorated with a series of pilasters showing ghaṭas at top and bottom, a broad voluted śīrṣaka, and a row of candraśālikās of an early semicircular form. The garbhagrha on the top bhadrapīṭha is lost. Some stone sculptures of Viṣṇu as well as a tōraṇa depicting Vāmana and Trivikrama were found at the site, indicating a Vaiṣṇava affiliation for the monument. The architectural features of the monument, design of the pillars, and modelling of images on the tōraṇa suggest a date during the first quarter of the fifth century A.D.

*Lauriā Nandangadh, terraced brick temple (not illustrated)*

Lauriā Nandangadh, in North Bihar, is a well-known Buddhist site with a preserved Aśōkan pillar, numerous stūpas, and the earliest known example of a multi-terraced brick stūpa-shrine, measuring more than 80 ft. high and about 500 ft. across. It had three polygonal and three circular terraces, all severely plain. The lowest terrace has seven planes of projection on each side. Later restorations have enveloped the upper polygonal terrace in a circular wall.

The excavation of the stūpa yielded coins and inscribed sealings of c. first century B.C. and terracotta figurines of Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa styles dating from c. second century B.C. to c. third century A.D. In the centre of the mound, at a depth of 14 ft., was a "truncated brick altar"; at a depth of 35 ft. was a 12 ft. high brick stūpa of polygonal plan complete with umbrella. Loose beside it was a tiny copper vessel containing a Buddhist birch-bark manuscript written in Brāhmī script of c. A.D. 400. The monument is assignable to about the same date.

This monument is probably the earliest and one of the largest multi-terraced brick temples surviving; it serves as an early prototype for the famous temple at Pahārpur in Bangladesh.

*Baigrām, brick temple (not illustrated)*

In the village of Baigrām (District Dinajpur, Bangladesh) a copper-plate inscription dated A.D. 448 was discovered in 1930. It records a donation of land for repairs and maintenance of a temple of Gōvindasvāmī, a Vaiṣṇava shrine situated at Vāyigrāma (Baigrām). An excavation conducted in 1934-35 yielded the remains of an old brick temple with plain featureless walls. The temple consists of a garbhagrha enclosed by a pradakṣiṇā, entered from the west by a short flight of steps. Subsequently, the plan was enlarged and the temple was extended on the west to provide for a maṇḍapa. There is



no doubt that the excavated structure represents the shrine referred to in the inscription dated A.D. 448.

*Sārnāth, Chaukhaṇḍī (not illustrated)*

Sārnāth, near Vārāṇasī, is associated with the first sermon of the Buddha and the establishment of the Buddhist saṅgha. The site is rich in the remains of Buddhist shrines, monasteries, sculptures, and architectural fragments that date from the third century B.C. to the 11th century A.D.

An important monument, seemingly erected during the fifth century, was a lofty, terraced, brick shrine overbuilt by an octagonal Mughal watch-tower in A.D. 1588. Locally known as Chaukhaṇḍī ("the four-storeyed one"), the monument rose in three square terraces above a rectangular ground terrace. The façades of the terraces were embellished with niches. An image of Buddha in the preaching attitude and two reliefs representing rampant vyālas with gladiators were found from the clearance of this site and are typical of Sārnāth art of the late fifth century.

*Mahāsthān, brick temples (not illustrated)*

The excavations at the mound of Gōbind Bhīṭā at Mahāsthān (District Bogra, Bangladesh), situated on the bank of the Karatōyā, in Puṇḍravardhana, a part of ancient Vaṅga, have revealed remains of two brick temples within a brick-built enclosure. The two temples are only 12 ft. apart.

The western temple is larger, terraced, with three bhadrapīṭhas. The garbhagṛha (27 ft. 10 in. square) was placed atop the highest bhadrapīṭha. The jaṅghā of the second bhadrapīṭha was adorned with three oblong sunk panels.

The eastern temple stands on a square jagatī (56 ft. square) articulated by projections showing simple kumbha and kalaśa mouldings. The temple has a square garbhagṛha containing a high brick pedestal for the deity. The garbhagṛha is surrounded by a 14 ft. wide pradakṣiṇā, now roofless. To the southeast, a long stretch of structure with ornate vēdībandha, composed of kumbha and broad antarapaṭṭa embellished with terracotta panels of four-armed kumāras, alternating with floral and geometric designs, was exposed. The sensitive modelling of the corpulent kumāras and elegant execution of decorative motifs is typical of the fifth century. The artistic workmanship of the numerous loose pottery tiles ornamented with varieties of floral and geometrical patterns, grāsamukhas, birds, and animals with scrolled tails and of terracotta plaques representing yakṣas, a beautiful mithuna, and a scene of the conception of Māyādevī also attest to the same style and period. The discovery of fragmentary stone images of Buddha and Padmapāṇi Avalōkitēśvara in the excavations may indicate that the temple was intended for Buddhist worship.

*Mīrpurkhās, terrace stūpa (not illustrated)*

The excavated brick-and-stucco stūpa at Mīrpurkhās in Sind (Sindhu, now part of Pakistan) is similar to Dēvnīmōrī but is smaller and later in date. Of its two mēdhīs, only the lower one (53.5 ft. square and about 18 ft. high) is preserved; it shows a vēdībandha composed of a tall plain face, an antarapaṭṭa showing sunk decorative tiles alternating with projecting four-petalled flowers, kapōtapālī, kalaśa, and crowning kapōtapālī; the jaṅghā is embellished with five framed niches and six pilasters on each side. The pilasters bear striking affinity to Dēvnīmōrī and the niches resemble the latticed windows of the Pārvatī temple at Nacnā. The two end-niches bear latticed ornamentation; the remaining three niches contain terracotta-and-stucco figures of seated Buddhas. All the niches are crowned by a pair of candraśālikās; the central



pediment is an elaborated śūrasēnaka. The upper part of the stūpa proper is lost. The Mīrpurkhās stūpa can be dated c. A.D. 500.

*Gōkul, Śiva temple (not illustrated)*

Gōkul near Mahāsthān (District Bogra, Bangladesh) had a large terraced brick temple probably dedicated to Śiva. The temple was built above a maze of foundation cells which extended over an area  $264 \times 183$  ft. Several terraces may be visualised. The garbhagrha atop the highest terrace was octagonal on plan (external diam. 69 ft.), like the Muṇḍēśvarī temple in Bihar. The sanctum has survived to a height of 1 ft. and was seemingly enclosed by a 15 ft. wide ambulatory, its outer wall 7 to 10 ft. thick. Though the temple faced west, the approach to the sanctum from the top terrace appears to have been from the northeast where two stairways were located. The sanctum seems to have been circular internally (diam. 12 ft. 8 in.) and yielded a tiny effigy of a recumbent bull in gold repoussé which led the excavator to infer that the temple was dedicated to Śiva.

The temple appears to have undergone restoration at a later period. Excavations have yielded pottery tiles carved with Gupta decorative motifs including chequer, rosettes, lotuses, triangular forms, a bird with scroll tail, a kīrttimukha, animal designs, and a few terracotta figures typical of the eastern Gupta style.

Nothing has survived of the temple except the plan of the octagonal sanctum and its rectangular enclosure, but the remains provide a specimen of a terraced brick temple to Śiva assignable to the late fifth century representing Ēḍuka type.

*Ahicchatrā, terraced brick temples (not illustrated)*

Ahicchatrā has two terraced brick temples (designated AC I and II), each with five square bhadrapīṭhas with garbhagrha on top. Both show bhadrā-projections on the lower terraces and kārṇa-projections on the lowest. AC I is the loftiest surviving temple of the terraced type (75 ft. high); it faces west and enshrines a colossal Śivaliṅga more than 7 ft. 10 in. high. The temple was approached by a grand flight of steps; some of the terraces were also interconnected by lateral staircases on the east. Answering to the description of the Ēḍuka type of Śaiva shrine discussed in the Viṣṇudharmōttara-purāṇa, this temple was adorned with terracotta images and narrative panels known for their distinctive style and aesthetic merit. The ground landing of the main stairway was flanked by large images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā and the uppermost terrace was embellished with panels depicting Śaiva myths. Mainly on the basis of sculptural style, the temple is assignable to the later half of the sixth century. The second temple, built on a cellular foundation, is of a similar style and date.

*Sāñcī, Gupta temple (no. 17) (Fig. 14; Plates 9-10)*

Temple no. 17 at Sāñcī in ancient Daśārṇa, is perhaps the earliest surviving structural Gupta temple, assignable to c. A.D. 400 or slightly later. It is a classic example of lucid proportion, perfectly articulated. Externally, it measures 20 ft.  $\times$  12 ft. 9 in. and is 13 ft. high. Its garbhagrha measures 8 ft. 2 in. square; the mukhamanḍapa is  $6 \times 10$  ft. The doorframe has three śākhās (Plate 10): the innermost is carved with patravallī with a cross "T"-beam above, the second is plain *en face* but is carved on the side with śālmali blossoms (rosettes), the third, a stambhaśākhā, is similar to the porch's pillars. The stambhaśākhās once supported bracket figures, now missing. The garbhagrha and mukhamanḍapa have flat, monolithic slabs making up their roofs; the roof over the garbhagrha is higher than that of the mukhamanḍapa. The mukhamanḍapa's pillars and the pilasters flanking the doorframe have cubical shafts becoming octagonal,



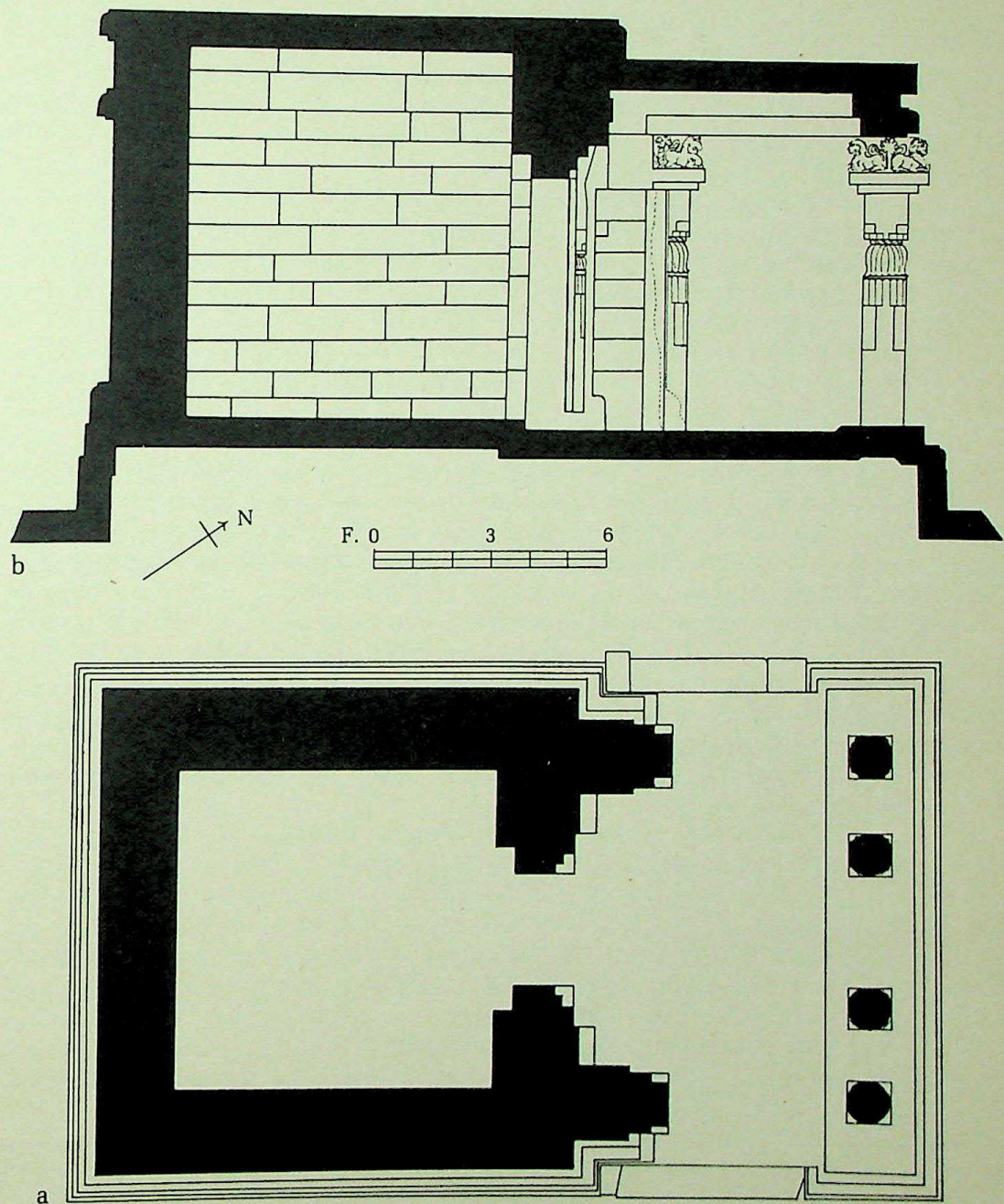


Fig. 14. Sanci Temple no. 17: a. plan; b. section.



16-sided, and circular, with reeded bell-capitals crowned by lion-brackets, with two lions addorsed on each side sharing common heads on the corners (Plate 9).

This shrine, situated on the main terrace at Sāñcī, adjoining temple no. 18, faces the main stūpa (no. 1) and may have enshrined a Buddhist image.

Udayagiri caves, nos. 1-20 (Plates 11-26)

The hill at Udayagiri, near Vidiśā, then the capital of Daśārṇadēśa, comprises a low sandstone outcrop about six miles northeast of Sāñcī. Of 20 caves excavated at Udayagiri, less than half are significant architecturally; others are plain cells or simple sculptural panels.

Cave no. 1 (Plate 11), is partly rock-cut and partly structural and repeats the plan and design of the Gupta temple at Sāñcī. It is smaller in size and its pillars have ghaṭapallava capitals with a design that becomes more developed at Tigawā. Sockets survive for missing śālabhañjikā figures at the upper corners of the door. This cave can be placed between the temples at Sāñcī and Tigawā in date.

Cave no. 4 (Plates 12-14), known locally as the Vīṇā cave, measures 14 ft. × 11 ft. 8 in.; it is noteworthy for its doorframe, with four ornate śākhās and a prominent overdoor. The broad first śākhā is carved with a rich, swirling patravallī design; the second projecting śākhā is adorned with six-petalled rosettes; the third and fourth display patterns of patravallī in low relief. The designs are repeated over the door, with also a broad kapōta with five candraśālikās, the central one carved with simha-mukha, flanking ones with makaras, and end ones with seated gandharvas playing two varieties of vīṇā (Plate 13). The cave enshrines an ēkamukhaliṅga and has on either flank large figures of pratihāras which are badly mutilated. The cave once had a structural mukhamandapa, supported on two large pillars in front and two smaller ones on each side, of which rock-cut sockets alone have survived. Pilasters carved on the flanks of the pratihāras have square, then octagonal and 16-sided sections with ghaṭapallava capitals. At right-angles to cave no. 4 on its right was an open cell enshrining the Saptamātrkās. This cave (10 ft. 4 in. × 6 ft. 10 in.) was also entered from cave no. 4's structural mandapa, which measured about 14 ft. square. Williams dates this cave to just after A.D. 413.

Cave no. 6 (Plates 15-18), which adjoins the famous Varāha rock-relief (cave no. 5), has a sanctum 14 ft. deep by 12 ft. 6 in. preceded by a shallow rock-cut foyer 5 ft. 10 in. by 23 ft. 8 in. The doorframe has three śākhās (Plate 17); the innermost is carved with patravallī with a cross "T"-plank; the second shows mālā, with an outer frill of triangles, and follows the "T"-shape around the door; the third is a stambhaśākhā with an undifferentiated lower portion, octagonal section, inverted lotus-capital, one short and one broader octagonal band, a square abacus relieved by paired heraldic lions holding a fruit in their fore-paws (Plate 18), and a śālabhañjikā standing on makara (on either side of the overdoor). The lintel shows a band of 14 mask-like heads as dentils emerging from an inverted stepped motif. Above is a kapōta with three candraśālikās, the central carved with a Kubēra-like figure and side ones with couchant lions. The doorframe is flanked by Śaiva pratihāras, the right leaning against an ax-standard, the left against a trident-cum-ax (Plate 16). On the same rock-face are relief figures of Viṣṇu and Mahiṣamardinī, a smaller image of Viṣṇu to the left, and on an adjacent rock-face an image of Gaṇēśa. Above the figures of Mahiṣamardinī and Viṣṇu is an inscription that says this pious gift was made in (G.E.) 82/A.D. 402 during the reign of Mahārājadhiraja Candragupta [II].

Like cave no. 4, this cave has an open cell on its right enshrining Saptamātrkās. An additional image of Mahiṣamardinī also is carved.



Cave no. 7, locally known as the Tawā cave, is an isolated rock with a circular umbrella-like top to the right of cave no. 6. The plain excavated chamber measures 13 ft. 10 in. × 11 ft. 9 in., has a lotus ceiling, and has a plain doorway flanked by Śaiva pratihāras almost identical with those of cave no. 6. On its back wall is an inscription of a minister of Candragupta II who says that he excavated the cave out of devotion to god Śambhu while accompanying the emperor on a mission of world conquest.

Cave no. 19 (Plates 19-26), known as the Amṛta cave, is the most northerly excavation at Udayagiri and architecturally is the most significant. The excavated sanctum (22 ft. × 19 ft. 4 in.) has four central pillars measuring 1 ft. 7 in. square at the base and 8 ft. high (Plate 21). Each shows a marked taper, stands on a kumbhaka (ghaṭa-shaped) base, has square, octagonal, and 16-sided sections and an ornate fluted ghaṭa as bharaṇa. The ghaṭa is embellished with a festoon of pearl-garlands suspended from lotus flowers and is capped by a plain, square abacus. Four rampant vyālas were addorsed to each ghaṭa, their heads touching the lower corners of the abacus, their feet resting on the ghaṭa's lotus-base. The interior is divided into nine bays by the four central pillars with the respective ceilings demarcated by ridges. All are plain except that of the central bay which shows a lotus ceiling.

The doorframe is composed of three exquisitely ornamented śākhās (Plates 22-24): the first shows a deeply carved patravallī, the second, figure-panels with loving couples alternating with birds and makaras with rich tails, the third a stambhaśākhā similar in form to the interior pillars but with a bharaṇa without vyālas. The inner śākhā shows a crossing "T"-beam. The second śākhā supports a vyāla with rider on each side. The stambhaśākhā carries śālabhañjikā figures standing on makaras and flanked by attendants (Plate 23; these śālabhañjikās strikingly resemble the Gaṅgā figure on the Tigawā temple). River-goddesses, standing in supple tribhaṅga and attended by umbrella-bearers (Plates 25-26), are carved on the base of the second śākhā, Gaṅgā (right) carrying a garland and Yamunā (left) carrying a vase. An elegant figure of a pratihāra appears on the base of each stambhaśākhā; the right carries a long staff and musala, the left a floral offering. Each stands on a panel showing a grotesque bhāraputraka and has a panel carved with jambhaka amidst kalpavallī above.

The rūpaśākhā follows the "T" of the inner band; above the śālabhañjikās is a crossing beam with luxuriant creeper (patravallī) and a central figure of seated Lakṣmī. Above is a frieze depicting amṛtamanthana, the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons. The upper architrave, much disfigured, seems to represent hovering vidyādhara.

The doorframe was flanked by life-size figures (5 ft. 9 in. tall), probably nāgarājas acting as pratihāras (that on the right accompanied by an attendant), now only partly preserved.

A structural maṇḍapa, measuring c. 26 ft. square, was erected in front of the cave. Of the maṇḍapa, only two pillars (Plate 20) and two flanking pilasters appear in their original position; remains of two other pillars and a pilaster are also available. Two of the three pilasters repeat the motifs appearing on the doorframe: patravallī, rosettes, stambhaśākhā, female figures. The most complete of the surviving pillars shows fluted ghaṭapallava at the bharaṇa, resting on a band of gay, pot-bellied bhāraputrakas. The pearl-garlands on the ghaṭapallava issue from grāsamukhas rather than lotuses.

Lakṣmī as lalāṭabimba on the doorway is consistent with the depiction of Vaiṣṇava pratihāras (perhaps Bhadra and Subhadra) on the doorframe. A Nāgarī inscription written in corrupt Sanskrit on the southeast pillar of the interior says that this Vaiṣṇava cave was excavated by the celebrated Candragupta Vikramāditya and repaired by one Kaṇha in v.s. 1093/A.D. 1036. The supple modelling of the figures on the



doorframe and their depiction in contraposto are reminiscent of famous friezes from Gaḍhwā and suggest a date late in the first quarter of the fifth century, perhaps not quite during the reign of Candragupta II as suggested by the later Nāgarī inscription. Meister and Williams both suggest a date of c. A.D. 430-450, and a similar doorframe from Tumain (Plate 34) can be associated with an inscription at the site dated G.E. 117/A.D. 436.

Cave no. 20 is located high up on the northeastern end of the hill. It is fairly large but is an irregular type of excavation, about 50 ft. long by 16 ft. broad, divided into five chambers by rough cross-walls. Two of the central chambers are carved with paired niches bearing relief figures of seated Jinas which are badly mutilated. The most significant is an image of Pārśvanātha seated on a double lotus with a pedestal carved with dharmacakra flanked by devotees and framed by pilasters of the same design as the stambhaśākhās on cave no. 19. The cave bears a foundation inscription dated G.E. 106/A.D. 426 that seems to record the installation of this image of Pārśvanātha.

#### *Udayagiri, structural Gupta temple (not illustrated)*

On top of the Udayagiri hill are remains of a large platform built of segmented cells that once supported a structural Gupta temple. The stub of a stambha survives, and Cunningham found a "wish-fulfilling-tree" capital here. Fragments of a doorjamb show patravallī of an early pattern, a pilaster with octagonal and 16-sided sections, a ribbed "pot"-capital, addorsed lions on a block above, and an inner pilaster with "reeded bell" or inverted-lotus capital. The temple must be from the first half of the fifth century A.D.

#### *Darrā, Gupta temple (Fig. 15; Plates 27-31)*

This stone temple, locally known as Bhīm-kī-caurī, was built in a wooded valley in ancient Upamāla. It faces east, stands on a jagatī (74 × 44 ft.), and is approached by two lateral flights of six steps (the lowest an ardhaçandra). The jagatī is plain, with only a kumbha moulding at its base; it was capped by an uṣṇīṣa parapet.

The sanctum (Plate 27) is a hall with four Rucaka pillars around a central pīṭha and with ten peripheral pilasters (the walls are missing). The temple probably enshrined a Śivaliṅga, the peripheral bays intended as a pradakṣiṇā. The entry shows two slightly shorter pillars flanked by fluted slabs to either side.

In front was a modest Nandi-maṇḍapa resting on four pillars with square, changing to octagonal and 16-sided, shafts.

The shafts of the sanctum's Rucaka pillars are planted in a square kumbhaka (a relic of an earlier timber tradition); each shows a short octagonal constriction fringed by bud-like projections, with paired plain darpaṇa motifs above and below. Each pillar carries a massive cruciform śīrṣaka-bracket covered with patravallī. The brackets bear architraves (Plate 30) outlined by mālās (enclosing kalpavallī). The architraves support a monolithic samatāla ceiling over the central bay that is carved with four small lotuses in the corners grouped around a large central lotus, bordered by a band of patravallī (Plate 28). The side bays also had simple lotus-ceilings.

The superstructure was probably a series of kapōta-tiers embellished with candraśālās, crowned by an āmalaka, and with āmalakas also on the corners of the lowermost tier. Three candraśālās were found at the site. The largest and best preserved measures c. 3 ft. 9 in. wide and 2 ft. 3 in. high and shows a seated gaṇa beating ḍimḍima (Plate 29); this is enclosed by patravallī issuing from karimakaras, and may have been fitted as a shallow śukanāsa to the superstructure. The other candraśālās are much smaller. Two of the several āmalakas found at the site measure 39 and 32.5 in. across.



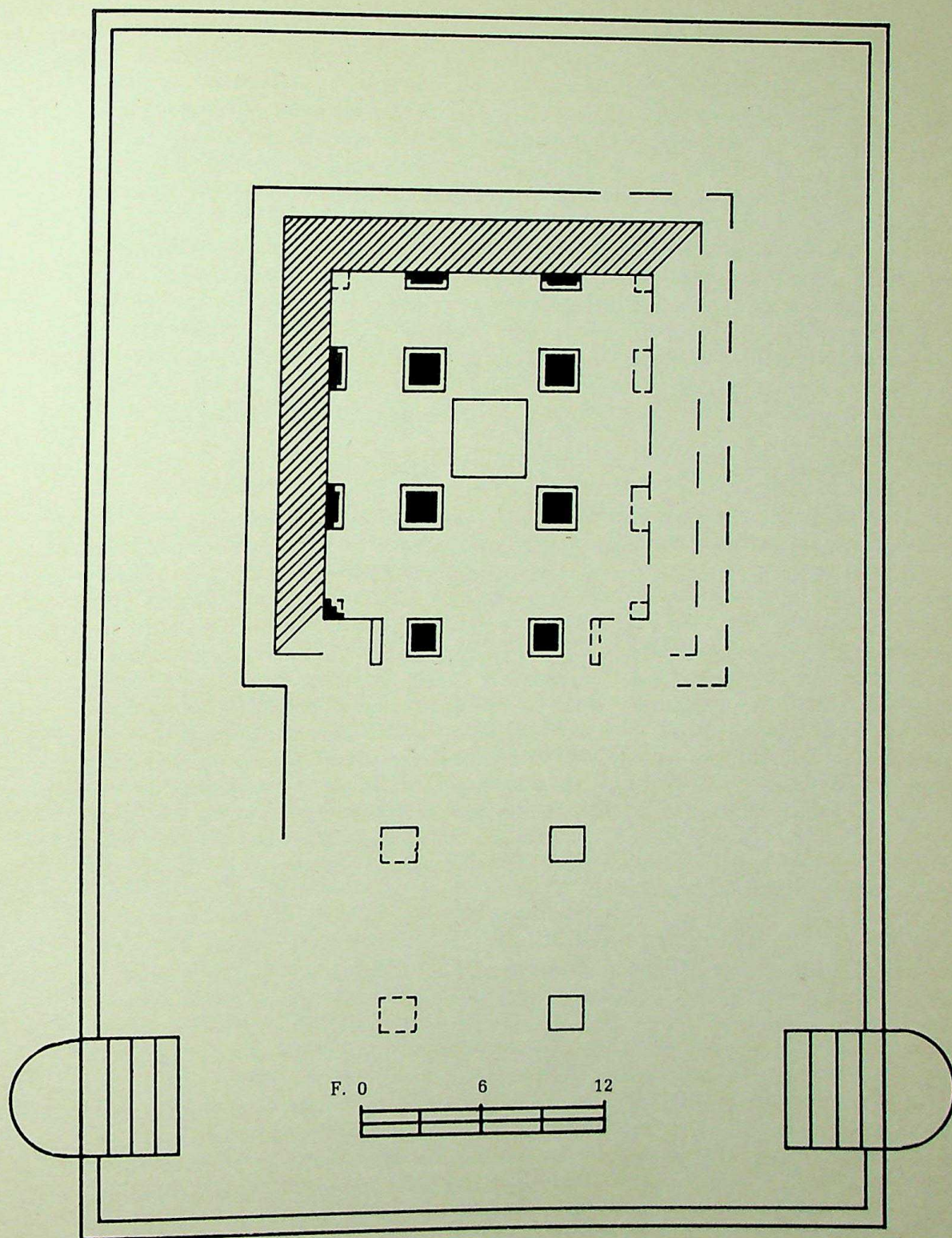


Fig. 15. Darrā. Gupta temple, plan. (Courtesy: Meister.)





Couchant vr̥ṣa figures also found at the site might have adorned the superstructure or the Nandi-maṇḍapa.

Of other architectural fragments known from the site, several pertain to door-frames, showing a pair of śākhās decorated with pratihāras and patravallī as well as a pilaster carved with patravallī and chequer (Plate 31). One fragment shows a band of vine-leaf of a sort popular during the Kuṣāṇa period; a fragment in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, preserves the lower part of a Gaṅgā figure standing gracefully on a makara.

The planning of this temple and its constructional features are exceptional, and it is difficult to place it exactly in the sequence of known Gupta temples. Its cave-like appearance, plan, and heavy, stunted pillars resting on square kumbhakas remind one of Udayagiri cave no. 19. With the Udayagiri caves nos. 4, 6, and 7 it also shares ornamental motifs such as spiral mālā, distinctive patravallī, and early lotus-ceilings. On balance, the temple can be assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.D. The evidence it provides for the existence and form of an early stone superstructure must be emphasized.

*Bilsaḍ, Gupta temple, remains (not illustrated)*

Bilsaḍ in the heartland of Madhyadēśa about 65 miles northwest of Kanauj, 25 miles north of Sankisā, is known for two columns, each bearing a copy of the same inscription recording the erection of a pratōlī, sattrā, and column in the temple of Mahāsēna (Kārttikēya) in A.D. 416 in the reign of Kumāragupta. Bilsaḍ has many mounds, the antiquity of which was tested by Cunningham by excavation. Most important is the mound representing the ruins of the old Mahāsēna temple where a modern domed temple has been put up. The temple is approached by a flight of steps flanked by a pair of carved Gupta pillars that were probably part of the ancient pratōlī. (The inscribed columns stand behind the modern temple.) Each side is divided into three registers embellished with typical Gupta motifs (including patravallī, chequer, and mithunas). The central register of one pillar is carved with a seated image of Simhavāhinī Dēvī, a pratihāra below. The carvings are of high quality and are stylistically assignable to the period of the dated columns. Important for the early history of stone architecture are reliefs of simple platforms with a large central āmalaka and corner āmalakas with finials (see Williams, Plates 81 & 84).

*Gaḍhwā, Gupta temple, remains (Plates 32-33)*

Gaḍhwā, situated about 25 miles southeast of Kauśāmbī, is an ancient site rich in sculptures, terracottas, and remains of temples. Three of four Gupta inscriptions are dated A.D. 408, 418, and 460, pertaining to the reigns of Candragupta II, Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta. The earlier inscriptions refer to endowments made for a Brahmanical sattrā (almshouse). Other Gupta remains include two massive tōraṇa pillars, two carved columns with broken capitals (Plate 33), and a large architrave measuring 13 ft. 3.5 in. long. The pillars are embellished with typical Gupta designs including patravallī, mithunas, groups of figures, pratihāras, and river-goddesses. Notable are the supple and sensitively rendered groups standing in graceful contraposto on the architrave (Plate 32), which also bears representations of Sūrya, Candra, Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu, and an almshouse where food is being distributed. These carvings are stylistically assignable to the first quarter of the fifth century.

*Tumain, doorframe (Plate 34)*

Tumain (ancient Tumbavana) in Daśārṇa had a Gupta temple of which only the door-



frame, with a "T"-format, has survived. It is composed of five śākhās. The first, third, and fourth are carved with designs of patravallī, the second with vertical registers showing mithunas, chequers, and patravallī motif, and a stambhaśākhā with square, octagonal, and 16-sided sections, surmounted by a "reeded-bell" or lotus-capital capped by a plain square abacus. Heads of river-goddesses at the base are visible, but the full figures are not exposed.

The "bell" capital is seen on doorframes at Sāñcī and Udayagiri (cave nos. 6 and 17 and the ruined structural temple on the hill), the latter assignable to the reign of Candragupta II. A śākhā with a patravallī design showing vertical stems is also present on a doorframe set into the main temple at Sārñāth. The mithuna figures seem dumpy and clumsy, and the doorframe may have been executed by a rural guild.

Tumain has yielded a fragmentary Gupta inscription dated A.D. 436, referring to the reign of emperor Kumāragupta, and the style of the doorframe seems consistent with that date.

### Ēraṇ, Narasiṃha temple (Plates 35-37)

Situated on the left bank of the Bīnā, a tributary of the Bētwā river, Ēraṇ (ancient Airikiṇa) in Daśārṇadēśa was a flourishing Gupta settlement from the time of Samudragupta up to that of Bhānugupta (c. A.D. 511). Four, dilapidated, east-facing temples, assignable to the fifth-sixth centuries, survive as well as a monolithic Garuḍa standard dated A.D. 485 in the reign of Budhagupta.

The northernmost Narasiṃha temple was the earliest shrine at the site, now almost demolished. It had a rectangular (12 ft. 6 in. × 8 ft. 9 in.) garbhagrha and an ornate doorframe of five śākhās, now surviving only in fallen and disjointed fragments (Plates 35-37). The first and third śākhās were carved with śālmali blossoms, the second was mithunaśākhā, with Gajalakṣmī at the centre of the saubhāgyapaṭṭa. There were five human couples on each jamb, four yakṣa couples on the lintel; the remaining registers were occupied largely by grāsamukhas, jambhakas with scrolls stemming from their navels, kinnaras, and ihāmrgas. At top and bottom of each jamb were single figures; the lowest on the right shows Gaṅgā carrying a vase and standing on a makara (the corresponding figure of Yamunā is almost completely defaced). The fourth śākhā was carved with padmavallī emanating from a seated jambhaka on the left and a standing yakṣiṇī on the right; the fifth stambhaśākhā resembles the surviving fragments of pillars from the mukhamaṇḍapa. The lower part of each stambhaśākhā shows a pavilion canopied by candraśālikā, the left one harbouring a male deity (a Vaiṣṇava pratihāra or āyudhapuruṣa), the right a figure resembling Narasiṃha. Bracket figures from the lateral extensions of the doorframe are lost; probably these were pratirūpakas depicting Vaiṣṇava themes.

Seven courses top the lintel of the second śākhā; a minute row of tulāsaṅgraha in the shape of female heads; a kapōtapālikā adorned with seven candraśālikās harbouring siṃhamukhas and kinnarīvaktras; a recessed course simulating jālamālā; a long frieze of 13 registers of which the central one is carved with seated Gaṇēśa, the end ones with makaras, the remaining with vidyādhara-mithunas and ihāmrgas, a row of reversed triangle design; a long frieze of tulāsaṅgraha (carved with siṃhamukhas) alternating with kinnarīvaktras; and a long kapōtapālikā with 17 candraśālikās inset with lotus flowers or female heads. An old Archaeological Survey of India drawing of this doorframe indicates that the sill bore designs of grāsamukha and elephant.

The temple enshrined a 7 ft. high image of Narasiṃha that bears a striking affinity to the Narasiṃha image of cave no. 12 at Udayagiri; this image is now erected on a platform nearby. The temple was preceded by a mukhamaṇḍapa of four pillars, as at



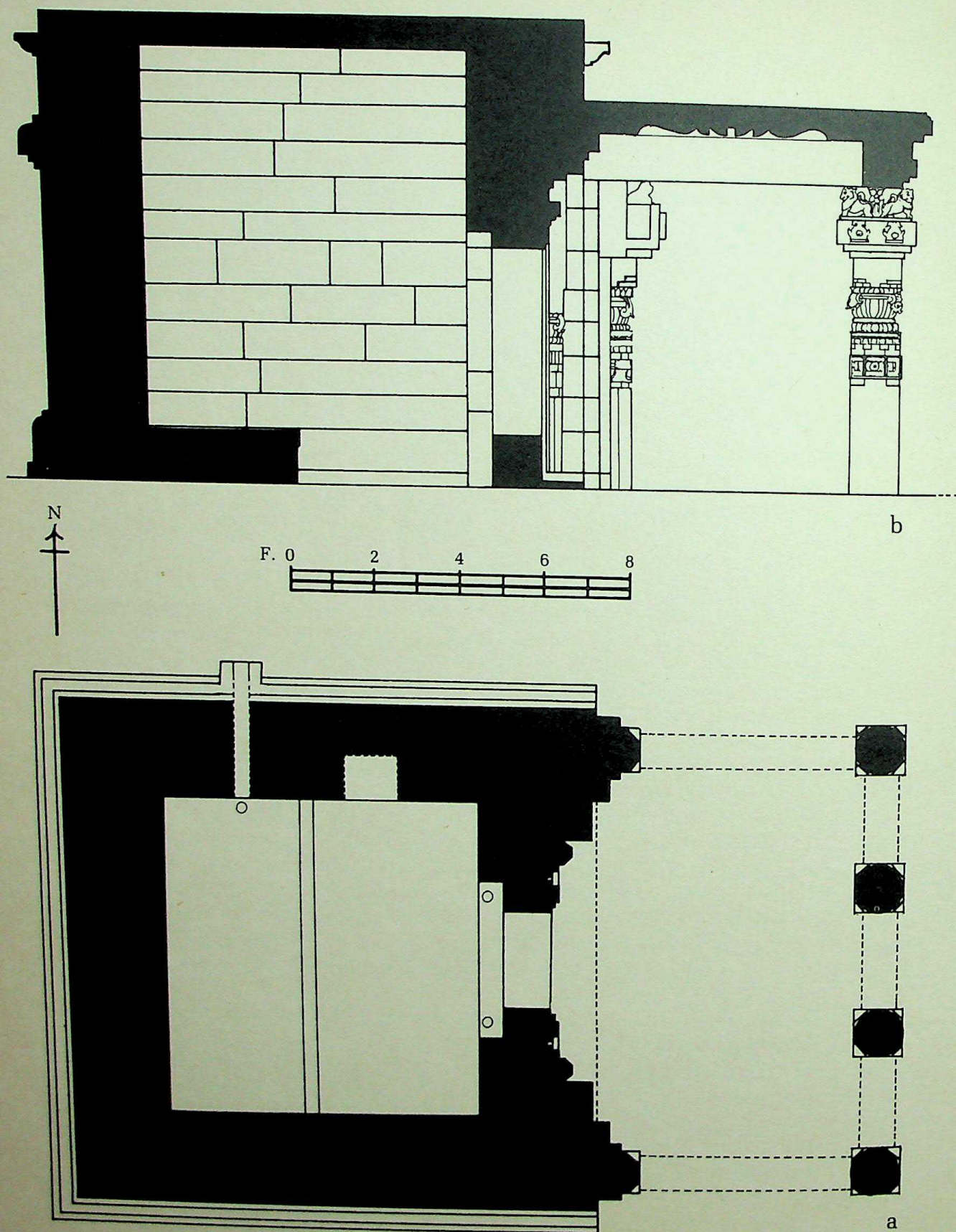


Fig. 16. Tigawā. Kaṅkāli-Dēvi temple: a. plan; b. section.



Sāñcī and Tigawā. From the surviving fragments, the pillars had a form and design similar to those at Tigawā. The carving is crisper than that at Tigawā, but still conforms to timber tradition; the female heads and busts within the candraśālikās recall terracotta figurines from Rājghāt. The capitals have a fluted-pot shape, as at Tigawā, but no leaf-turnovers at the corners. These fragments may represent a temple later than cave no. 1 at Udayagiri, providing forms taken up later still at Tigawā.

*Tigawā, Kañkāli-Dēvī temple (Fig. 16; Plates 38-44)*

The somewhat later Kañkāli-Dēvī temple at Tigawā, also in Daśārṇadēśa, practically duplicates the dimensions and plan of Sāñcī temple no. 17 but has more ornamentation on the doorframe and pillars and introduces a large padmātapatra ceiling in the mukhamaṇḍapa (Plate 39). This is among the earliest Gupta temples to be erected over a jagatī, of which the lower mouldings were kumbha followed by kaṇṭha. Lion-brackets crown the pillars and pilasters of the mukhamaṇḍapa, as at Sāñcī, but are heavy by comparison. The pillar-shafts are adorned with a variety of ornaments (Plates 38, 40), including diverse lotus designs and grāsamukha spewing pearl-chains. The bell- or inverted-lotus capital at Sāñcī is replaced by a dhārānvita ghaṭapallava (fluted vase) with foliage turnovers. Ghaṭapallava becomes a characteristic trait of later Gupta and post-Gupta orders. The phalaka supporting the lion-brackets is decorated with paired candraśālikās on each side containing śiṃhamukhas or charming kinnarī-vaktras.

The temple's doorframe has five śākhās (Plates 42-44). The first and third are carved with śālmali blossoms, the second and fourth (except for a small portion of the latter carved with patravallī) are left plain. The first and second follow the rectangle of the door, with heavy beam-ends above. The third and fourth take a "T"-shape. The outermost stambhaśākhās use the same design as do the pillars of the mukhamaṇḍapa. They support figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, iconographically defined by vāhanas but taking the posture of śālabhañjikās underneath trees.

This temple marks some advance in the ornamentation of pillars and the introduction of ghaṭapallava; it seems later than Sāñcī by a couple of decades, though still possibly datable to the first half of the fifth century A.D. (Meister and Williams both date this temple after A.D. 450.)

*Kuṇḍā, Śaṅkara Maḍhā (not illustrated)*

Kuṇḍā, situated three miles east of Tigawā, preserves one of the tiniest surviving Gupta shrines, of which only the garbhagṛha, measuring 5 ft. 10 in. × 5 ft. 7 in. internally, 10 ft. 11 in. × 10 ft. 8 in. externally, remains. A plain version of the Tigawā temple, this stone temple faces east and enshrines a Śivaliṅga. As does the Tigawā temple, it has kumbha at the base and paired kapōtas with a broad intervening antarapatta above the plain kaṭī. The roof is made of two stone slabs with chased drains. The doorframe, composed of three plain śākhās, supports an architrave relieved by plain tulā-ends.

A mukhamaṇḍapa, possibly added later, is now lost. Two pillars have survived in fragments, however, which practically repeat the design of the Tigawā temple's pillars. The Kuṇḍā shrine probably is coeval with the Tigawā temple.

*Bhitārī, brick temples (not illustrated)*

Bhitārī, situated 30 miles northeast of Vārāṇasī, is well-known for its monolithic circular Garuḍadhvaja, with lotus-capital, bearing an inscription of emperor Skandagupta. A brick temple also was built here by emperor Kumāragupta, confirmed by



some of its bricks engraved with his name. The structure was enlarged by Skandagupta, whose inscription on the pillar-standard says that he consecrated an image of "Śārṅgī" (Viṣṇu) and endowed a village towards the maintenance of the temple for the merit of his father. Skandagupta is silent about the authorship of the Garuḡadhvaḡa, which probably had been erected by Kumāragupta as a part of his Viṣṇu-temple complex.

The original temple faced east and measured 54 ft. square; the later temple had an added front projection for a mukhamanḡapa and measured 78.5 × 54 ft. This temple had large bhadra projections. The surviving wall shows excellent brickwork with fine joinery. The vēḡibandha is composed of tall kumbha, antarapaṡṡa decorated with a semicircular band, and kapōta. Above the kapōta, the jaṅghā is divided into two registers by another semicircular band and kapōta. The rest is lost.

A stone relief showing Vasudēva handing child Kṛṣṇa to Yaśōdā found at the entrance to the temple is assignable to the mid-fifth century A.D. The temple appears to have been built by Kumāragupta around A.D. 450 with additions made by Skandagupta around c. A.D. 465.

A second brick temple of comparable date was excavated on the bank of the Gaṅgī, a minor tributary of the Gaṅgā, at the same site. This was a larger temple, with its entrance on the west. Its garbhagrha, measuring 52.5 ft. square, was enclosed by an 8 ft. wide pradakṣiṇā; the whole stood on a high terrace measuring 111 ft. square with conspicuous projections on the lateral sides. Two carved stone pillars in Gupta style, one bearing a figure of Garuḡa in relief, may have come from the ruined mukhamanḡapa.

#### *Bhītārgāṇv, Gupta temple (Plates 45-51)*

This east-facing temple, built of brick and decorated with terracotta, is situated in the heart of the Gangetic plain in Madhyadēśa. A garbhagrha (15 ft. square) and a covered passage (7 ft. 2 in. × 4 ft. 4 in.), are all that have survived. Published reports and drawings of this temple by Cunningham and Vogel show that the passage led to a gūḡhamanḡapa (7 ft. 4 in. square) approached through a flight of six steps; the gūḡhamanḡapa and steps were accommodated within kapilī walls. Like the garbhagrha, the gūḡhamanḡapa was roofed internally by a corbelled brick dome; the passage and steps were roofed by Valabhī wagon-vaults. These roofs were built using the indigenous technique of kadalikākarana.

The plan published by Vogel indicates that the temple had a jagatī (more than 71 × 60 ft.) that is now buried. The vēḡibandha of the temple rests on a tall plain bhiṡṡa, and is composed of kumbha, antarapaṡṡa, and kapōtapālī. The garbhagrha has thick walls and shows karṇa and bhadra projections. The jaṅghā is decorated with sunken rectangular niches, containing terracotta figures, separated by ornate pilasters. Three niches are on the face of each bhadra, one on each side, and one on each karṇa (Plate 47). One niche survives on each face of the kapilī.

Each pilaster (4 ft. 3 in. high) shows an exquisitely ornate ghaṡa-base, a shaft with square, octagonal, and circular sections surmounted by a stylised inverted lotus and spirally twisted garland, a ghaṡa, and a pair of phalakas carved with palmettes (Plate 51). There are four pilasters on each bhadra and two on each karṇa face. The pilasters interrupt a frieze of stepped triangles and support a heavy kapōtapālī with two karṇa mouldings beneath; the upper carved with reversed kapiśīrṣaka, the lower with lotus petals. The kapōtapālī is surmounted by a rūpakaṅṡha embellished with rectangular terrecota friezes framed by bands showing chequer pattern. The friezes show patrolatā and ihāmrgas. The rūpakaṅṡha is capped by a second kapōtapālī, completing the



jaṅghā; the lower moulding shows mālā in place of padma. This rūpakaṇṭha divides the jaṅghā from the śikhara.

The śikhara is much damaged, but enough survives to show that it had a stepped form, embellished with diminishing rows of niches containing terracotta panels and figures (Plates 45-47). The alignment of the niches varies on bhadra and karna. Larger niches are rectilinear with semirectangular frames; they contain full figures, mithunas, and narrative panels. Smaller niches are semicircular, with heads or busts (Plate 50).

The first bhadra level of the śikhara shows a row of five large niches with smaller ones above (Plate 46); above these again were small niches, followed by a second row of larger niches. Other levels are largely destroyed. On the karnarathas, disposition of the niches is different. The bottom level shows a very large niche on the corner, a second normal niche beside it, and two rows of small niches above.

The north and west faces of the śikhara are better preserved and provide a good view of its stepped pyramidal elevation (Plate 45), rising in graduated stages to an extant height of 70 ft. Crowning members are lost.

The south bhadra's niches harbour images of Gajāsurasamhāramūrti, standing Gaṇeśa, and seated Umā-Mahēśvara (Plate 49); the north bhadra shows Viṣṇu killing Madhu and Kaiṭabha, Durgā killing Śumbha and Niśumbha, and a four-armed god seated with a nāgarāja (perhaps representing Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma); the west bhadra, Bhū-Varāha and standing Aṣṭabhuja Viṣṇu (the third niche is empty).

The south face of the southeast karna shows standing four-armed Viṣṇu, the east face a much damaged figure of Yamunā. The north face of the northeast karna harbours the lustration of Lakṣmī, its east face Gaṅgā. (The river-goddesses thus are represented flanking the entrance to the garbhagṛha.) The preponderance of Vaiṣṇava images on the jaṅghā may indicate that the temple was dedicated to Viṣṇu.

Niches on the śikhara represent a wide variety of themes. Narrative themes include Kṛṣṇalīlā (Kūvalayāpīḍavadha, Ariṣṭāsuravadha) and the Rāmāyaṇa scene of Rāvaṇa begging alms of Sītā. Religious themes include Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu, and Gaṇeśa carrying sweets pursued by a gaṇa.

This tallest and largest of Gupta temples shows many exceptional features of plan, design, and elevation. Its garbhagṛha (15 ft. square) is wider than that of any Gupta temple in stone. Spanning a brick chamber of this size and raising upper chambers using corbelling presented no technological problem in brick. Developed features of this temple are its prominent triratha plan, its well-articulated zones of elevation (vēdibandha, jaṅghā, rūpakaṇṭha between kapōta-cornices anticipating varaṇḍikā, and śikhara), lancet window for ventilating the hollow chamber above the garbhagṛha, its vaulted roofs, advanced architectonic embellishment, penchant for complicated iconographic forms, and its narrative panels with dramatic content. Early features are its simple, bold vēdibandha, the employment of Kuṣāṇa motifs on the pilasters (ghaṭa, and palmette of early form), and its plastic diction, which comes close to that at Udayagiri. The treatment of the broad shoulders and muscular chest of its figures (Plates 48-49) is reminiscent of Dēvnīmōrī Buddhas or the Mankuwār Buddha, and the muscular anatomy and movement of some of its figures (as the gaṇa pursuing Gaṇeśa) echoes Gandhāran atlantes. Its scrolls are softer, deeper, and more swirling than those of Nacnā and Bhūmarā; its ihāmṛgas with scrolled tails match those on the doorframe of Udayagiri cave no. 19. This temple thus seems later than the Udayagiri caves but earlier than Bhūmarā and Dēvgadh and may be assignable to the middle of the fifth century A.D. Brick and terracotta temples, however, as with this one, followed a sculptural and architectural tradition somewhat different from that of stone temples.



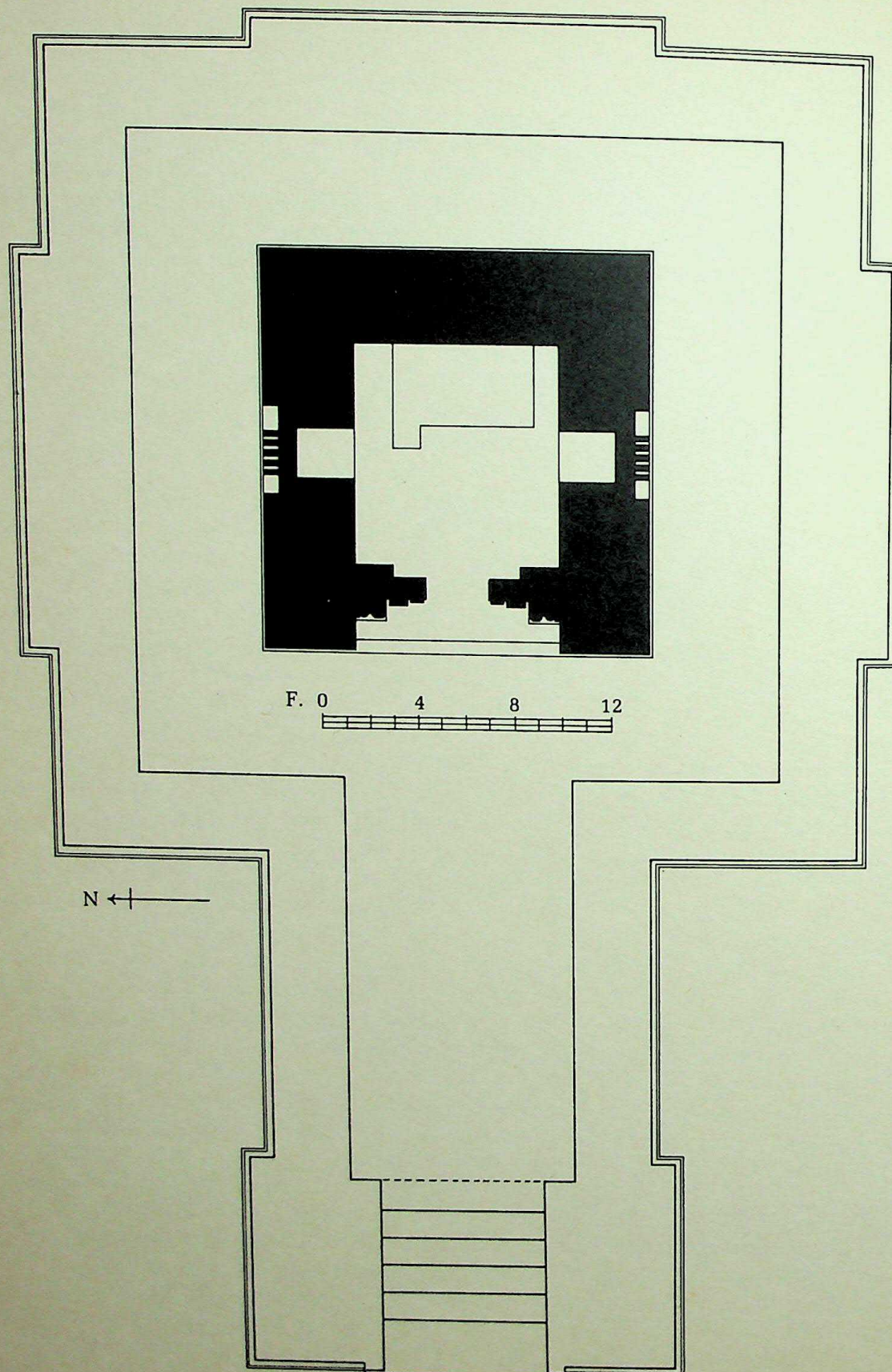


Fig. 17. Nacnā. Pārvatī temple, plan.



*Nacnā, Pārvatī temple (Fig. 17; Plates 52-59)*

The Pārvatī temple at Nacnā faces west; its garbhagṛha (8 ft. 10 in. square internally) had a covered pradakṣiṇā (5 ft. wide) and was preceded by a mukhamāṇḍapa approached by a short flight of steps. An upper cell and the ambulatory walls still present early in the century have disappeared.

The vēḍibandha (Plates 53-54) rises from a kharaśilā and is composed of kumbha, tulāpīṭha, kalaśa, and an early form of kapōtapālikā; above the kapōtapālikā, the wall simulates natural rock-formations, with grottos harbouring figures of wild birds and beasts. The vēḍibandha, common for the entire temple, was capped by a plain broad paṭṭikā. From older published drawings and photographs, it is apparent that the jaṅghā of the pradakṣiṇā repeated this formation; its upper part was punctuated with slit-niches containing figures of frolicsome gaṇas. The intention seems to have been to represent Kailāsa, the mountain-abode of Śiva, through such ornament. The garbhagṛha has plain walls with a jālavātāyana on each lateral wall; the pradakṣiṇā had corresponding jālavātāyanas, and another in the back wall. A flat-roofed kūṭāgāra, with a pair of candraśālikās projecting above the roof stood on top of the garbhahitti as an upper storey (Plate 52). This kūṭāgāra had a plain doorway and simple rectangular ventilators (vātapānas) on the lateral sides.

The jālavātāyanas of the sanctum are framed by two śākhās, the first decorated with patravallī emanating from a grāsamukha, the second with a garland of date-palm design issuing from a vase. The second śākhā shows lateral extensions at the top and base; the latter accommodate a frieze of dancing gaṇas. One frieze shows a Śaiva pratihāra at the extremity; the other has two-armed Gaṇeśa at the centre among the gaṇas. The jālavātāyanas of the ambulatory were intact in R. D. Banerji's time. Two of them showed pillarets flanked by rampant vyālas with riders (these are now fixed in a modern structure attached to the neighbouring Caturmukha Mahādēva temple); a third showed four pillarets ornamented with human figures. A further jālavātāyana found loose at the site shows a pair of female caurī-bearers flanked by pratihāras on the pillarets; these are surmounted by patravallī and by a kapōtapālikā with three candraśālikās containing lion-heads. The vātāyana is framed by two śākhās carved with patravallī (issuing from śāṅkhas) and śrīvṛkṣa (issuing from ghaṭapallavas).

The garbhagṛha shows the finest extant Gupta doorframe (Plate 57), executed presumably by a royal guild. It has four śākhās: the first is carved with luxurious patravallī stemming from the navels of corpulent jambhakas; the second shows charming mithunas on the jambs and graceful vidyādhara couples on the uttarāṅga (these flank a two-armed image of Śiva Viṇādhara seated at the centre in mahārājājalīlāsana, Pārvatī on his left and a female caurī-bearer on his right; a delicate vidyādhara couple occurs at the base); stambhaśākhās support a kapōtapālikā adorned with three candraśālikās, the central one carved with siṁhamukha, the end ones with lotuses; the outer mālāśākhā shows twisted garlands of śālmali and kunda flowers that issue from a vase and which enclose two goddesses that stand on large lotuses under trees to either side at the top of the door, attended by paricārikās. The pilasters of the stambhaśākhās have square bases adorned with luxurious ghaṭapallava; these are followed by octagonal, 16-sided, and circular sections, and by a fluted-vase capital sitting on a garland-shaped "pot-rest" with a ring-base of palmettes; octagonal jewelled bands clasp junctions between sections. The mālāśākhā shows numerous ornamented clasps, of which those representing grāsamukhas are particularly elegant. River-goddesses and Śaiva pratihāras are represented at the base of the second and first śākhās. Gaṅgā (left) and Yamunā (right) stand on karimakara and on kacchapa and are each flanked by an



umbrella-bearer. Pratihāras are flanked by triśūlapuruṣas, who stand submissively with hands folded, and are poised in elegant tribhaṅga, have a noble appearance, and wear gorgeous coiffures. The pratihāras themselves exude confidence and quiet strength. The river-goddesses, carrying garlands, seem to express a tender devotion.

The front wall of the pradakṣiṇā had a pair of jālavātāyanas, embellished with adoring nāga families, fitted now to the modern hall attached to the neighbouring Caturmukha Mahādēva temple. More lively are the figures of frolicsome gaṇas, originally adorning other sides of the pradakṣiṇā wall.

This temple may be placed early in the third quarter of the fifth century A.D.

#### Ēraṇ, Viṣṇu and adjoining temple (not illustrated)

Immediately to the south of the Narasiṃha temple at Ēraṇ was a shrine with two cells, each measuring 18 × 7 ft., now completely ruined, but significant in that it faced the Garuḍa standard with which it was probably coeval. To the south of this shrine is the Viṣṇu temple, which consists of a rectangular garbhagṛha (18 × 6 ft. internally), preceded by a pillared mukhamanḍapa. Its sanctum had bhadra projections; its sunken floor (4 ft. 8 in. deep) is accessible by a flight of five steps. Of the garbhagṛha, only the pīṭha, composed of a tall kumbha course resting on the kharaśilā, survives. The mukhamanḍapa and doorframe are in Pratihāra style of c. eighth century A.D. The image enshrined in the garbhagṛha is original and represents a colossal (13 ft. 7 in.) standing Viṣṇu; the sunken floor of the garbhagṛha was perhaps designed to accommodate so tall an image. The workmanship of the image reveals a flat and hardened modelling, matching that on the Garuḍa standard inscribed A.D. 485.

#### Ēraṇ, Garuḍa standard (Plates 63-64)

This monumental standard bears an inscription dated A.D. 485 in the reign of the Gupta emperor Budhagupta. It was erected to face a temple of Janārdana (Viṣṇu), now completely ruined. As the only surviving dated Gupta standard, it is of considerable importance.

Its total height is 43 ft.; the upper 5 ft. are taken up by two addorsed crowning figures. Erected on a low, plain pedestal, with a plain shaft consisting of a long square and smaller octagonal section, this pillar carries a "reeded-bell" or lotus-capital surmounted by a plain abacus, lion bracket, and a bifaced image, probably of Garuḍa (Begley argues that these figures are of Cakrapuruṣa). Though the physiognomy and headdress of the Garuḍas are of Gupta vintage, the flattened modelling would seem to mark a decline.

#### Ēraṇ, Varāha image and shrine (Plate 62)

The colossal zoomorphic image of Varāha (13 ft. 10 in. × 5 ft. 2 in. × 11 ft. 2 in. high) stands to the south of the Viṣṇu temple. Cunningham reported remains of a rectangular temple (31 × 15.5 ft. inside; 42.5 × 20.5 ft. outside) enshrining the Varāha image. Preceded by a mukhamanḍapa, as were the neighbouring shrines, this must have been the largest temple at the site, but nothing of it remains.

#### Bhūmarā, Śiva temple (Figs. 18-19, 24a; Plates 65-72, 74-75)

The Śiva temple at Bhūmarā in Daśārṇadēśa faces east and is set on a jagatī 6 ft. 9 in. high. The temple comprises a garbhagṛha (8 ft. square internally, 15 ft. 2 in. square externally), probably a manḍapa, of which fragmentary pillars remain, and a flight of steps (sōpānamāla) flanked by two dēvakulikās, of which only the pīṭhas have survived.



The jagatī, 55.5 × 35 ft., rises from a plain kharaśilā and is composed of kumbha, kalaśa, and an early form of kapōtapālikā without intervening antarapaṭṭa. Above the kapōtapālikā (as restored by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1979) is a plain face capped by a heavy fluted uṣṇīṣa which serves as parapet (Plate 68).

The garbhagrha stands on a foundation of two plain courses of stone; its vēdibandha is composed of kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōtapālikā. The jaṅghā rising above the vēdibandha, as is usual with temples of this period, is plain, capped by a kapōta-like moulding. The courses above the kapōta have collapsed.

Among the fallen fragments found around this temple (Plates 71-72), a substantial number pertain to two types of friezes: 1) those measuring from 11.4 to 12.6 in. high, carved with niches framed by pilasters and carrying figures largely of gaṇas, apsaras, yakṣīs, or mithunas alternating with floral patterns or grāsamukhas; 2) those measuring about 9 in. high with rectangular niches containing gaṇas alternating with blank sunk niches with arched tops. On the analogy of the Gupta temple at Dēvrī (Maḍhiā), which shows a pair of similar recessed friezes girdling the sanctum above the kaṭi, it has been suggested by Pramod Chandra that the Bhūmarā friezes originally occupied a similar position.

Bhūmarā has yielded a dozen candraśālās, of three differing dimensions, that harbour figures of gods or demigods. The larger, measuring c. 2 to 2.5 ft. by c. 2 ft. 3 in. high, number half a dozen; the smaller ones c. 19 × 18 in. high, number five. The larger contain figures of Kārttikēya, Mahiṣamardinī, Nandi, Sūrya, Yama (sometimes misidentified as Indra), and a head of Śiva. The smaller contain Gaṇēśa, Kumāra (?), Vaiśravaṇa, Brahmā, and Indra (the so-called Yama; Plate 74). These candraśālās may have adorned the roofs of garbhagrha and maṇḍapa, marking central points. A diminutive candraśālā, containing a figure of a dancing gaṇa, measures c. 12.6 × 9.8 in. high and may have adorned the roof of one of the subshrines.

The garbhagrha enshrines an ēkamukhaliṅga (Plate 69). Śiva wears an impressive jaṭāmukuṭa adorned with the crescent and a jewelled tiara, with twisted strands of hair falling on his shoulders. He wears karṇakuṇḍalas, an ēkāvalī, and a gorgeous graivēyaka. This liṅga is known for its sublime expression.

The doorframe of the garbhagrha is composed of three śākhās (Fig. 19), the innermost showing a geometrical meander made mainly of semi-squares and circles filled with padma patterns, the second with alternating male and female figures (probably yakṣas and yakṣīs), the third with śrīvṛkṣa or garland of floriate palmettes. The bāhyaśākhā forms a "T" as an overdoor design accommodating vidyādhara and mithunas. The rūpaśākhā, on the uttaraṅga, shows two groups of flying vidyādhara carrying offerings converging on a large central bust of Śiva (Plate 70). The bust has many features in common with the enshrined ēkamukhaliṅga, but is broader and more robust. The stambhaśākhās support kapōtapālī, embellished with candraśālīkās containing lotuses at each end and a bare unfinished candraśālīkā in the centre over the bust of Śiva. Above the doorframe is a band of plain, square tulāsaṅgrahas.

River-goddesses are carved in the lower part of the first and second śākhās: Gaṅgā (right) stands on a makara, Yamunā (left) on kacchapa. Pratihāras are absent; the figures of the river-goddesses are large and each is accompanied by three dwarf attendants carrying offerings or an umbrella. This doorframe provides the earliest known occurrence of the motif of vidyādhara floating in a cloudscape near the head of the river-goddesses.

Many architectural fragments from Bhūmarā are preserved in the Municipal Museum, Allahabad, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta. From these fragments, a second triśākhā doorframe has been assembled. Its inner śākhā is carved with patra-



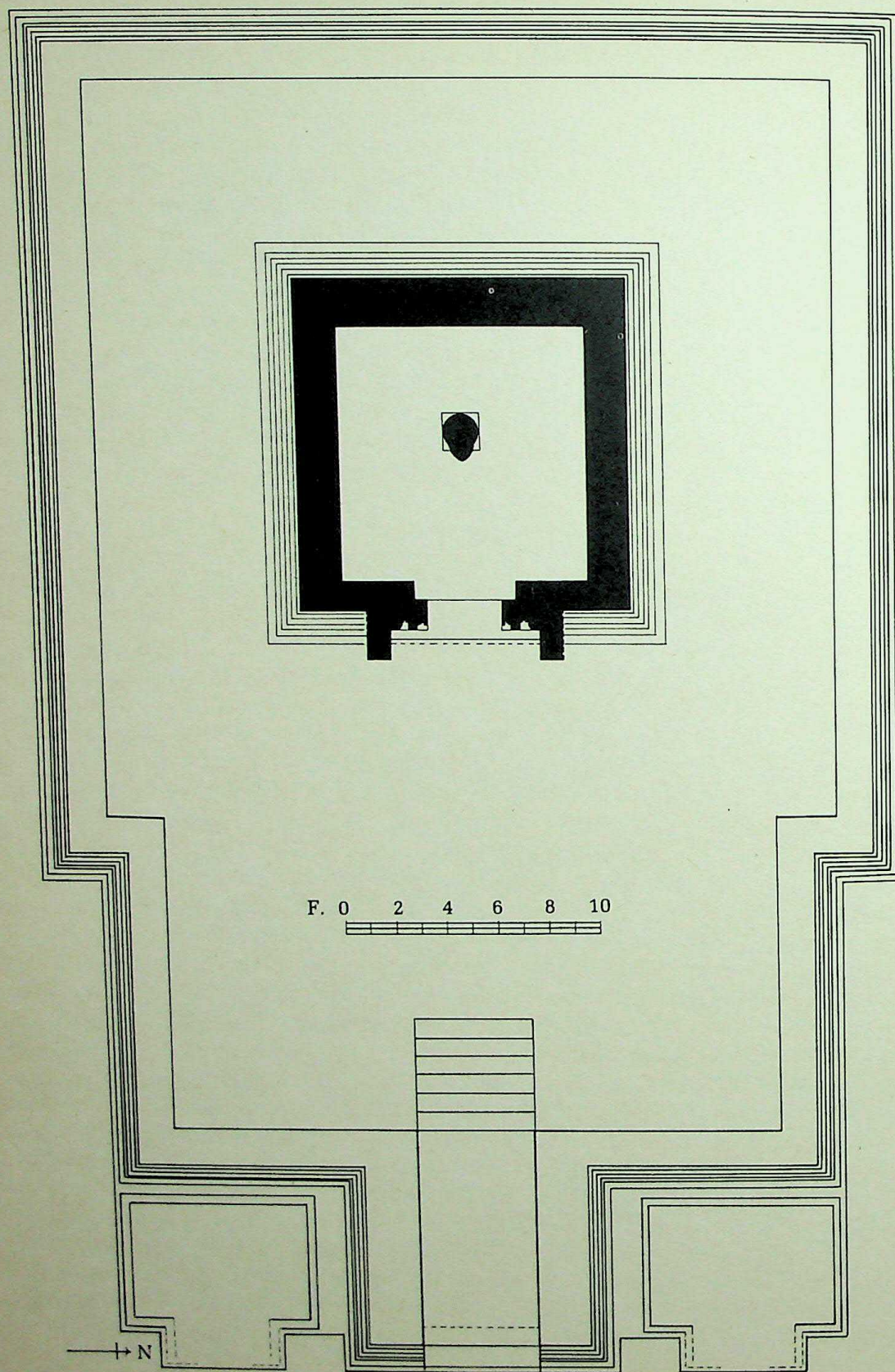


Fig. 18. Bhūmarā. Śiva temple, plan.



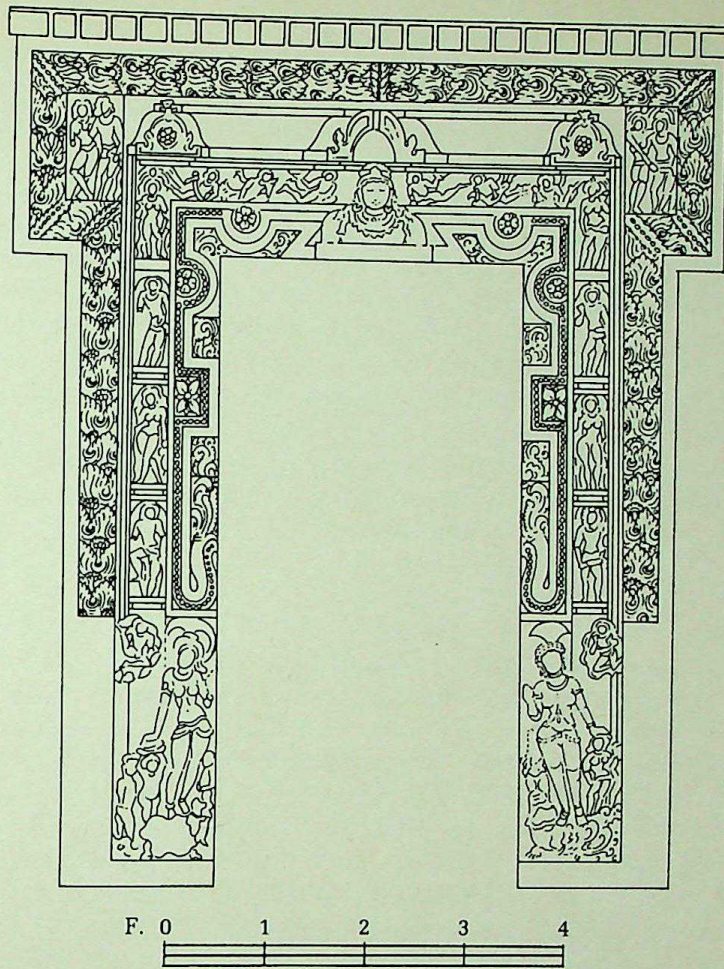


Fig. 19. Bhūmarā. Śiva temple, doorway.

vallī, the second is ratnaśākhā, and the third is carved with a garland of date-palm design, rising from a ghaṭapallava supported by a jambhaka. The lower part of the first two śākhās bore figures of river-goddesses of which Gaṅgā, flanked by an umbrella-bearer, is preserved. This doorframe probably fitted into the maṇḍapa.

Two Rucaka pilasters have a plain shaft, decorations of ghaṭapallava at the base, and vandanamālā suspended from a maṇibandha and ardhapadma beneath the bharaṇa. Surviving pillars are square at base and top, with ghaṭapallavas, and in most cases have octagonal and 16-sided sections embellished with chains suspended from grāsamukha or maṇibandha, yakṣas, ardhapadmas, and ihāmṛgas. One pillar published by R.D. Banerji shows a gorgeous ghaṭapallava-base and plain fluted shaft.

The fragmentary left jamb of a third doorframe smaller than the two previously mentioned shows three śākhās: patravallī emanating from the navel of a yakṣa, stambhaśākhā, and a third with śrīvṛkṣa design. At the base of the first śākhā stands Gaṅgā flanked by a female umbrella-bearer and with a mālā-vidyādhara near her head. A chequered panel over Gaṅgā's head is repeated on the stambhaśākhā, which has a ghaṭapallava-base and an upper octagonal section flanked by female umbrella-bearers. This doorframe probably comes from one of the subshrines as also may a corpulent seated image of Gaṇeśa.



Two pratihāra figures from Bhūmarā are remarkable for their powerful stance and distinctive sculptural quality. These might have flanked the entrance to the garbhagṛha.

R. D. Banerji conjectured that this temple had a covered ambulatory. Unlike the Nacnā temple, however, its garbhagṛha lacks provision for vātāyanas for lighting the interior, its jaṅghā lacks any indication of bonding to an ambulatory ceiling, the jagatī was capped by an uṣṇīṣa parapet, and the jagatī's terrace leaves no space for an outer wall.

The decorative repertoire of this temple is richer than that at Nacnā, is drawn from a wider conspectus, and reveals greater inventiveness and a superior aesthetic perception. While Nacnā introduces a dozen different types of gaṇas — dancing, frolicking or playing on musical instruments — the variety at Bhūmarā is larger. Kumbhāṇḍas are encountered for the first time; Gaṅgā and Yamunā wear elaborate headdresses and channavīra, features popular at a later time, and are larger than at Nacnā. The Bhūmarā temple is more advanced than that at Nacnā and may be assigned a date toward the end of the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.

#### Pipariyā, Viṣṇu temple (Plate 73)

Pipariyā, situated within c. 12.5 miles of Bhūmarā, had a Gupta temple of which only the doorframe, a pair of pilasters, a pillar, and a few image-fragments have survived. The doorframe, as large as that at Dēvgadh, consists of six śākhās: the first is broad, like that at Maḍhiā, but plain; the second projects, is plain, but has figures of Bhū-Varāha (right) and four-armed Hayagrīva (left) above; the third śākhā is recessed, decorated with patravallī in the upper part; the stambhaśākhā has square, octagonal, and 16-sided sections, capped by a circular bharaṇa that has vandanamālikā, lotus petals, and a pot-rest supporting a deeply fluted ghaṭa (almost āmalaka) crowned by a square abacus decorated with grāsamukha in front, patravallī on the sides, and surmounted by a standing female; the fifth śākhā is recessed, adorned with śālmali blossoms; the outer is bevelled and adorned with śrīvṛkṣa motif (only the left jamb and lintel have survived). Above the plain lintel of the first śākhā is a carved frieze that shows seven seated grahas flanked by a scene of Kṛṣṇa killing the bull demon (left). Stambhaśākhās support a kapōtapālī adorned with five candraśalikās; the central contains a human bust, the others lions. The architrave is decorated by 22 sirṃhamukhas and a central female head (Plate 73), as at Maḍhiā. A two-armed Vaiṣṇava pratihāra, wearing broad kirīṭamukuṭa, is preserved on the lower part of the first śākhā. Two loose pilasters at the site are of nearly the same form as that of the stambhaśākhās, but with richer embellishment of lotus and scroll designs.

A large, standing image of Viṣṇu wearing a broad kirīṭamukuṭa found at the site was obviously the mūlanāyaka of the temple. This powerfully modelled sculpture is a typical product of developed Gupta style, though it still bears some resemblance to Viṣṇu figures carved at Udayagiri cave no. 6. Two female figures, one representing Gadādēvī, the other an apsarā, have great affinity with the supple female forms at Bhūmarā.

The Pipariyā temple must belong to the same period as that at Bhūmarā.

#### Nacnā, remains of other temples (Plates 60-61)

From Nacnā and its vicinity come large numbers of loose sculptures and architectural members, mostly dating from the fifth century. The sculptures include Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva deities, attendants, gaṇas, and narrative friezes depicting scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa; architectural members comprise doorframes, pillars, pilasters, architraves,



and latticed windows, indicating that the site had perhaps half a dozen other Gupta shrines.

Some architectural members are fixed to later structures, such as the Tēliyā Maḍh and the Rūpanī temple, built about 100 years ago, situated about two furlongs south of the Pārvaṭī temple. The Tēliyā Maḍh has four entrances and to each are fixed architectural pieces. Its south entrance has a large doorframe of which only the last śākhā with the śrīvṛkṣa design and the upper portion have survived (Plates 60-61). The kapōta is embellished with five candraśālikās and four pairs of playful pigeons (as at Ajaṇṭā cave no. 15); the extended arms of the "T"-format contain reliefs of Varāha (left) and Narasiṃha (right), a pair of striding, winged vyālas below. The architrave shows a row of 29 female heads, as seen also on the Narasiṃha temple at Ēraṇ and the Viṣṇu temple at Pipariyā. This doorway is assignable to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.

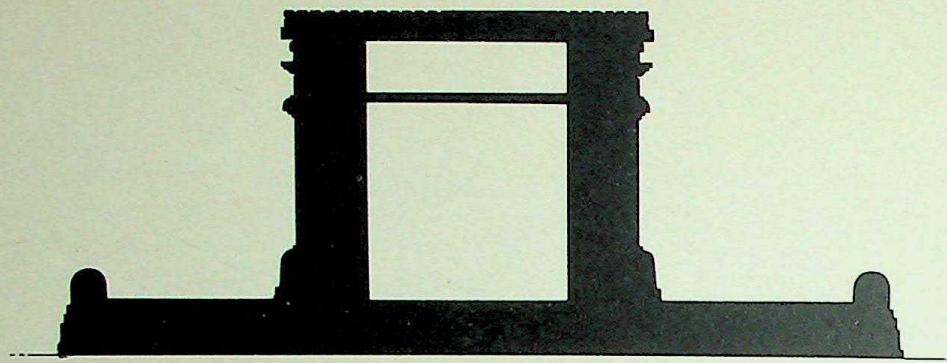
To the western entrance are fixed two jambs of a doorframe showing three śākhās, carved with patravallī, mithunas, and pilasters, with river-goddesses at the base. The uttaraṅga of the doorframe was also recovered close by, carved with patravallī flanked by śālabhañjikās, a row of vidyādhara-mithunas flying towards a large relief of Sūrya on the lalāṭabimba. Ornate pilasters, having ghaṭapallava capitals, grāsamukha on the abacus, and plain curved brackets, support a kapōta carved with candraśālikās. This doorframe somewhat resembles that of the Pārvaṭī temple and may be coeval.

To the north entrance is fixed a pair of highly ornate pillars carved with ghaṭapallava at the base and capital, bands of luxurious patravallī, and sensuous figures of loving couples. These pillars, like the fragmentary latticed window with figures carved above them, are assignable to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.

The jambs of a doorframe with two surviving śākhās showing rosettes and śrīvṛkṣa design, the latter emanating from a ghaṭapallava held on the head of a jambhaka, are affixed to the east entrance and are of a style and date cognate with the pillars just discussed. Similar observations are applicable to an old doorframe fitted in the modern Rūpanī temple nearby. This doorframe, with a minor "T"-shaped format, has three śākhās adorned with patravallī, mithunas alternating with load-bearing jambhakas, and śrīvṛkṣa design; its uttaraṅga is carved with flying vidyādhara-mithunas converging on a relief of seated Gajalakṣmī forming the lalāṭabimba.

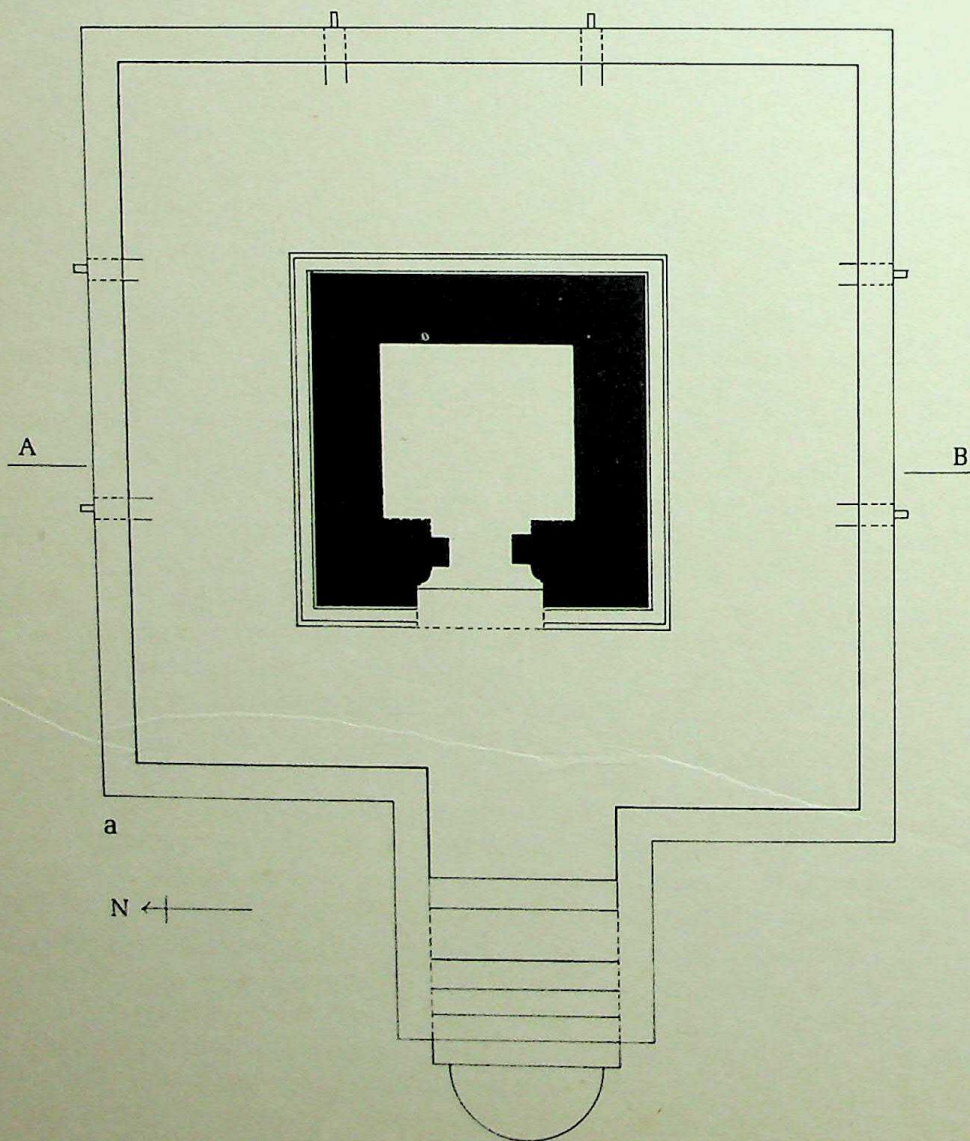
A dilapidated structure to the east of the Rūpanī temple and another modern temple at a place called Lākhōrābāgh about a mile further south have reused pillars of disparate types. Most have ghaṭapallava bases but their forms vary considerably. The shapes of the shafts also differ, some circular, others 16-sided, fluted, some square below and circular or of mixed shapes above. On the basis of design and ornaments, some pillars are stylistically close to the Pārvaṭī temple, others are affiliated to the Bhūmarā temple, and a few to the Gupta temple at Dēvgaḍh. The impact of Vākāṭaka art, which is nominal on the Pārvaṭī temple, is more perceptible at Bhūmarā and becomes marked at Dēvgaḍh. Since some Vākāṭaka elements are traceable on the loose architectural members from Nacnā, there is a point in Walter Spink's attribution of these fragments to the Uccakalpa rulers who flourished in this region between c. A.D. 470-535. Vyāghradēva (c. A.D. 470-490) was a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas, which may explain some impact of Vākāṭaka art; his successors Jayanātha (c. A.D. 490-510) and Śarvanātha (c. A.D. 510-535) owed allegiance to no empire, but used the Gupta era in their inscriptions. The Vākāṭaka factor in the art of this region, however, was only minimal.





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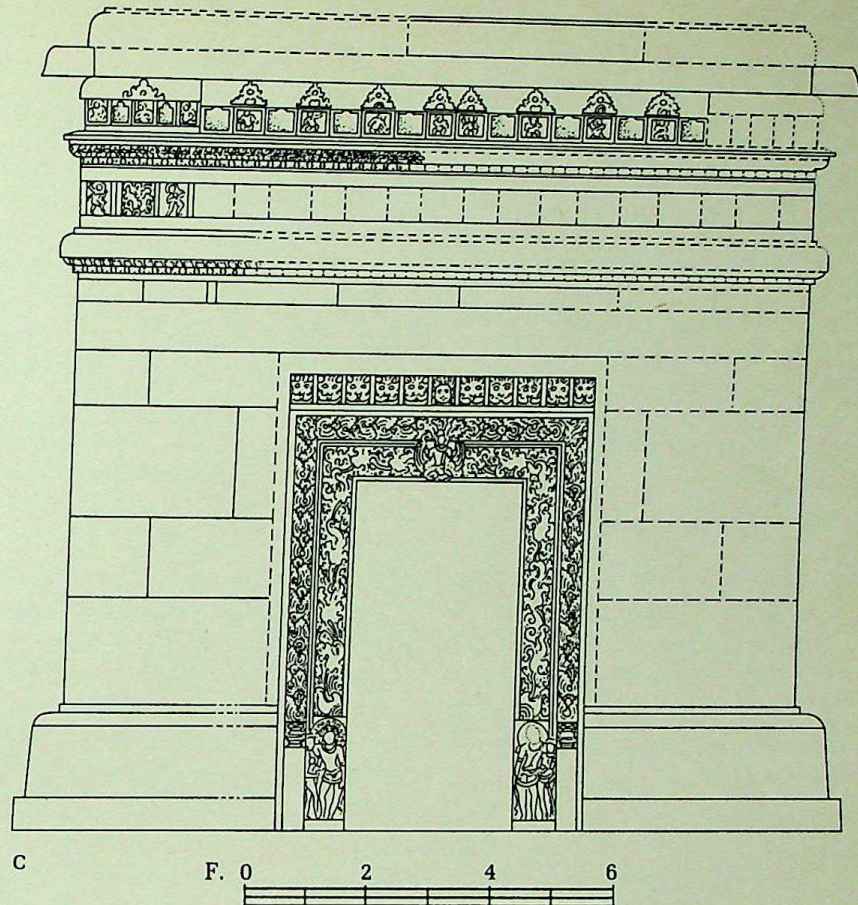


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Fig. 20. Dēvri (Maḡhiā). Vāmana temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation (see next page).





*Dēvrī, Vāmana temple (Maḍhiā) (Fig. 20; Plates 76-78)*

Situated on the south bank of the river Kēn, this stone temple, locally known as Maḍhiā, is located at Dēvrī in ancient Daśārṇadēśa. The temple faces west and stands on a plain jagatī (c. 30 ft. square and 4 ft. high), approached by a short flight of steps, the lowest an ardhaçandra. The jagatī is plain, capped by a heavy semicircular uṣṇīṣa. The garbhagṛha is 7 ft. 4 in. square internally, 12 ft. 7 in. externally, with no space for a maṇḍapa in front.

The garbhagṛha rises from a kumbha moulding resting on a kharaśilā; the plain jaṅghā (5 ft. 6 in. high) is capped by kapōtapālikā. Below the kapōtapālikā is vṛttakarna covered with lotus petals and a moulding of plain tulā-ends; above is a 9 in. antara-paṭṭa with a running frieze of rectangular niches containing gaṇas and mithunas alternating with panels showing ihāmṛgas, grāsamukhas, and floral designs. This is capped by a chādyā, below which are plain karna, vṛttakarna adorned with six-petalled flowers, and a tulāsaṅgraha of sirṁhamukhas. These were interrupted at the centre of the three sides by slabs with Vaiṣṇava incarnations placed on a slant: those of Hayagrīva (N; Plate 76) and Narasiṁha (E; Plate 77) are preserved. The missing figure on the south, on the authority of the Viṣṇudharmōttarapurāṇa, would probably have represented Varāha.

Above this chādyā occurs another antara-paṭṭa, narrower than the one below, embellished with a running frieze of gaṇa figures which alternate with panels showing



plain niches with arched tops (Plate 78). This is shaded by a kapōta carved with candraśālikā pediments above the gaṇa niches. The frieze and kapōta constitute a monolithic course and show a projection emphasizing the corners. The kapōta is surmounted by plain paṭṭikā and an uṣṇīṣa (of which only a few pieces are in position). Drains on the flat roof-slabs at this level and the presence of uṣṇīṣa indicate a flat roof. While the first chādyā and antarapaṭṭa act as a crowning varaṇḍikā for the wall, this second antarapaṭṭa and kapōta form a rudimentary superstructure.

The dviśākhā doorframe of the garbhagrha is unusual (Fig. 20 c). The inner śākhā is rather broad and carved with padmalatā issuing from a pair of śāṅkhas; the second is embellished with śrīvṛkṣa design issuing from ghaṭapallavas with two-armed pratihāras at the base. The left pratihāra has a rayed halo resembling a cakra behind his head, and probably represents Cakrapuruṣa. The right pratihāra perhaps represents Śaṅkhapuruṣa. As lalāṭabimba, the uttaraṅga shows four-armed Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, wings outstretched, his scroll-like tail serving as a prabhāvalī for Viṣṇu's head. Above the doorframe is a bold tulāsaṅgraha course of ten simhamukhas and a central kinnarī head.

The temple is much damaged. The roof has practically fallen, the door-lintel has cracked, the walls are tottering, and many courses are displaced. Nevertheless, almost all significant architectural members are present. The mūlanāyaka (the torso of a Vāmana image) and an elaborate pedestal, complete with a makara praṇāla, survives. The Vaiṣṇava affiliation of the shrine is confirmed by the depiction of Viṣṇu as lalāṭabimba and Narasiṁha and Hayagrīva in prominent positions above the wall.

In its essentials, this shrine follows that at Bhūmarā but is simpler and lacks the elaboration of ornament; its doorframe is austere; the figure of Viṣṇu on the lintel is well-modelled, but Cakrapuruṣa holds his right hand at an awkward angle; the gaṇas at Maḍhiā are not as lively as those at Bhūmarā; decorative carvings of patravallī and padmalatā lack the depth and crispness of Bhūmarā. This temple thus appears to have been built by a lesser guild some time during the late fifth or early sixth century A.D.

#### Dēvgaḍh, Gupta temple (Fig. 21a-b; Plates 79-88)

The Gupta temple at Dēvgaḍh (Deogarh) in Daśārṇadēśa marks the final phase of Gupta architecture. Incompletely preserved, this stone temple faces west on a large jagatī (55.5 ft. square, excluding projections, and 9 ft. high). This is approached from four sides by flights of steps (the lowest is ardhaçandra). The jagatī has subsidiary shrines (externally 11 ft. square) at the four corners, the earliest surviving example of a pañcāyatana structure (Fig. 21b). The jagatī (Plate 84) rises from a kharaśilā and is composed of a high kumbha-like bhiṭṭa, short khura and kumbha, flat kalaśa, and an early form of kapōtapālī; this is surmounted by a running frieze of niches that contained sculptural reliefs between pilasters. This probably was crowned by chādyā and then a dhārānvita uṣṇīṣa to serve as parapet around the terrace. The pilasters framing the sculptured niches are square, then octagonal, 16-sided, and circular, ornamented with padmas. The reliefs depict stories from the Rāmāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa legends, and other themes including dance and music.

Between the steps and the corner shrines on either side, the jagatī shows other projections. On these eight projections, kalaśa is replaced by antarapaṭṭa relieved by figures and decorative carvings; one preserves kapōtapālī above the antarapaṭṭa. Two show amorous mithunas in the projecting panels; one shows a female bust in the central countersunk panel and patravallī in the flanking ones; another shows a standing apsara in all three countersunk panels. A number of surviving broken reliefs might



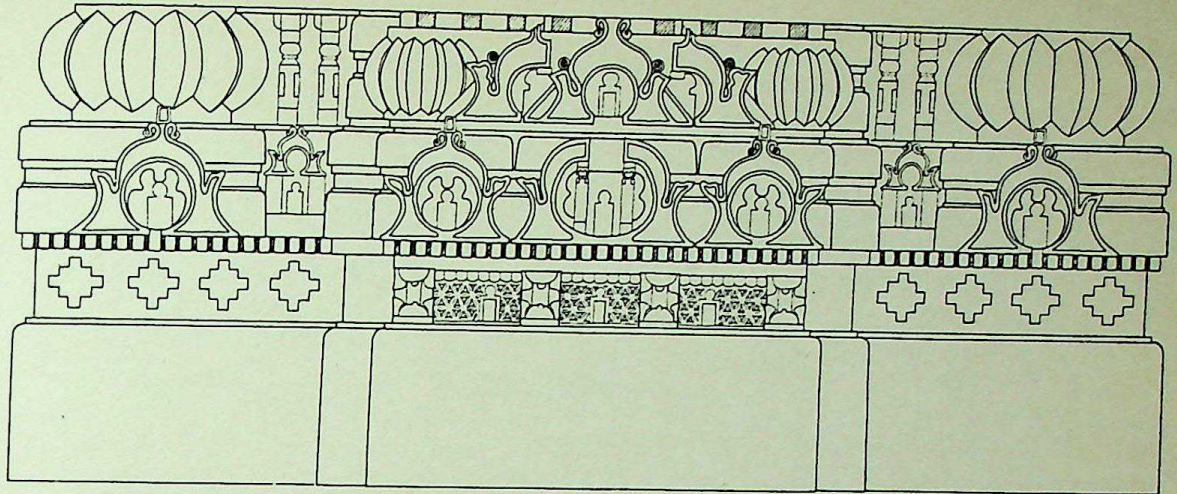


Fig. 21. a. Dēvgaḍh. Gupta temple: reconstruction of the first level of the śikhara.  
(Courtesy and copyright: Michael W. Meister.)

have adorned the remaining projections. These largely depict frolicsome gaṇas and beautiful female busts.

The main structure standing in the centre of the jagatī internally measures 10 ft. and externally 18.5 ft. square (Plate 79). Cunningham first suggested that it occupied the innermost unit of a maṇḍala of nine squares; Meister has pointed out, however, that if the four corner shrines are included the central structure may cover the four central squares, or Brahmasthāna, of a grid of 64 squares. Rising from a kharaśilā, the temple has a tall kumbha base. The west side shows an elaborate doorframe (Plate 85); the remaining sides have bhadra-projections, each with a large figural composition in a broad niche enclosed by two śākhās (Plates 80, 82); each niche is framed by two large pilasters on the kaṭi supporting architraves. These niches are exquisitely embellished with figural and decorative carving, creating an aesthetic impact of great beauty. The kaṭi is capped by a prominent kapōtapālikā, below which are plain tulā-ends and a plain karṇa moulding. Above is a kaṇṭha relieved by panels of patravallī alternating with oblong countersunk panels showing plain “keyhole” niches. Above the kaṇṭha, four cantilevered beams once projected on each side to support a broad chādyā, c. 4 ft. wide. Bits of this canopy are seen on the east and the west faces and one cantilever beam measuring over 3 ft. 9 in. long is *in situ* on the east. The sockets for half-round stones to cover joints in the chādyā also can be seen.

The śikhara, above the canopy, begins with a high kumbha, with karṇa, bhadra, and narrow pratibhadra projections. Above this is an ornamented antarapaṭṭa decorated with large sunken kuṇjarākṣa motifs on the karṇas and with panels, showing niches flanked by jālaka, on the bhadra. These panels are framed by stunted Rucaka pilasters, with a short octagonal constriction, fringed by aṅkura-like buds and by plain, semicircular, darpaṇa designs. Above this antarapaṭṭa, and preserved only on the northeast corner (Plate 81), the śikhara was ornamented by square units combining kumbha, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōta and faced by large candraśālā patterns. On the bhadra, the broader central unit shows a split candraśālā, with two pillarets and a “keyhole” niche between; on the karṇa, a recess containing a small “keyhole” niche crowned by candraśālā separates the karṇakūṭa-unit from the narrow pratibhadra. Meister has pointed out that this recess may be a “proto-Nāgara” feature presaging the bālapañjara-recess of early Nāgara shrines (Fig. 21a). Above, the present śikhara is denuded of face-stones, showing only the rough core to a height of about 10 ft. Above



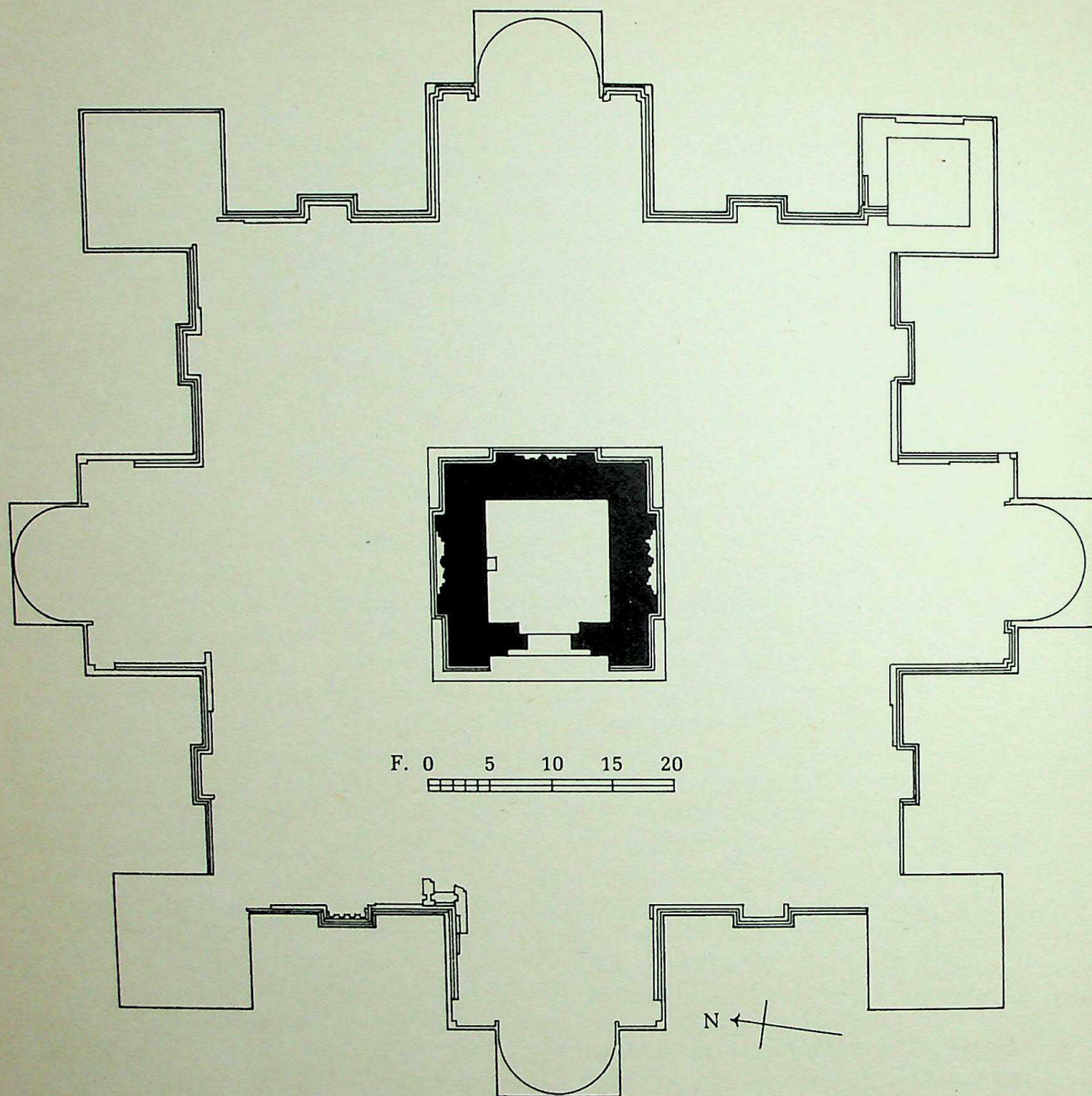


Fig. 21. b. Dēvgadh: plan. (After Vats. Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India.)

the *karṇakūṭa*-units, the *śikhara* probably had *karṇāmalakas*, some of which survive; it may well have taken a stepped, straight-edged, elevation, however, without the smooth curvature of the developed *Nāgara* tower.

Clearance of the site by Vats brought to light the *vēdibandha* mouldings of two shrines seemingly coeval with the temple and many loose architectural pieces including large *śūrasēnakas* and more than 30 *candraśālās* of various sizes (Plates 83, 87). Some, addorsed to paired *kapōta* courses, must have come from a *śikhara*. Some *candraśālās* harbour *siṃhamukhas* and *padma* blossoms; one shows an image of seated *Girija Narasimha*; about a dozen contain figures of dancing *gaṇas*. Of the *śūrasēnakas*, one is adorned with a standing four-armed *Vaiṣṇava* deity; another shows *Rāvaṇa*



worshipping Śiva by offering his heads, with nude gaṇas in the flanking medallions; the largest portrays mithunas; while a fragmentary one portrays a flying vidyādhara couple (the male playing a vīṇā). One pair of śūrasēnakas is flanked by āmalaka(s). The site has yielded āmalakas of various sizes (Plate 83) and loose pieces of a kalaśa and bijapūraka that once must have crowned one of the śikharas.

The pañcāśākhā doorframe of this temple is elaborate, lavishly embellished with figures and decorative ornament (Plates 85-86, 88). The innermost śākhā is carved with luxurious patravallī issuing from the navels of seated pot-bellied jambhakas; it entwines four gaṇas in its convolutions. The second śākhā shows śālmali blossoms; the third, amorous mithunas alternating with pairs of load-bearing kumāras. The fourth is a highly ornate stambhaśākhā; the bāhyaśākhā is embellished with śrīvṛkṣa. The inner two śākhās continue the same designs on the lintel; the third shows mālā-vidyādhara mithunas converging on a central image of Bhōgāsana Viṣṇu as the lalāṭabimba. The stambhaśākhā is a Rucaka pilaster; its upper third shows short octagonal and 16-fluted sections, supporting a ghaṭapallava and plain square abacus. Each stambhaśākhā is embellished with two shrine models: the lower shows śūrasēnaka in the first roof-tier, a candraśālā flanked by āmalakas in the second tier, and a crowning āmalasāraka. The upper model repeats the design but without āmalakas. Each shrine model is treated as a niche, framed by pilasters; the lower model harbours a divine attendant carrying a floral offering, the upper one a dancing gaṇa.

The stambhaśākhās support a pratolī comprising paired kapōtapālīs separated by a running band of vēdīs. The kapōtapālīs are adorsed by three śūrasēnaka-pediments and two simhakarṇas harbouring grāsamukhas. The outer mālāśākhā issues from a ghaṭapallava supported on the head of a load-bearing kumāra; in its lateral extensions above stand images of Gaṅgā (left) and Yamunā (right). The recessed space between the fourth and the fifth śākhās is relieved by a geometrical floral pattern on the jambs and a running frieze of alternating kumāras and “keyhole” niches on the lintel.

The lower fourth of the inner two śākhās is occupied by Vaiṣṇava pratihāras in elegant tribhaṅga. Each has a prabhāmaṇḍala and two graceful female attendants standing below the third and fourth śākhās. The frieze of simhamukhas above the door has been accommodated by cutting away the kapōtapālī at the top of the kaṭi. (The door was sheltered originally by the broad projecting chādyā.)

The bhadras on north, east, and south contain superb figural compositions representing Gajēndramōkṣa (N; Plate 82), Nara-Nārāyaṇa (E), and Śēṣaśāyī Viṣṇu (S). Each recess is framed by two śākhās and a pair of heavy pilasters. The first śākhā is carved with patravallī emerging from a śaṅkhanidhi; the second shows vanamālā as seen also in the doorframe of the left aisle shrine of Ajaṇṭa cave no. 21. The pilasters are Rucaka and stand on an ornate ghaṭapallava-base resting on nāgapāśa (on the north) or kumbhikā (comprising kalaśa, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōta) on the remaining sides. The upper half of the shaft is profusely ornamented.

The brackets carry a lintel carved with a rich pattern of palmettes alternating with luxurious patravallī, its stems held centrally in the hands of a hovering jambhaka. The architrave depicts a band of simhamukhas alternating with countersunk panels containing “keyhole” niches. This band supports the kapōta-cornice that crowns the kaṭi.

Of the two subsidiary shrines constructed in the same compound, only the pīṭha of the jagatī has survived; this is composed of khura-kumbha, flat kalaśa, and an early form of kapōtapālī. One is located south of the main temple and has a rectangular plan (30 × 48 ft.). The second is located to the north of the main temple and, since north is favoured for a Dēvī shrine, may once have enshrined an image of Lakṣmī.



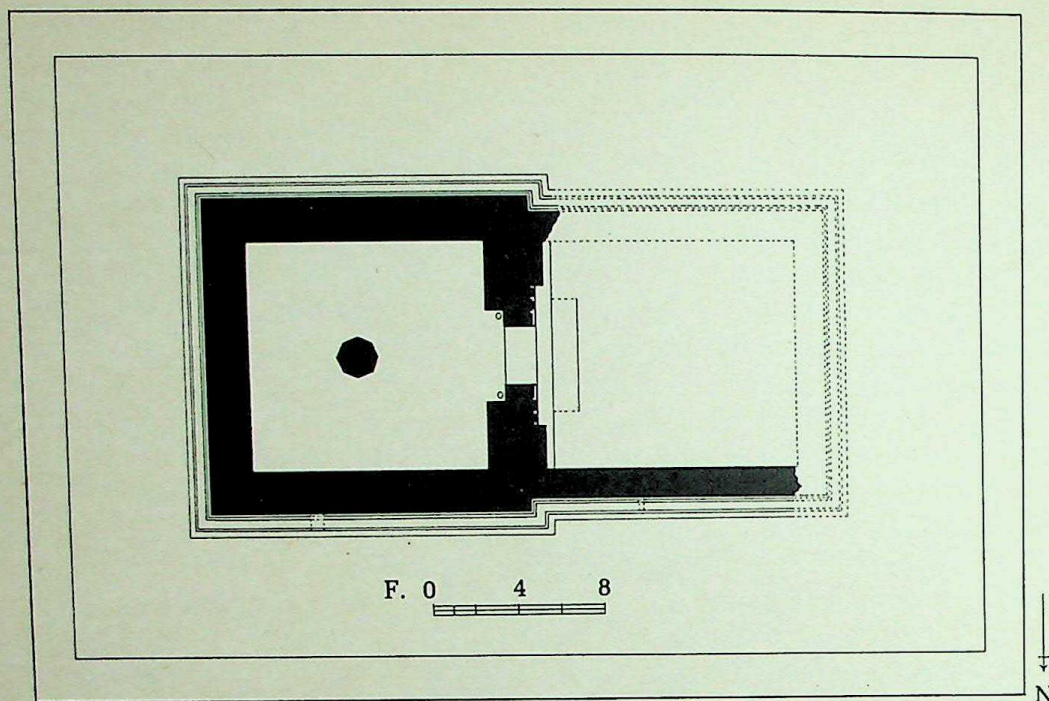


Fig. 22. Sākōr. Śiva temple, plan.

Two surviving pillars (9 ft. 3 in. high, 1 ft. 10 in. wide) might have supported a prāgrīva preceding the garbhagrha. One bears an inscription in Śaṅkhalipi and one in Gupta Brāhmī (the latter refers to Bhāgavata Gōvinda, a devotee of Kēśavapurāsvāmī, a name for the mūlanāyaka of the main temple).

Bhūmarā and Dēvgaḍh have many motifs in common; the doorframe of Dēvgaḍh is an elaboration of those at Nacnā and Bhūmarā and even the modelling of figures bears a general likeness (though figures at Bhūmarā are somewhat more attenuated). A comparison of the sculptures and decorative friezes of Dēvgaḍh with those of Ajaṇṭā, however, reveals, perhaps, a greater agreement than with Bhūmarā. Female figures at Dēvgaḍh resemble those of Ajaṇṭā in form, posture, and even in details of headdress. The river-goddesses in the Dēvgaḍh door bear striking kinship with those of Ajaṇṭā cave no. 20. Compositionally, the Dēvgaḍh doorframe is analogous with that at Ajaṇṭā cave no. 23 and bears partial affinity to those in Ajaṇṭā caves nos. 5, 24, and 26. The distinctive vanamālā composed of lotuses alternating with barrel-shaped floral motifs is duplicated on the doorframe of the left-aisle shrine of Ajaṇṭā cave no. 21. The mithunas at the two sites reveal a considerable identity of stance and plastic feeling. While these few illustrations partly reflect an extension of Gupta forms to Ajaṇṭā, in sculptural content and style they also suggest an extension of Vākāṭaka art toward Daśārṇadēśa.

Dēvgaḍh is not far from Bhūmarā and Ajaṇṭā in date and may plausibly be assigned to the late fifth or early sixth century A.D. (William's date of A.D. 520-30 seems slightly late.)

Sākōr, Śiva temple (Figs. 22-23, 24b; Plate 89)

West-facing, dedicated to Śiva, this temple stands on a renovated jagatī (46.5 × 31 ft. 10 in. and 3 ft. high). The garbhagrha (10 × 11 ft. internally, 16.5 × 16 ft. 9 in. externally) is preceded by a gūḍhamandapa c. 15 ft. wide externally. Standing on a pair of plain bhittas, the temple's vēdibandha is composed of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and an



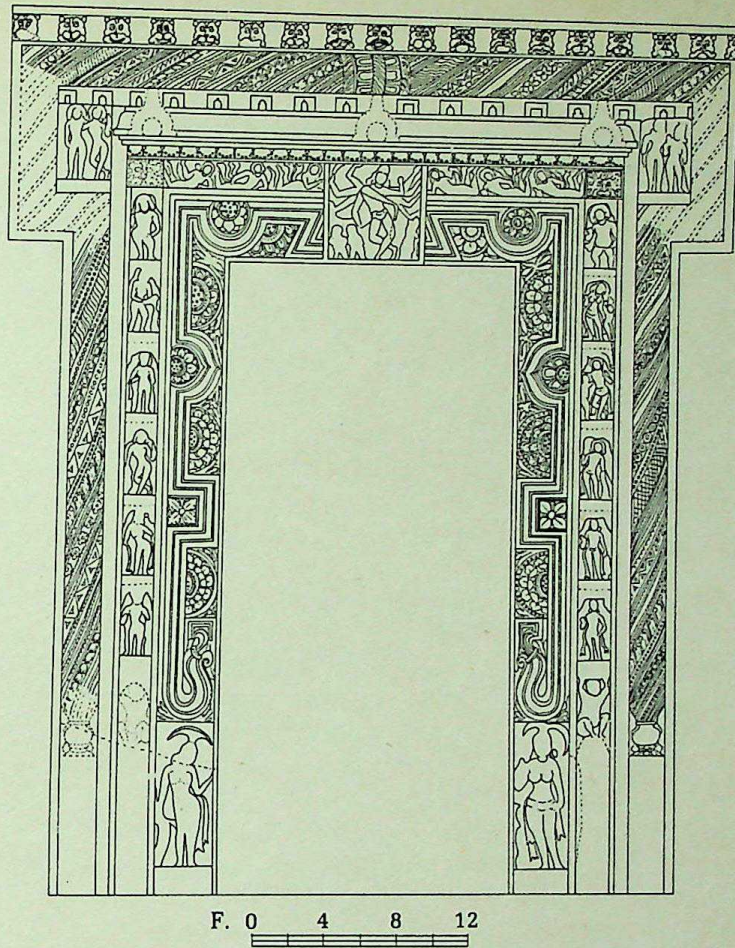


Fig. 23. Sākōr. Śiva temple, doorway.

early form of kapōtapālī (Fig. 24b). The jaṅghā consists of 11 plain ashlar courses. The roof of the garbhagṛha was composed of three slabs, of which only one is preserved; it now is placed directly above the top of the jaṅghā without any intervening moulding. Because of the temple's damaged condition, we lack knowledge of the top courses of the jaṅghā, the features of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa and its entrance, the decoration of the jagatī, and the courses of its roof.

The temple enshrines a plain Śivaliṅga with square, octagonal, and rounded sections. The sanctum's triśākhā doorframe (Fig. 23) shows, first, a linked "meander" pattern of half-squares and semicircles filled with padma. The rūpaśākhā is carved with seven panels showing load-bearing kumāra, apsaras, and a gaṇa at top. The mālaśākhā is embellished with the twisted garland motif seen also on the Pārvatī temple, Nacnā. The design of the inner śākhā is continued on the lintel while that of the second is replaced by flying vidyādhara to either side of ten-armed Nāṭeśa as the lalāṭabimba. The rūpaśākhā, capped by a grāsamukha, acts as a stambhaśākhā and supports a kapōtapālī adorned with three candraśālikās. The kapōtapālī is capped by a recess showing a running band of sunken niches. The outer śākhā surrounds the overdoor, containing standing mithuna figures in its lateral extensions as at Bhūmarā. The lower parts of the jambs show mutilated figures of the river-goddesses, standing in tribhaṅga under an umbrella. The door is crowned by tulāsaṅgraha with 17 śiṃhamukhas.



Among known Gupta stone temples, this has the largest sanctum (10.5 × 11 ft.). It also is exceptional in having a gūḍhamaṇḍapa. Its doorframe has close affinities to that of the Bhūmarā temple in its style and choice of motifs but shows a more developed iconography. The temple seems about two decades later than Bhūmarā and is assignable to a date no earlier than c. 500 A.D. (Williams dates it to c. A.D. 530).

*Sārṇāth, other remains (Plates 92-95)*

Sārṇāth has yielded a large number of Buddhist images and architectural members of the fifth and sixth centuries. The famous Gupta masterpiece representing Buddha "turning the wheel of law" was found between the main shrine and the Dharmarājikā stūpa. Three inscribed Buddha images, one dated A.D. 454 in the reign of Kumāragupta II, the other two A.D. 457 in the reign of Budhagupta, were discovered in the courtyard east of the main shrine. Most notable among loose architectural members is an unusually large (16 ft.) uttarāṅga, carved with scenes from the Kṣāntivādī Jātaka (Plate 95). The modelling of figures and the architectural motifs are similar to those on the doorframe of the Gupta temple at Dēvgaḍh, and also must date to the early sixth century A.D.

Between the main shrine and the Dhamēkh stūpa at Sārṇāth, a small stūpa in ornamental brickwork was constructed (Plates 92-94). Only its square mēḍhī, with four corner-projections resembling a pañcāyatana, remains. This unique monument reveals interesting varieties of patravallī, padma, grāsamukhas, and ornamental lattices; it stylistically can be attributed to the sixth century.

The most celebrated monument at Sārṇāth, the Dhamēkh stūpa, continued in active worship through the seventh century A.D. A slab inscribed with the Buddhist creed in script of the seventh century was found inside. Its stone base has eight large niches and a broad band with sensitively carved geometrical and floral patterns that are stylistically assignable to the late sixth century.

*Cārcōmā, Mahādēva temple (Plates 90-91)*

This partly rebuilt, east-facing, late Gupta temple, located c. 15.5 miles southeast of Kota in eastern Rajasthan, represents a regional variation and extension of Gupta style. Standing on a simple mañca, with kumbha, broad antarapaṭṭa, and kapōta, the temple itself shows a vēḍibandha of khura-kumbha, tall antarapaṭṭa, and kapōta. The plain masonry kaṭi has a patralatā band as madhyabandha (its first appearance). On the west wall (Plate 90), two highly ornamented gavākṣas enclose round ventilators above this madhyabandha; on lateral walls, sunken windows, filled with chequer-grille, cross the madhyabandha and are crowned by ornate simhakarṇas that extend into the varaṇḍikā above. The varaṇḍikā is formed of a shallow straight-edged chādyā, broad antarapaṭṭa with widely spaced tulā-ends with stepped ardhapadma-pattern between, and a kapōta with a single level of tulāpīṭha beneath. Above this, the present chādyā is a recent addition, as is the ungainly śikhara.

On plan, this temple originally had a rectangular sanctum and a short prāggrīva connecting it to a large gūḍhamaṇḍapa, as is indicated by the existing kumbha mouldings for both the jagatī and the vēḍibandha. The sanctum and antarāla at some point were adjusted to form a more nearly square sanctum open to the gūḍhamaṇḍapa (the outer walls of the prāggrīva were rebuilt in this renovation, with extra grilles added that are blocked behind and have no simhakarṇas above).

Inside the gūḍhamaṇḍapa are four central pillars set around a later liṅgapīṭha and caturmukhaliṅga. The pillars have square shafts, ornamented octagonal necking, brief 16-sided and circular sections, and are crowned by a shallow fluted āmalaka. On one



of these (Plate 91) appears an inscription in sixth-century script that refers to the foundation of a *prāsāda* with a marvelous "Bhavapratikṛtiliṅgam."

Shallow pilasters built into the *antarāla* show square panels with bold lotus-roundels, the uppermost with a chequer band beneath, connected by vertical fluting. The doorway of the original sanctum has an outer *rūpaśākhā* that surrounds the "T"-shape of the doorway; a narrow plank forms the cross-"T," enclosing a narrow *mālāśākhā* that terminates in elaborate swirls over the heads of the river-goddesses on the *pēdyās* and a narrow *patraśākhā* with a dwarf as source for the vine-scroll at the base.

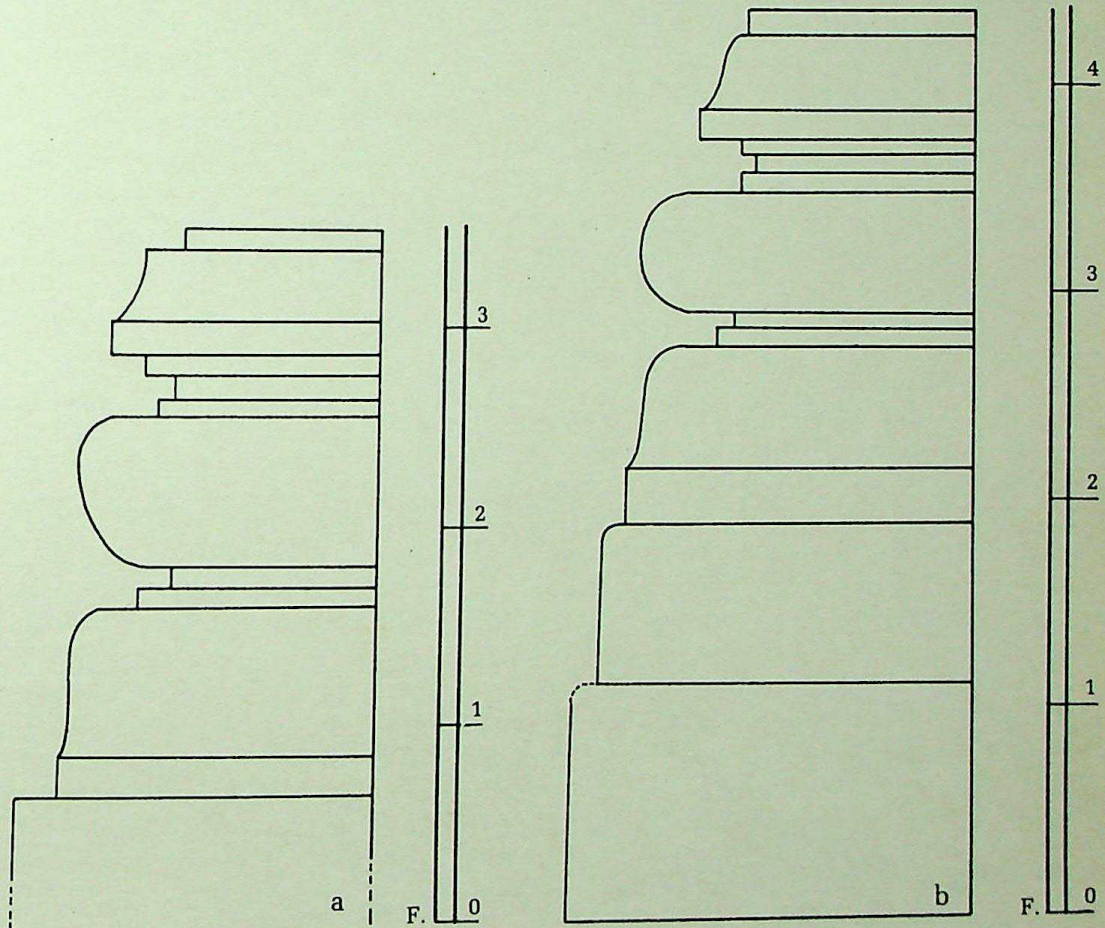


Fig. 24. *Vedibandhas*:  
a. Bhūmarā. Śiva temple; b. Sākōr. Śiva temple.

Many features of this temple are reminiscent of Nacnā and Bhūmarā, though organized in unusual ways, and the temple may well date to c. A.D. 500 as Williams dates it. While somewhat suggestive of the earlier local tradition found at Darrā (and of the later one found at Candrabhāgā) in its expressive transformations of known Gupta forms, it provides both a measure and sense of limit to the provincial spread of idioms within the broader style.



## PAKISTAN

## Mūr̥ti, architectural remains (Plates 96-97)

Mūr̥ti is situated on the flat terrace of a hill in the Salt Range of present Pakistan (ancient Simhapura) close to Kētās. Cunningham described Kashmir-related temples at Kētās and Malōt, but failed to report the remains at Mūr̥ti. Aurel Stein's description remains our primary source of information, along with architectural fragments from the site that are now stored in the Lahore Museum and Government Museum, Chandigarh. Stein illustrates a circular mound at Mūr̥ti but the mound was not excavated and we therefore have no clear indications of the temple's plan. Stein also illustrates pillars with typical Gupta decorative ornaments: ghaṭapallava, bands of ardhapadma, festoons of grāsakiṅkīṇikā, a human figure flanked by rampant vyālas. Similar pillars have been found at Sār̥nāth, Bhūmarā, Dēvgaḍh, and Ēraṇ. Stein illustrates a bracket, similar to a type known from the Gupta temple at Darrā but ornamented with a large quarter-lotus, ardhapadma, and scrolls. Stein also illustrates a fragment of a samatala ceiling supported on brackets. The brackets as well as the strips framing the compartments of the ceiling are carved with beautiful scrolls and beaded frames. A fragment showing a full lotus flanked by scrolls (Plate 96) seems also to have been part of a ceiling. All these architectural fragments are of very small scale and worked with a jeweller's precision.

A complete candraśālā with a well preserved finial, harbouring a flying figure of mālāvidyādhara wearing a wig-like hairdo reminiscent of similar figures from Dēvgaḍh and Sār̥nāth, is illustrated by Stein. The Chandigarh Museum also preserves a candraśālā with a human head wearing earrings and a wig-like hairdo. Several other fragments also show human figures, one with the bust of a couple looking through a balcony, another a seated divinity wearing a beautiful coiffure with a cakṛa-like nimbus, a third (Plate 97) a seated Nāgarāja, carrying bījapūraka in his left hand, flanked by a cāmaradhariṇī nāgī framed by a band of śālmali blossoms and with a large pratihāra image of the right. Most figures wear typical Gupta ēkāvalī, udarabandha, aṅgadas, short undergarments, and scarfs. Williams illustrates a jamb-fragment with a female standing on a pūr̥ṇaghaṭa and carrying a caurī.

These architectural remains are made of locally available sandstone and attest to the existence of developed Gupta style at even so remote a site early in the sixth century. Though the fragments are too few to yield a precise idea of the plan and design of the temple, this structure, save for its miniature scale, could not have differed much from the developed Gupta temples of Madhyadēśa, as at Bhūmarā and Dēvgaḍh. (Williams in fact suggests that this temple was built by an itinerant group of artists from Madhyadēśa early in the sixth century.)

Krishna Deva

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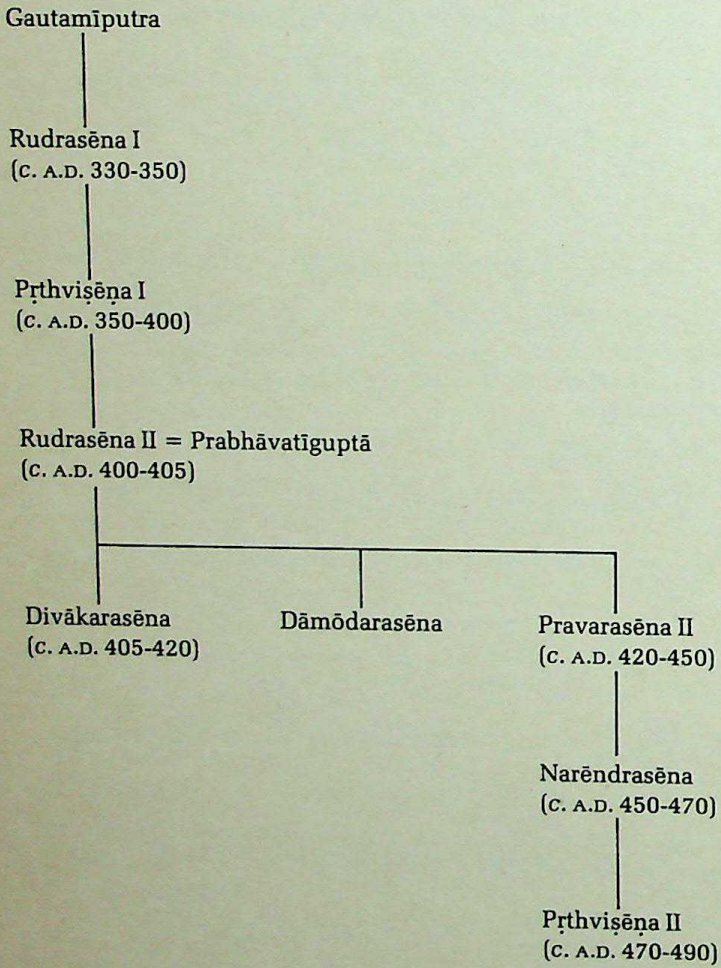


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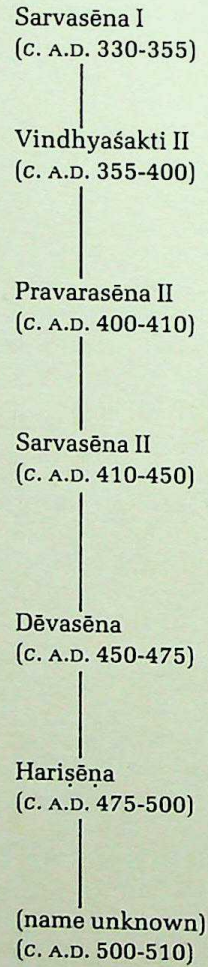
## Genealogical Table: Vākātakas

### Main branch



[Source: Mirashi.]

### Vatsagulma branch





## CHAPTER 3

I.B.

Beginnings of North Indian style: Early Vidarbha style,  
c. A.D. 350-500

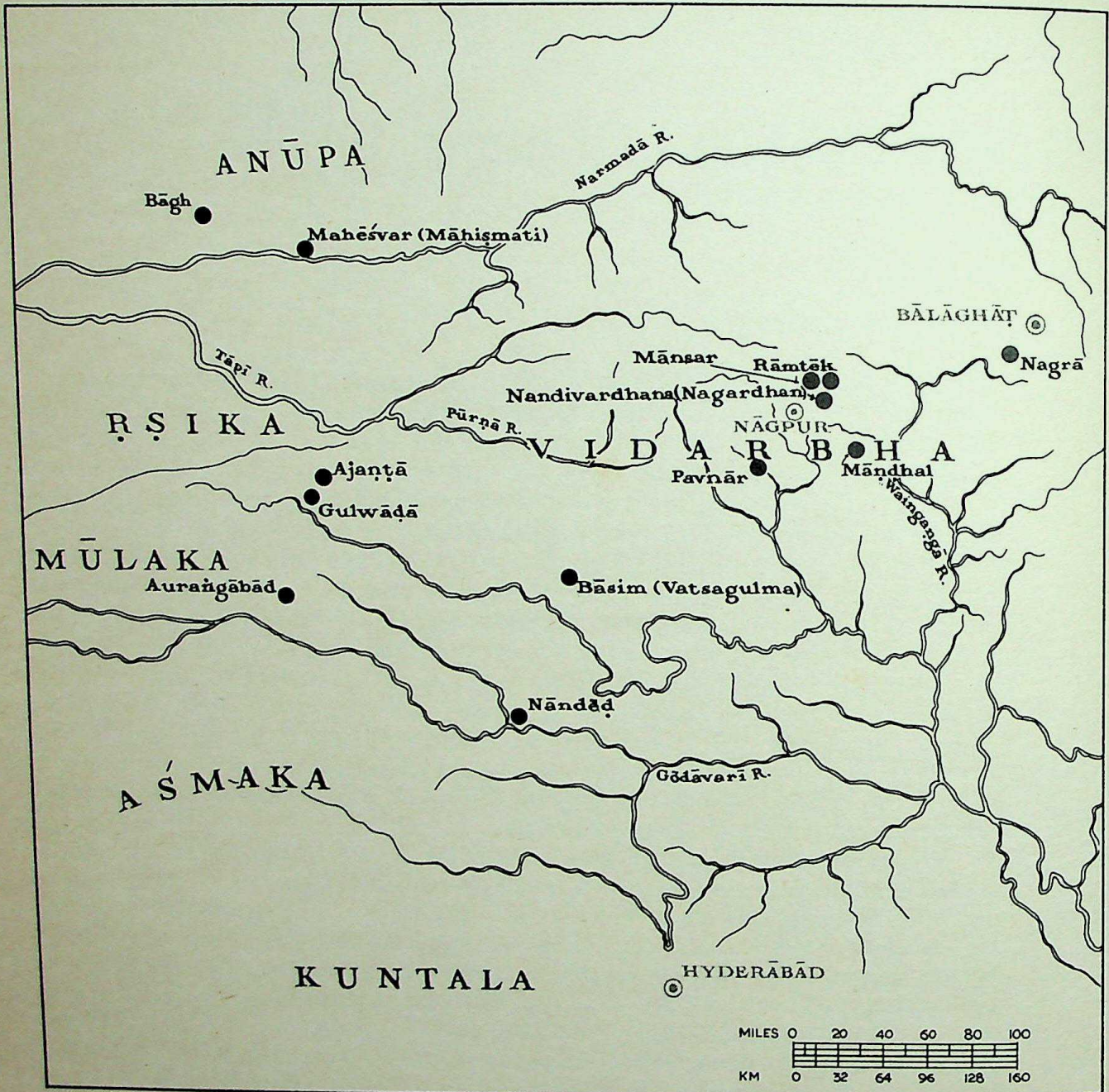
## Vākātakas (Main Branch)

### Historical Introduction

With the discovery of the Punē plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, which refer to the completion of 100 years of Vākātaka rule at the time of Prthvīśēṇa II, the problem of the origin and chronology of the main Vākātaka line in Vidarbha has been practically settled (though the exact location of their capital is still a question for debate). The researches of V.V. Mirashi, especially his revised reading of the inscriptions from the Ghaṭōtkaca and Ajañṭā caves, have cleared the confusion regarding succession also in the line of the Vākātaka branch of Vatsagulma (modern Bashim in District Akola). This has helped to put the chronology and events during the concluding years of the main branch of the dynasty in a proper perspective. Mirashi and Walter Spink have suggested an historical framework for some of the events of this dynasty on the basis of references to Vidarbha in Daṇḍī's *Daśakumāracarita*, a romantic narrative of the seventh century A.D. Spink has put the careers of the last kings of the Vatsagulma dynasty, especially that of Hariśēṇa, in a tight time-bracket on the basis of art-historical and historical evidence. The Vatsagulma branch, which rose to power around the middle of the third century A.D., had in any case disappeared from the political stage by the end of the fifth century A.D.

The genealogy of the main branch can reasonably be reconstructed on the basis of their copper-plate grants, the majority of which pertain to the reign of Pravarasēṇa II, son of Prabhāvatīguptā. These usually start with a conventional mention of Pravarasēṇa I, who seems to have been held in great esteem by the kings of the branch, apparently because of the performance of a number of sacrifices. He is given the title of Samrāt, which he earned by the performance of the Vājapēya sacrifice (which only a Brahmin could undertake as a substitute to the Aśvamēdha). The fact that he had performed four Aśvamēdha sacrifices itself indicates his sovereign status, though it is not known where he had his dominions. In the Purāṇas, Pravarasēṇa, whose name occurs in a controversial passage, is said to have ruled at Purikā and Canakā, two cities that seem to be fort-towns in the Vindhya. Mirashi once thought that Vindhyaśakti, a Brahmin and father of Pravarasēṇa I, started his career somewhat in the central Deccan (modern Andhra Pradesh) and established himself in Vidarbha after the disintegration of the Sātavāhana empire. He thus was of the opinion that the Vākātakas were from the beginning associated with the Vidarbha region. The discovery of a set of copper-plates issued by a Brahmin royal dynasty styled the "Muṇḍas" made Mirashi change his opinion, suggesting that the Vākātakas came to Vidarbha some time during the time of Pravarasēṇa I, whose empire included the regions around the Satpura range and





Vidarbha: Vākāṭaka sites



extended to Kuntala on the south, and Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, Kalinga, and Āndhra on the east. The towns of Purikā and Canakā are described as located at the foot of the Rkṣavat, which he identified with the Satpura range. According to legends in the Purāṇas, Pravarasēna I enjoyed a glorious rule of 60 years.

Pravarasēna I was followed by Rudrasēna I, son of Gautamīputra, who predeceased his father; he was married to a daughter of Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva dynasty. This alliance was deemed important by Rudrasēna, who is probably referred to in an inscription at Deotek (Chandrapur District of Vidarbha); if Rudrasēna of the Deotek inscription is the Rudrasēna I of the Vākāṭaka copper-plates, then the royal line seems clearly to have been associated with Vidarbha from his time. Mirashi conjectured that it was during the reign of Prṥhvīṣeṇa I that the capital was shifted to Nandivardhana. The alliance with the Bhāraśivas firmly put the stamp of Śaivism on the dynasty. Save for a couple of rulers (Rudrasēna II and Prṥhvīṣeṇa II), all other kings of the dynasty style themselves as "paramamāhēśvara."

Rudrasēna I was followed by Prṥhvīṣeṇa I, about whom there is little to observe, save that his son, Rudrasēna II, was married to Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II (c. A.D. 380-415). It is not certain what relation the two previous Vākāṭaka kings had with Samudragupta, whether they suffered politically during the process of expansion of the Gupta empire, or, if so, whether this matrimonial alliance had political overtones. The marriage did change for a short period the religious leanings of the royal house from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism. Rudrasēna II, who ruled for five years, seems to have extended his patronage to the Bhāgavata cult. Like Vin-dhyaśakti II of the Vatsagulma branch, Rudrasēna II also started issuing copper-plates, some found at Māṇḍhal (District Nagpur) but issued from Vatsagulma, in the fifth year of his reign.

Rudrasēna II expired and his wife, Prabhāvatīguptā, had to act as regent for the minor heir-apparent, prince Divākarasēna, for 13 years. Her recently discovered copper-plates (Lakhani, District Bhandara) show that she had the good fortune of being the mother of yet another king who styled himself Pravarasēna II in imitation of his glorious ancestor. Pravarasēna II ruled for a span of about 30 years and issued a number of copper-plates that indicate that he brought the empire once again to its ancient expanse and glory. He seems to have ruled over extensive areas including the present Jabalpur, Betul, Chindwara, and Balaghat Districts in Madhya Pradesh and Bhandara, Nagpur, Wardha, and Amaraoti Districts in Maharashtra.

Pravarasēna II was succeeded by his son, Narēndrasēna, who is described in his son's inscription as one whose command was respected in Kōsala (Chattisgarh), Mālava, and Mēkala (Baghelkhand). This is supported by the covert praise showered by the Pāṇḍuvarṣī king, Bharatabala, on his overload.

Narēndrasēna married Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, a princess of Kuntala, and his son, Prṥhvīṣeṇa II, is the last-known king of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas. During his career, the glory of the main Vākāṭaka house was once more restored; he probably was suzerain of the Vyāghra mentioned in inscriptions from Nacnā and Gañj (District Panna, Madhya Pradesh). After him, however, political power seems to have passed to Hariṣeṇa, emperor of the Vatsagulma branch.

Pre-Vākāṭaka vestiges at Pauni (District Bhandara) and Chandhāla (District Nagpur) are important evidence for the spread of Hīnayāna Buddhism into Vidarbha from the third to the first century B.C. A sandstone Buddha from Paunār (District Wardha), datable to c. third century A.D., suggests contacts with Mathurā, and a recently discovered group of Buddhist bronzes from Hamlāpurī (District Nagpur) establishes



the existence of a Mahāyāna monastery near Nandivardhana at about the same time. Stylistic consideration of these images suggests cultural contacts with both Mathurā and the South. Vidarbha, with its two important political centres, was a geographical link between North and South; trade routes starting from Prayāg via Jabalpur and from Ujjain via Acalpur passed through Vidarbha, and caravans of traders with Buddhist leanings travelled along them.

Like many royal dynasties in South India, the Vākāṭakas were of Brahmanical origin; they issued many copper-plates that describe donations of land given to Brahmins of different śākhās (including those of the Ātharvaṇaśākhā). As these occasions generally fell around the 12th day of the fortnight, Mirashi suggested that the donations were made after breaking the fast observed on Ēkādaśī, sacred to the followers of the Bhāgavata cult. On the basis of panels depicting scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, and the epithet of Rāmagirisvāmī for the god at Rāmagiri, Mirashi also suggested that a cult of Rāma existed to which Prabhāvatīguptā subscribed; attribution of the epic poem Sētubandha to Pravarasēna II also is significant. In any case, there is no doubt that a Sātvata cult, offshoot of the Bhāgavata cult, already was patronised by Rudrasēna II, who stated in his records that his succession to the throne was due to the grace of Lord Cakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu). The Vaiṣṇava sculptures at Paunār (District Wardha), Rāmṭēk, and Māṇḍhal (District Nagpur), all show that Vaiṣṇavism had made inroads in Vidarbha.

Śaivism had made its influence felt somewhat earlier. Rudrasēna I traces his descent on his mother's side to the Bhāraśivas, who pleased Śiva by carrying the liṅga on their shoulders. All kings of the main branch reveal their predilection towards Śaivism by styling themselves "paramamāhēśvara" (in contrast to the kings of the Vatsagulma line who are satisfied with the titles of "Hārītīputra," Dharmamahārāja, etc.). Even Pravarasēna II, whose parents were ardent Bhāgvatas, refers to himself as "paramamāhēśvara." It seems he even bore on his person a śūla as sign of the grace of Lord Śambhu. Sculptural evidence from Māṇḍhal, Mānsar, and Hamlāpurī, all in the vicinity of the early Vākāṭaka capital of Nandivardhana, helps demonstrate that the Pāśupata cult was popular in Vidarbha, probably due to royal patronage.

Recent excavations at Māṇḍhal have yielded a large number of copper-plate grants of Rudrasēna II, indicating his power and authority, and about two dozen stone images, of which the majority are Śaiva. Many new forms of Śiva, some with four, eight, or 12 heads, have been found. These images are characterised by short stature, thick-set body-type, roundish face with thick lips and often double chin, sensitive modelling of fleshy parts, and an expression of dignity and serenity. A powerful masterpiece from Mānsar, close to Rāmṭēk, is an image of a corpulent, seated Śiva treated almost like Kubēra.

### Architectural Features

The "dharmasthāna" referred to in the copper-plates may mean places of piety and religious worship, or temples. Though such an interpretation may seem debatable, there is no question that temples did exist in this period. A group of 26 villages set apart for the maintenance of a temple of Pravarēśvara, probably founded by Pravarasēna I, was called "Pravarēśvaraśaḍviṃśati."

Remains of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu have been unearthed at Paunār and recent researches at Māṇḍhal and Rāmṭēk in District Nagpur and Nagrā in District Bhandara have also brought to light the remains of actual temples. No remains of timber shrines



have survived, but imitations in brick and stone have been found. Three brick shrines at Māṇḍhal and one at Nagrā have been exposed. Shrines at Māṇḍhal consisted of a garbhagrha and porch, sometimes preceded by a flight of steps. Another type was a shrine raised on an oblong platform, approached by flights of steps from lateral sides. This often was accompanied by an ablution tank. These brick structures show also partial use of stone for pillars and walls.

Temple remains near the pond at Māṇḍhal show a transition from the use of brick to stone. The temple there rises on a pīṭha with simple mouldings, one imitating a stylised ghaṭapallava; on the wall is a vēdikā pattern alternating with pilasters and shallow niches (decorated respectively with rosettes and pramatha figures). Other decorative patterns are maṇibandha and padmapatra.

The more elaborate brick temple at Nagrā had an elevated platform, with projections and recesses, displaying different mouldings.

Specimens of structural stone temples built of ashlar have so far been discovered only at Rāmṭēk and reveal a variety of forms. A zoomorphic Varāha there is housed in an open pavilion (Plate 101). Two Narasimhas are enshrined in temples that consist of a closed, pillared maṇḍapa and garbhagrha (Figs. 27-28; Plates 111, 117-118). The Bhōgarāma temple (Fig. 29; Plate 124) has a pillared mukhamāṇḍapa and a rectangular vīthi leading to two garbhagrhas. The Trivikrama shrine, which has preserved the enshrined image but not the garbha itself, had an open maṇḍapa with a dwarf wall. The shrine presently known as Guptarāma is essentially a cave-temple.

These structural stone temples used two types of stone in construction; plinth and walls, as also some pillars, are made of a local variety of sandstone, while the main load-bearing pillars that support the roof are usually of basalt. The basalt pillars are of a heavy Rucaka type adorned with full or half lotus-medallions and show octagonal and 16-sided sections in the upper part, capped by cruciform brackets. Some pillars show ghaṭa below the brackets. The sandstone pillars, on the other hand, display delicate ornamentation in the middle section, also, with decorative patterns including swirling patravalli.

Another noteworthy architectural feature is the absence of a regular antarāla; separation between the garbhagrha and maṇḍapa is marked by a pair of pillars and pilasters. Pillarets are often used for windows (stambhajālakas are noticed in at least two temples, the Bhōgarāma and Kēvala-Narasimha).

Māṇḍhal shrines represent the earliest examples of Vākāṭaka architecture and have been dated on the basis of stratigraphical evidence to c. A.D. 300-600. There is no conclusive evidence to date these temples more precisely. The find at the site of a set of copper-plates issued by Rudrasēna II indicates that Māṇḍhal was an important centre in the early Vākāṭaka period.

*Māṇḍhal, shrine at Bōṅgi Huḍkī (not illustrated)*

This shrine's remains are in hilly terrain known as Bōṅgi Huḍkī situated c. half a mile south of the village of Māṇḍhal. Nothing remains except the plinth.

*Māṇḍhal, shrine on the bank of Varhaḍī Talāō (not illustrated)*

Half a mile from the village on the bank of the Varhaḍī Talāō are the remains of a shrine that appears to have been crudely rebuilt during the late Yādava period. The square garbhagrha had 8 ft. 2 in. thick walls preceded by a balustrade, 14 ft. 9 in. long flanking a flight of steps. The brick-built plinth was encased in blocks of buff sandstone. Excavations yielded a bull in the mature style of the Vākāṭaka period.



*Māṇḍhal, religious complex at Bhōlā Huḍkī (not illustrated)*

This brick structure at Bhōlā Huḍkī, though of inferior quality and built entirely of brickbats, has some notable features. The main shrine above the rectangular platform has a central altar (6 ft. 11 in. × 3 ft.), approached by steps from the north and south. The main approach on the north had two chambers and a rectangular cistern. Slightly away from the main structure can be noticed a pathway 6 ft. 7 in. wide forming a sort of pradakṣiṇāpatha around the structural complex.

*Nagrā, brick temple (Fig. 25; Plates 98-100)*

Excavations carried out at Nagrā (District Bhandara) have brought to light remains of a brick temple on a mound locally known as Bhairō Ṭekrī. On art-historical and archaeological grounds, the remains may be dated to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. Only the high plinth survives. A stone water-conduit can be traced which reached the northern face of the temple and discharged into a brick cistern. The conduit had a gargoyle with a vyāla head, holding a fish in a human hand.

The plinth measures c. 87 ft. × 147 ft. 8 in. and was preceded on the east by a brick ramp protected on either side by balustrades. The plinth seems to have consisted of two tiers; the much damaged lower tier led, by way of a flight of steps, to the upper level (a square of c. 87 ft.) which was the site of the main temple.

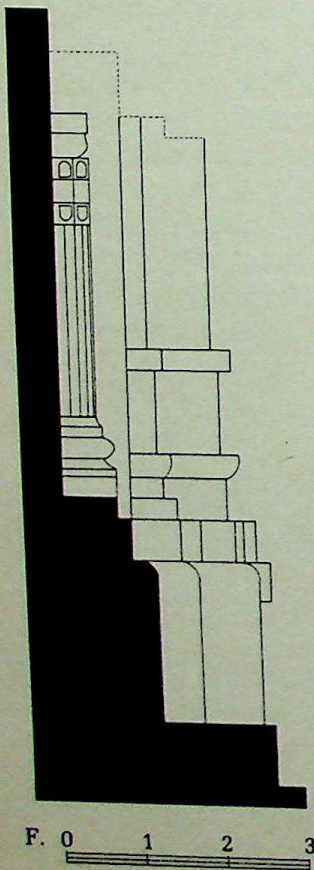


Fig. 25. Nagrā. Brick temple, moulded platform, sectional elevation.

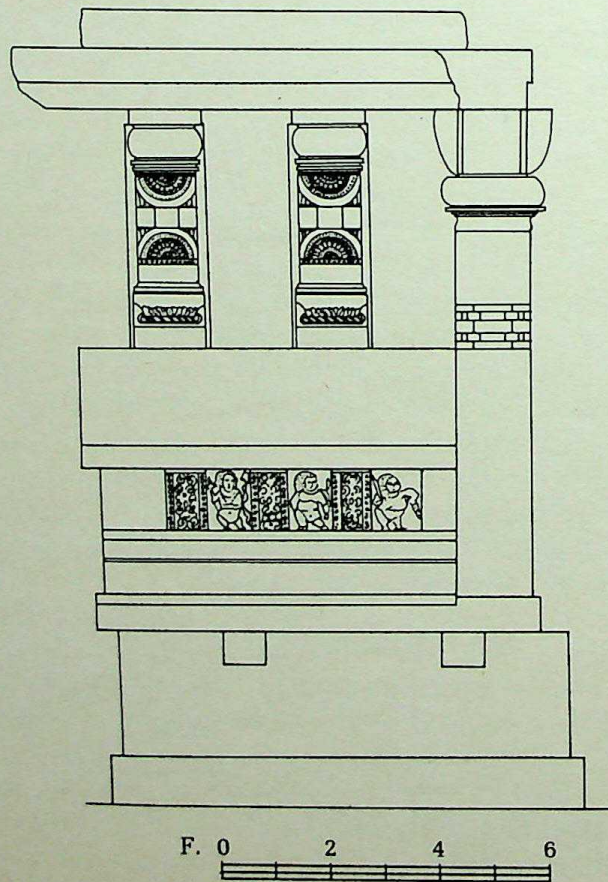


Fig. 26. Rāmṭēk. Trivikrama temple, vēdibandha and kaṭi.



The eastern face of the plinth has three parts. The flanking projections are simple (c. 16.5 ft. wide); the middle projection, however, provides for steps, is c. 46 ft. wide, and has three re-entrant angles.

The treatment of the platform is simple but attractive (Fig. 25), its monotony broken by projections and recesses at regular intervals. The three equilateral faces are decorated with seven recesses and eight projections, each measuring 6 ft. 7 in. wide. (The corners are preceded by somewhat smaller recesses c. 2 ft. 3 in. wide.)

Though the complete outline of the garbhagrha cannot be reconstructed, the middle point of its outer outline would have had to coincide with the centre of the middle recess on the back (west) of the plinth. The prañāla traced in the northern half of the platform discharged into a cistern accommodated in the middle recess of the northern face.

The vertical face of the platform shows wide recesses and projections, rising above a common base (Plate 98). The recesses each contain a pair of tall fluted columns having a ghaṭa-shaped base and an elaborate capital (Plate 99) while the projections show a complex formulation with a vēdikā-like member, seat-slab, and probably Rucaka pilasters on the corners (Plate 100). The extant height of the platform is about 8 ft.

The area of the garbhagrha was disturbed because of later constructions in medieval times (the stone foundations of the latter cutting through the earlier brick constructions). Enough remains to indicate that the garbhagrha measured c. 17 ft. × 19 ft. 8 in. and was preceded by an antarāla c. 10.5 ft. square. The outer wall of the garbhagrha had a maximum thickness of 14 ft. 9 in. and its outline, too, was broken into projections and recesses.

The box method of construction was adopted in building this huge brick platform, thereby lessening the enormous number of bricks required.

#### *Rāmṭēk, Varāha maṇḍapa (Plates 101-102)*

A colossal image of zoomorphic Varāha stands within a small four-pillared maṇḍapa raised on a jagatī, which is restored in plain masonry. The Rucaka pillars (Plate 102) are decorated with paired lotus medallions with short octagonal and 16-sided sections between. The pillars have heavy plain bracket-capitals which carry beams decorated with a thin row of padmapatra. The beams support a lantern ceiling composed of intersecting squares. The present roof of the maṇḍapa was put up during the Bhōnsalā period, but enough remains to show that the original ceiling was decorated with a large lotus medallion. The restored superstructure is now topped by an āmalaka which was retrieved during the clearance of the site.

#### *Rāmṭēk, Trivikrama temple (Fig. 26; Plates 103-109)*

Of this shrine, only a maṇḍapa has survived. It stands on a vēdibandha (Fig. 26) consisting of a khura and tall kumbha surmounted by a Vākātaka version of vēdikā and kakṣāsana carrying dwarf pillars that support the beams of the maṇḍapa. The vēdikā (Fig. 26) stands above simple mouldings and is decorated by a recessed frieze of niches and pilasters (galapādas). The niches are adorned with dancing and cavorting pramathas (Plates 106-107) and the galapādas have a border of maṇibandha and are filled with floral patterns. The dwarf pillars (Plates 103, 105) are Rucaka with ghaṭa at the bottom and two ardhapadma medallions on the upper part of the shaft (separated by a short octagonal section) which is crowned by a cushion capital (Fig. 26).

The beams are embellished on the outside by a row of festoons and on the inside by a register of tulā-ends carved as sirīhamukhas, both larger and cruder than their



Gupta counterparts.

The corner basalt pillars rise directly from the *vēḍibandha* and have a plain Rucaka shaft with a short neck of five alternating octagonal and 16-sided sections; above the cushion-capital is a bracket of plain curved profile.

The existing roof of flat slabs belongs to the *Bhōnsalā* period.

The colossal image of Trivikrama probably stands in its original place, facing west, though the structure of the *garbhagṛha* itself has completely crumbled.

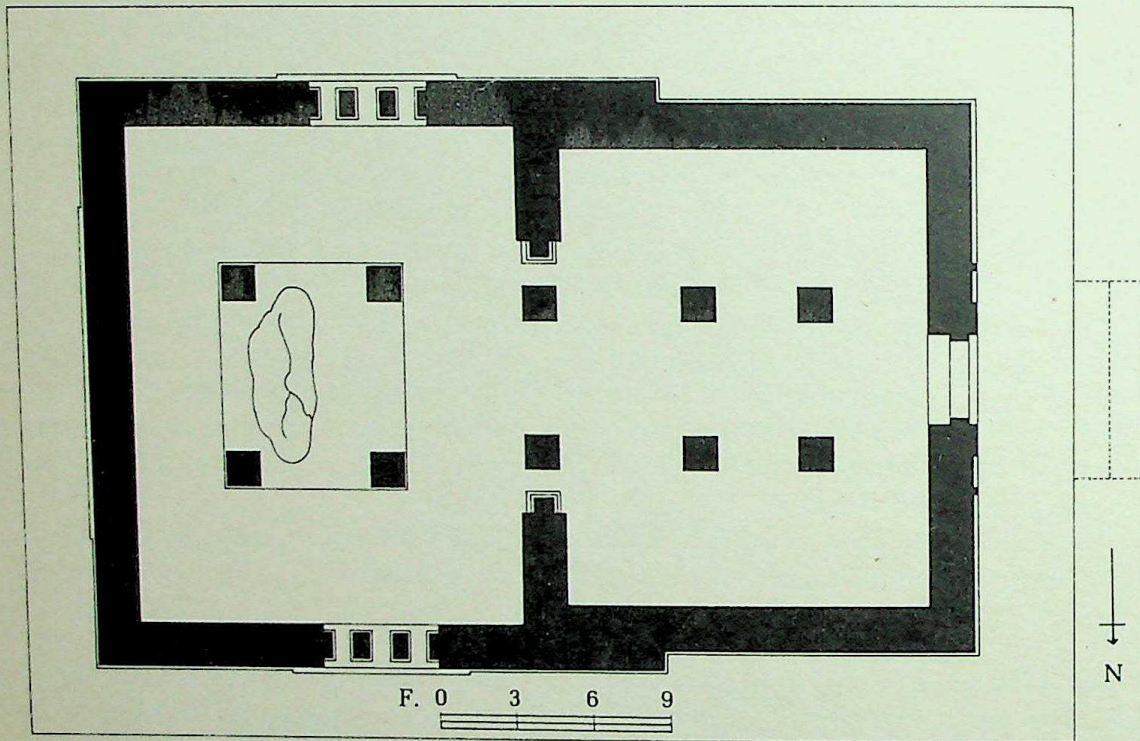


Fig. 27. Rāmṭēk. Kēvala-Narasimha temple, plan.

#### Rāmṭēk, Kēvala-Narasimha temple (Figs. 27, 30b; Plates 110-116)

Like the Rudra-Narasimha temple, this is a closed, walled structure. The temple (Fig. 27; Plates 110-111) stands on a short, reconstructed *jagatī* and is comprised of a rectangular *sāndhāra garbhagṛha* preceded by a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. The *garbhagṛha* and *maṇḍapa* (Plates 112-114) both have a *catuṣkī* of four pillars at their centres which serve to raise up the central *aṅkaṇas*.

The temple has a peculiar *vēḍibandha* (Fig. 30b; Plate 110), having a *kandhara* with a deep recess in the middle surmounted by a *vēdikā* carved with floral reliefs between two *ūrdhva-padmas*. The latticed windows of *pillarets* (*stambhajālakas*) fitted to the lateral walls of the *garbhagṛha* are a notable feature.

Instead of a regular door, two pillars and a pair of engaged pilasters have been introduced in the middle of the wall separating the *garbhagṛha* from the *maṇḍapa*. The pillars of the two *catuṣkīs* differ in form and material from these two pillars. The *catuṣkī* pillars are sturdy, massive, made of basalt while those used as partition are elegant, delicate, and made of sandstone. The difference largely must be due to the functions they discharge; the former are load-bearing, the latter decorative.



Each pillar of the maṇḍapa's catuṣkī is Bhadraka, its plain shaft decorated by two raised horizontal bands fringed by maṇipattikās.

The temple doorway seems to have been "T"-shaped; its rectangular frame now is topped by two plain slabs of black basalt. Over this is a group of plain tulā-ends, a continuous row of which also runs along the three faces of the maṇḍapa.

Two sandstone door-jambs are fitted to the entrance door (Plate 116) consisting of niches with pramathas; the lowermost niche in each case displays a gaṇa pouring coins from the mouth of a nakulaka held across his shoulders.

The pillars of the garbhagrha's catuṣkī bear a pair of lotus medallions on the upper part of the shaft, with an intervening, narrow, octagonal section. A colossal image of seated two-armed Narasimha (Plate 115) is enshrined in the centre of the garbhagrha.

A stone-slab fixed in the interior south wall of the maṇḍapa (Plate 113), bears a 15-line epigraph in Northern Gupta script of the fifth century that mentions the Vākāṭaka queen, Prabhāvatīguptā, consort of Rudrasēna II and mother of Pravarasēna II.

*Rāmṭēk, Rudra-Narasimha temple (Figs. 28, 30a; Plates 117-123)*

The Rudra-Narasimha temple almost replicates the Kēvala-Narasimha temple. 23 ft. 8 in. × 37 ft. 5 in., the temple stands on a platform 33 ft. 10 in. × 50 ft. 3 in. (Plate 119).

The garbhagrha contains a catuṣkī of Rucaka pillars carved with padma and ardhapadma with an octagonal band between. The pillars of the maṇḍapa's catuṣkī are slightly taller, supporting a high ceiling, and have a plain vertical band between padma and ardhapadma (Plates 121-122). Above is a ghaṭa and cushion member topped by plain crossed brackets.

As in the Kēvala-Narasimha temple, the wall separating the gūḍhamaṇḍapa and the garbhagrha is broken by an opening with two pillars and two half pillars acting as entrance. Plain basalt pillars are used for this partition, which have square bases and capital of ghaṭa and narrow cushion member capped by shallow brackets (Plate 122).

The original vēdibandha (Plate 119) had been concealed by accretions in the Bhōnsalā period, the original doorframe also hidden behind a new doorway constructed in the Bhōnsalā period. Removal of these accretions has revealed that the ancient vēdibandha consisted of kumbha, broad kandhara with a deep recess in the middle, and a plain paṭṭikā acting as chādyā (Fig. 30a). The original red sandstone doorframe had squatting yakṣa figures at the base. That on the right survives, and seems to represent one of the nidhis.

The surviving vēdibandha (Plates 117-119) suggests ten projections: two at each of the four corners and one to either side, almost in the middle of each lateral wall at the point where, on the interior, the garbhagrha is partitioned from the maṇḍapa (Fig. 28).

Corresponding to eight of these projections, there are eight cisterns below the platform (Plate 119). The purpose of these and whether they formed part of the original plan is difficult to determine.

The lower part of two life-size statues, each holding a staff, were recovered from the debris (Plate 123); these can be identified as Vaiṣṇava pratihāras.

A colossal seated image of Narasimha is enshrined in the garbhagrha, the ceiling of which is embellished with a lotus medallion. On the outside, a makara-praṇāla with a rectangular water-channel projects from the north wall (Plate 120).

The removal of late accretions has made clear that, above base level, much of the wall had been reconstructed using fallen debris from the older Vākāṭaka temple.

Conservation now in hand is expected to reveal further details of the plan, design,



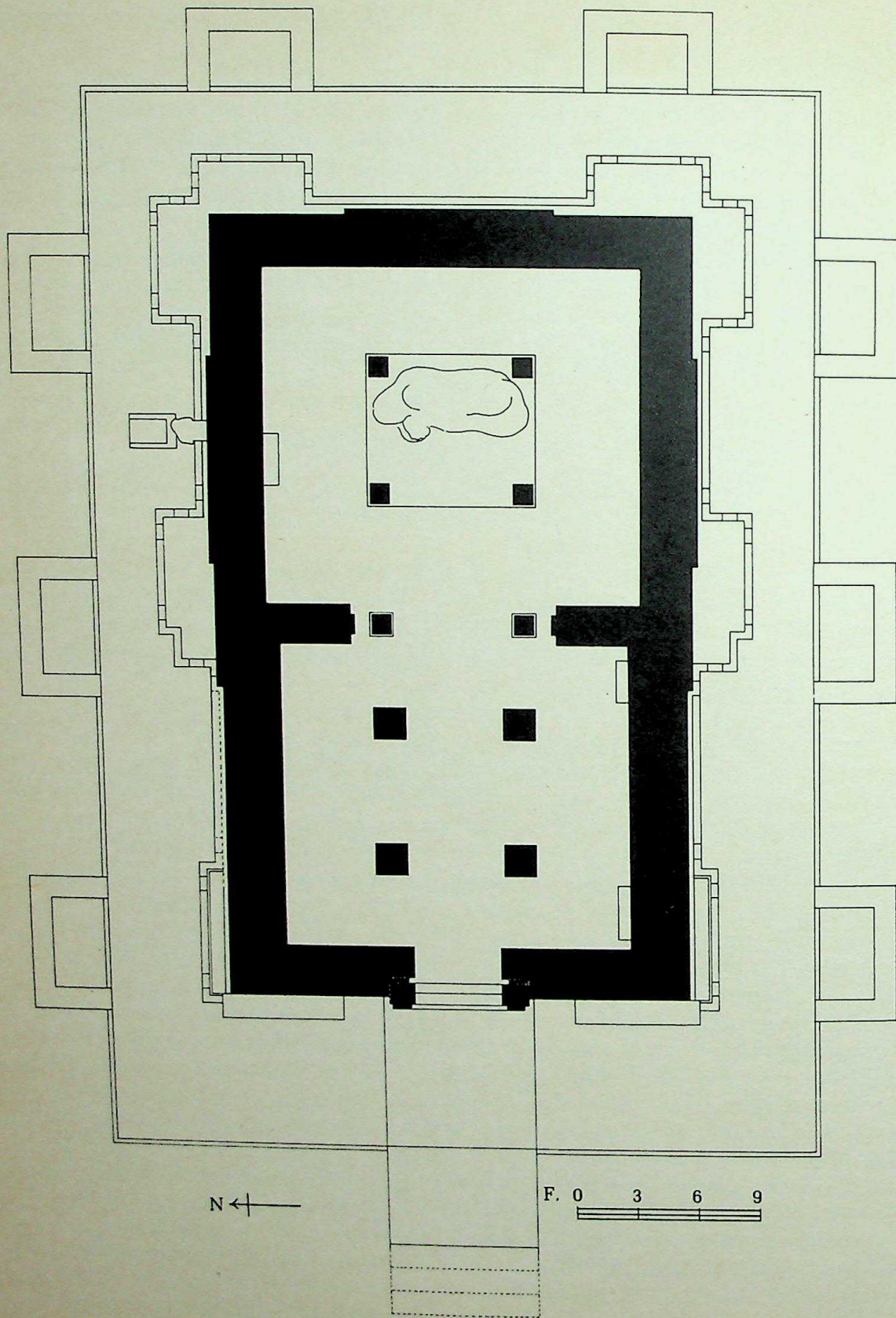


Fig. 28. Rāmṭēk. Rudra-Narasimha temple, plan.



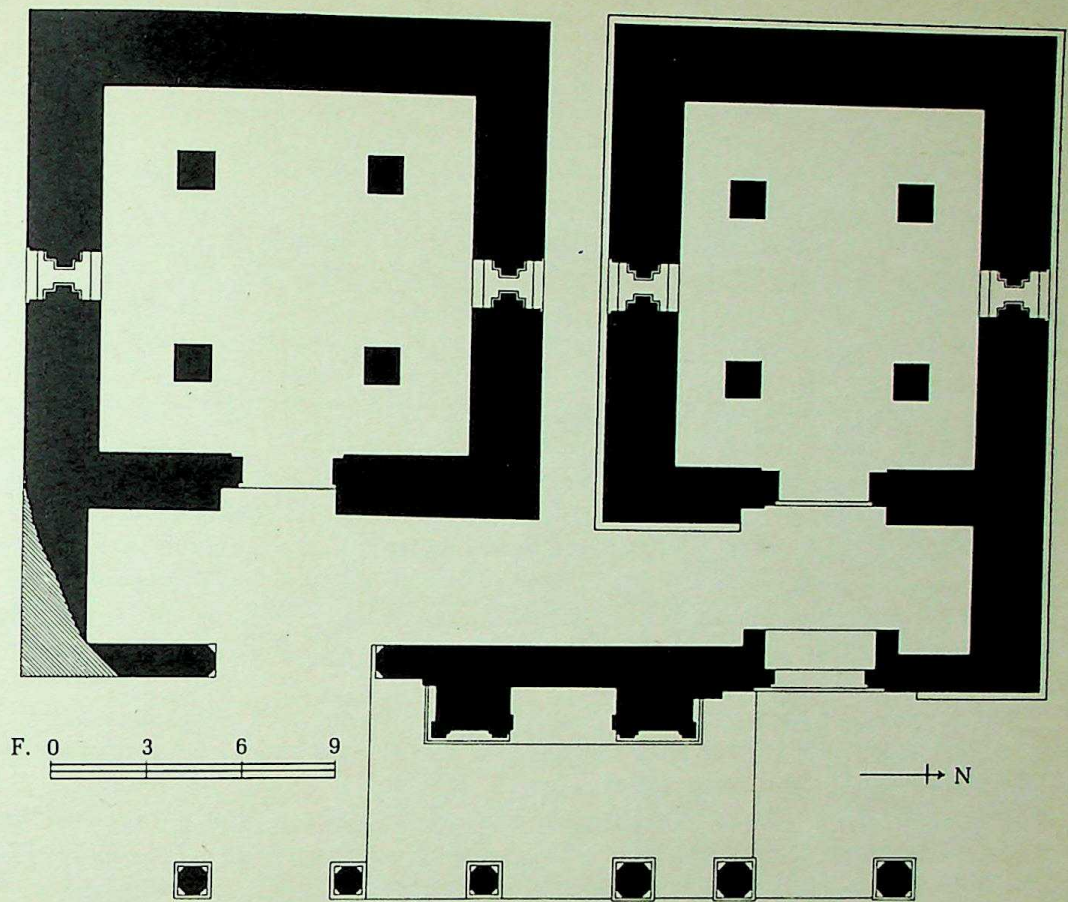


Fig. 29. Rāmṭēk. Bhōgarāma temple, plan.

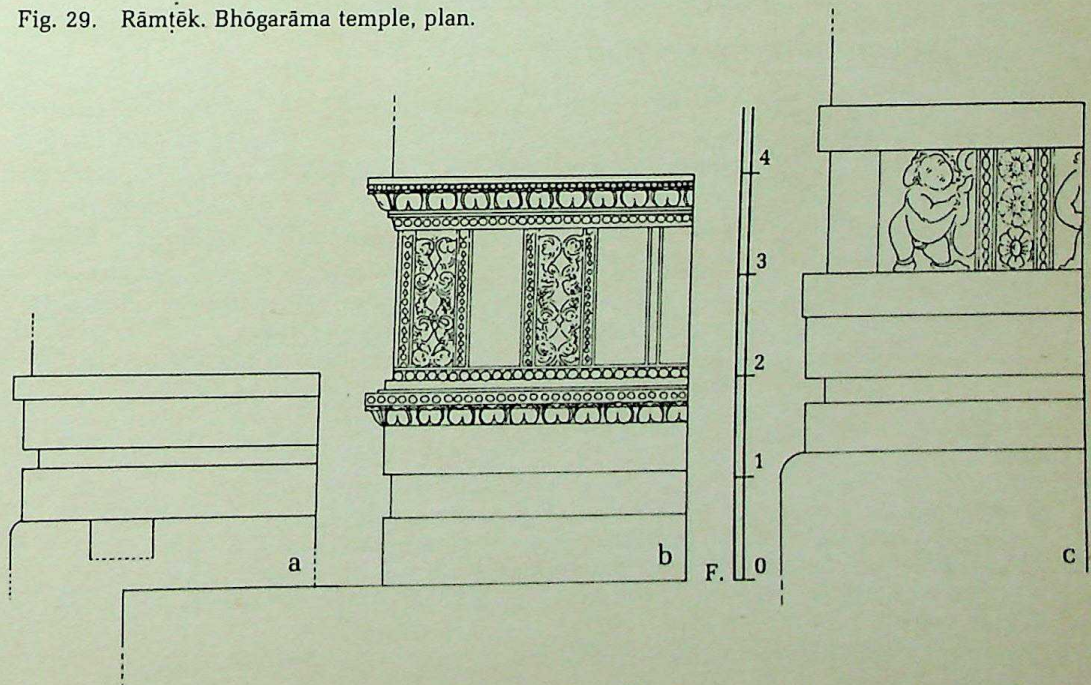


Fig. 30. Vēdibandhas, Rāmṭēk:

a. Rudra-Narasimha temple; b. Kēvala-Narasimha temple; c. Bhōgarāma temple.



and elevation of this temple.

Rāmṭēk, Bhōgarāma temple (Figs. 29, 30c; Plates 124-126, 129)

Opposite the Varāha maṇḍapa in the Bhōnsalā fort at Rāmṭēk, is the temple of Bhōgarāma, built directly on the rock without a jagatī. This temple consists of two shrines, in close alignment, each about 11.5 ft. square (Fig. 29; Plate 124). Both shrines face east and have central catuṣkīs. Pedestals against the back wall of each were used presumably for images. The two shrines are separated by a narrow passage and open into a common vīthī connected to a mukhamaṇḍapa having six pillars. This had been converted into three chambers, with niches and doors, by later occupants of the Mahānubhāva sect, who also added a pillared verandah on the south side.

At the base of both shrines is a vēdibandha (Fig. 30c) consisting of kumbha, broad kandhara with a deep recess in the middle, paṭṭikā, a second kandhara sandwiched between, with pramathas in recessed friezes (Plate 125) alternating with galapādas carved with floral motifs, and a final paṭṭikā. One pramatha is replaced by an ihāmṛga (Plate 126). Many of the designs have been worn out.

Unlike other temples at the site, this temple has preserved a complete set of vēdibandha mouldings. The kaṭi is plain, having square windows (Fig. 29) with plain pilasters inside pierced through the middle of the north and south walls of both shrines.

Pillars of the mukhamaṇḍapa are simple, Rucaka, with a short octagonal constriction of the upper part; those of the garbhagrha are Rucaka, with a short 16-sided section between a pair of octagonal sections.

The outer roof of the temple is modern but the ceilings of both the shrines are carved with large central lotuses (Plate 129) and smaller ones in the corners. Pedestals at the back walls of the shrines bear symbols and images of the Mahānubhāva sect now in active occupation of the temple. The original dedication is not known.

Rāmṭēk, Guptarāma temple (Plates 127-128)

This small, partly rock-cut and partly structural, temple (Plate 127) is on the western fringe of the Rāmṭēk hill, outside the fortification wall. It faces west and consists of a small structural pillared maṇḍapa and a rock-cut garbhagrha. The maṇḍapa has four plain pillars, square at the bottom as in the outer catuṣkī of the Rudra-Narasimha temple, but Bhadraka above. The garbhagrha presently enshrines a Śivaliṅga, a Nandi in front in the maṇḍapa, and is bereft of any significant architectural features. A partly broken, four-armed, Vākāṭaka-period image (probably Viṣṇu) recovered from the debris in front of this temple, probably was originally enshrined here.

A.P. Jamkhedkar

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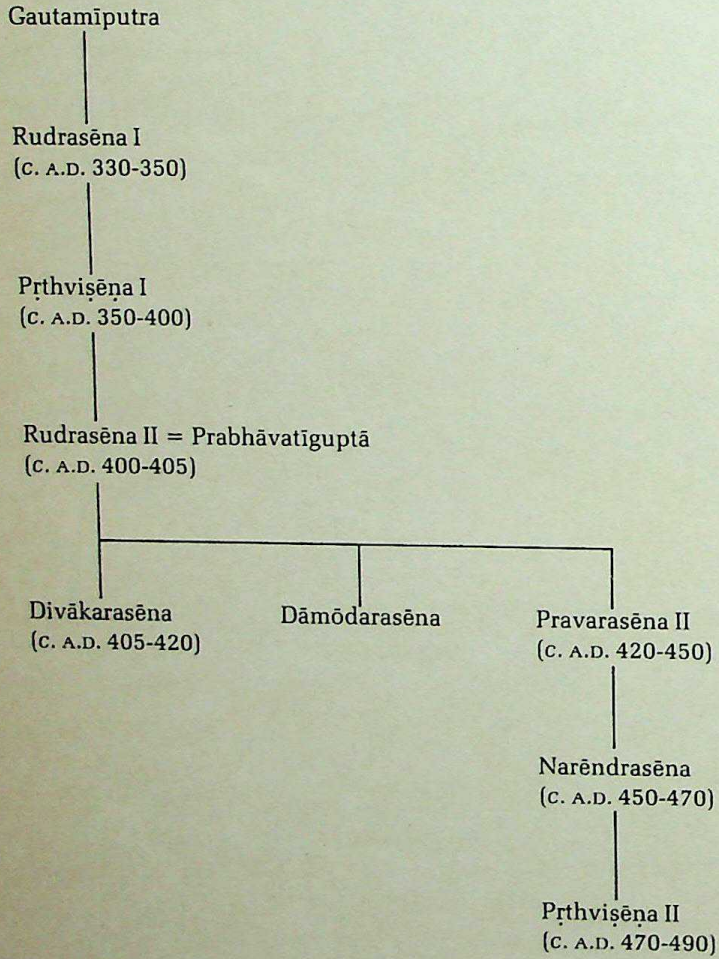


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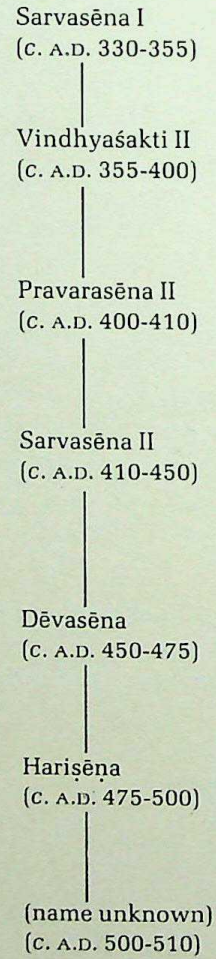


## Genealogical Table: Vākātakas

### Main branch



### Vatsagulma branch



[Source: Mirashi.]



## CHAPTER 4

I.C.

## Beginnings of North Indian style: Early Vidarbha (Vatsagulma) style, c. A.D. 450-500

## Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma

## Historical Introduction

The Brahmin Vindhyaśakti I, invested with the biruda Dharmamahārāja and praised as a hero of many battles, and his son Pravarasēna I, who is glorified as a powerful king and conqueror (also entitled Dharmamahārāja, a biruda borne by all Vākāṭaka kings), were common ancestors for both branches of the Vākāṭakas. The sons of Pravarasēna I, Gautamīputra (actual name lost) and Sarvasēna I, were the progenitors of the main branch, with its seat at Nandivardhana-Pravarapura, and the Basim branch, with its seat at Vatsagulma (a great religious and literary centre).

Sarvasēna I (c. A.D. 330-355), founder of the Vatsagulma branch, was probably the author of the Prākṛit kāvya *Harivijaya* and composer of many Prākṛit gāthās included in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. His son, Vindhyasēna *alias* Vindhyaśakti II, during his long reign (c. 355-400), adopted a more vigorous policy and fought battles against the king of Kuntala (in his own inscription he is credited with victory). The Kuntala chief may be identified with Mānāṅka, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, its capital at Māṇ (ancient Mānapura) in southern Maharashtra. Vindhyasēna issued from Vatsagulma a charter in his 37th year granting a village in Nāndikāḍa (modern Nāndēd) in southern Maharashtra.

Vindhyasēna's successor, Pravarasēna II, had a short reign (c. A.D. 400-410); the latter's son and successor, Sarvasēna II (whose name has been supplied by the recently discovered Thālner copper plate grant of king Hariṣēṇa), ruled from c. A.D. 410 to 450. Sarvasēna II was followed by Dēvasēna (c. A.D. 450-475), a pleasure-loving king who entrusted state affairs to his able minister, Hastibhōja, eulogised in the Ajaṇṭā cave no. 16 and Ghaṭōtkaca cave-inscriptions of his son Varāhadēva. Dēvasēna was succeeded by Hariṣēṇa (c. A.D. 475-500), the most powerful monarch of the Vākāṭaka family, who is credited in the Ajaṇṭā epigraph with the conquest of Avanti, Kōsala, Kālīṅga, Āndhra, Lāṭa, Trikūṭa, and Kuntala, covering regions from Mālava to Kuntala and from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal. Hariṣēṇa was served by a pious and capable minister, Varāhadēva, a devout Buddhist, who excavated and decorated Ajaṇṭā's cave no. 16 and the Ghaṭōtkaca cave, both dedicated to worship of the Buddha.

An inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave no. 17, also dedicated to Buddhist worship, records excavation of that cave, a gandhakuṭī (shrine) to its west (cave no. 19), and of a water-cistern by Upēndragupta, the Ṛṣika feudatory ruling the Ajaṇṭā region but owing allegiance to Hariṣēṇa.

The inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave no. 26 states that the cave-temple was excavated by the Buddhist friar Buddhahadra under supervision of his pupil, Bhadrabandhu, who



was a close friend of Bhavvirāja, the minister of the king of Aśmaka. Bhadrabandhu was assisted by another monk named Dharmadatta. The same inscription alludes to a Buddhist cave at the site having been founded by the eminent friar, Acala, who is mentioned also in the travel accounts of Hsüan Tsang as founder of the Ajaṇṭā establishment.

The above inscriptions testify that caves nos. 16, 17, and 19 at Ajaṇṭā as well as the Ghaṭōtkaca cave were excavated during the reign of Hariṣeṇa. In fact, stylistic affinities of sculpture, architecture, painting, and epigraphs among these caves and the remaining Mahāyāna caves of Ajaṇṭā suggest that the entire Mahāyāna development at the site was practically contemporaneous. The reign of Hariṣeṇa, which witnessed the efflorescence of such magnificent art activity at Ajaṇṭā, thus becomes one of the most glorious and creative periods in Indian art-history. Though Hariṣeṇa's personal faith was Śaivite, he followed an ecumenical policy, actively patronising all art in his domain.

### Architectural Features

According to Walter Spink, who has intensively studied the art and architecture of Ajaṇṭā and related problems, the development of the entire Mahāyāna phase of Ajaṇṭā took place within the space of two decades between c. A.D. 462-482; it started shortly after king Hariṣeṇa came to power (Spink puts his accession to c. A.D. 460) and was abandoned due to political disruptions attending the collapse of the great Vākāṭaka house. The first cave begun in this phase, cave no. 8 lying next to the old Hīnayāna caves, was extremely simple in plan, devoid of both hall pillars and carved ornamentation. Within a very short time, three more ambitious excavations were underway (nos. 7, 11, and lower 6), supported by wealthy donors rather than royal benefactors. A year or two later, when royal patrons began caves at the site, earlier undertakings suffered; workers may have been coerced or hired away to work on newer caves. The first of these courtly donations appears to have been cave no. 16, undertaken by Varāhadēva; it was grandly conceived, as would befit the benefaction of such a patron, and the possible involvement of court architects might well account for the authoritative nature of the vihāra's plan. All later major vihāras at the site derive their basic format from it. Since the imperial minister had become involved with the site, one can easily understand that the local feudatory ruler (Upēndragupta of Ṛṣika) would become involved too. When a building boom is going on, it is always a problem to get and keep good workmen, a fact that began to cause problems for many donors at Ajaṇṭā in c. A.D. 465 when the Ṛṣika ruler started his own impressive complex of caves, nos. 17 to 20. Difficulties were increased when a new series of excavations (nos. 21-28, its devotional focus on the huge caitya cave no. 26) was undertaken under Aśmaka patronage. By A.D. 468, according to Spink, the crisis had reached critical proportions as cave no. 1 was begun, probably under the sponsorship of Hariṣeṇa himself.

Between A.D. 472 and 475 there was a hiatus in the development of Ajaṇṭā caused by a conflict between ancient Ṛṣika, the territory in which Ajaṇṭā lies, and the neighbouring territory of Aśmaka. Skilled labour may have moved towards Bāgh during this period. In A.D. 475, when peace was restored, the Aśmakas came to power. Developments at Ajaṇṭā after this hiatus suggest both the increasing accumulation of Aśmaka power and the weakening and final collapse of Vākāṭaka authority in the Ajaṇṭā region perhaps shortly after c. A.D. 482.

Mirashi and Spink both derive broad confirmation for the fall of the Vākāṭaka



house of Vidarbha from the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍī (c. A.D. 550-600). According to this prose romance, the king of Vidarbha was a strong and just ruler, feared by many foes; he was succeeded by a young prince, who, though intelligent, led a dissolute life under the evil influence of his treacherous but affable companion, the prince of Aśmaka. The weakening of administration led to progressive chaos and confusion in the Vidarbha kingdom, which was exploited by feudatories and rival neighbouring powers. The king of Banavāsī was secretly instigated to invade Vidarbha by the prince of Aśmaka, who also manipulated treacherous defection of the feudatories that did assemble to fight for Vidarbha. The result was a disastrous defeat of the Vidarbha king, who lost both his life and kingdom, which was annexed by the Aśmaka prince. The widowed queen of Vidarbha then took shelter with her young children in the court of the king of Māhiṣmatī, who was a blood-relation of the Vidarbha king. All that may be relevant in this story might be that Hariṣeṇa was succeeded by a weak and dissolute prince and that Hariṣeṇa's death (placed by Spink in c. A.D. 482 and by Mirashi in c. A.D. 500) was shortly followed by the traumatic end of the Vākāṭaka house and possibly the sudden cessation of royal and ministerial patronage at Ajaṇṭā.

Structural temples of the Vākāṭakas of the main branch have been identified at Rāmṭēk, but no structural temple associated with the Vatsagulma branch has yet been traced. Mahāyāna caves at Ajaṇṭā and Gulwada (Ghaṭōtkaca), however, which are attributable to the reign and patronage of Hariṣeṇa, provide indications to show that the caves were modelled on contemporary structures. A formal analysis of their architectural components, including pillars, doorways, architraves, and ceilings, reveals that Vākāṭaka cave-art both interacted with and derived substantial inspiration from the contemporary Gupta art of northern India, but most of its forms were essentially original, based on contemporary timber prototypes of the region, which may be seen represented in Ajaṇṭā's paintings, and from past regional traditions.

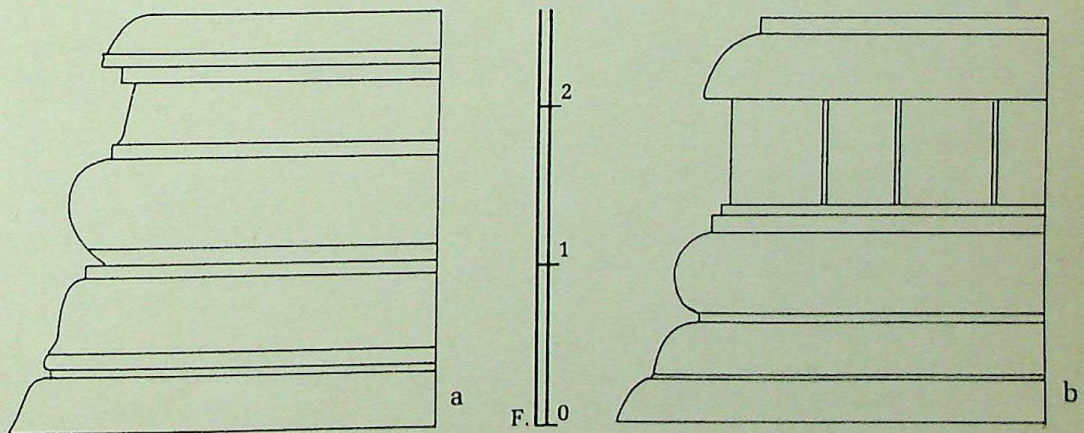


Fig. 31. Ajaṇṭā. Cave no. 26, adhiṣṭhānas: a. stūpa; b. front projection of stūpa.

Two varieties of adhiṣṭhāna are in evidence on the stūpa in cave no. 26 at Ajaṇṭā; these share lower mouldings of paired padmōpānas, vṛttakumuda, and kandhara. The adhiṣṭhāna of the stūpa proper is capped by a kapōtapālīkā (Fig. 31a; Plate 156) while that of its projection has a kapōta (Fig. 31b). The kandhara of the latter is carved with gaṇas in the recesses and patravallī on the galapādas (Plate 157), an arrangement quite popular on the Vākāṭaka structural temples at Rāmṭēk.



Pillar varieties range from plain to moderately ornate (painted or carved) to highly ornate ones. They differ widely in form. Some caves have simple octagonal columns with batter, carrying plain capitals and heavy brackets. The pillars in cave no. lower 6 even lack bases and capitals. The majority of pillars in other caves, however, are ornate and assume complex forms with multiple zones and facets and ornamental belts; they are broadly divisible into three types.

The first, with ghaṭa or ghaṭapallava, phalaka, and bracket, and with or without figures, generally has a shaft of Miśraka order (Plates 130, 134-135, 145, 151-153, 158). (Some ghaṭapallava pillars lack phalaka and brackets.) Such pillars possess many decorative belts and zones but the mālāsthāna below the ghaṭapallava capital is particularly lavish, with multiple registers of muktādāma, maṇipaṭṭikā, grāsapaṭṭi, patra-valī, and often small darpaṇas with figures of makaras and demigods. Frequently the ghaṭapallava itself is adorsed at the corners with bhāravāhaka kumāras, while the brackets are adorned with yakṣa-mithunas and attendants in the middle zone, and vidyādhara- or gandharva-mithunas or flying mālā-vidyādharas on the sides.

The second type consists of Rucaka half-pilasters (Plates 149-150, 161-162) with a short octagonal section hemmed in above and below by luxuriant mukula buds. These are laden with figural and decorative ornaments comprising puṣpapattī, maṇipaṭṭikā, ardhapadmas, kalpavallī, festoons of muktādāma, and darpaṇas and ardhadarpaṇas filled with figures of yakṣa-mithunas, haṁsas, makaras, and varieties of ihāmṛgas.

The third type, forming an important Vākāṭaka innovation, combines the Miśraka pillar (Plate 138) with a laśuna, ghaṭa, and padma capital of a pseudo-Dravidian form. This is the commonest category at Ajaṇṭā; like other types and varieties, it is relieved by ornamental zones (which are particularly broad and luxuriant) on the mālāsthāna below the laśuna and by figural and decorative ornament carved both in horizontal registers and in darpaṇas, as in Ajaṇṭā caves nos. 2 (Plate 136), 19 (Plate 142), and 21 (Plate 144).

The doorways of the Mahāyāna caves at Ajaṇṭā can be divided into two broad divisions: one is a Vākāṭaka innovation of a pseudo-Dravidian type (anticipating the early Calukya form), the other derived from the Gupta type. These are distinguished by different forms of stambhaśākhā and the presence or absence of "T" format.

The Gupta (northern) type is distinguished by "T" format and has stambhaśākhā of Miśraka order with ghaṭapallava capital, plain phalaka, and brackets of plain curved profile, as in Ajaṇṭā caves nos. 5 (Plate 133), 14, 23 (Plate 147), 24 (Plate 154), and 26. This type has three or four śākhās of which normally mālā forms the bāhyaśākhā, with "T"-shaped lateral extensions. In one instance (cave no. 23), śrīvṛkṣa pattern forms the bāhyaśākhā, as on the Gupta doorways at Bhūmarā and Dēvgaḍh. Other of the śākhās are patra-, mithuna-, and stambhaśākhā.

The Vākāṭaka type, which is naturally more popular at Ajaṇṭā (Plates 131, 146), eschews "T" format and uses a fluted Brahmakānta pillar topped by laśuna, ghaṭa, and padma as stambhaśākhā. (Araṅgābād cave no. 1 [Plate 159] has a similar type of doorway but the pavilions supported on its stambhaśākhās are of a more complex form.) Sometimes the shaft is Rudrakānta or even Miśraka, but the formal elements of the capital remain unchanged.

There are two examples, in cave no. lower 6 (Plate 137) and cave no. 20, of doorways canopied by makara-tōraṇas supported on Rudrakānta pilasters. Struts representing rampant vyālas are not uncommon; these spring from pilasters of Brahmakānta or Rudrakānta varieties. The Vākāṭaka type of doorway has four or five śākhās of which padmadala or stambha itself forms the bāhyaśākhā. Other śākhās may be



selected from patra-, padmalatā-, mithuna-, ratna-, mālā-, or khalvaśākhā (with chequer design).

Doorways of both types carry makara-vāhinī females (not necessarily representing Gaṅgā) supported on the stambhaśākhā. Mithunaśākhās mostly have nāgas at the base; other śākhās often have yakṣas, door-guardians, or devotees (male or female). Stambhaśākhās on a few doorways support paired kapōtas adorned with simhakarṇas or gavākṣas. A door-lintel in cave no. lower 6 has, under a makara-tōraṇa, a figure of Buddha protected by Mucalinda Nāga (Plate 137); the architrave above the porch doorway in cave no. 17 displays painted figures of eight Mānuṣī Buddhas including Maitrēya (Plate 141). The porch doorway of the Ghaṭōtkaca cave is carved with life-scenes of the Buddha on jambs and lintel.

Doorframes without stambhaśākhās show from two to four śākhās carved with rosettes, patravallī, padmalatā, mithunas, or gaṇas, and generally have as bāhyaśākhā a mālā fringed with padmadala (Plate 155). There are at least three examples of doorframes with a bāhyaśākhā adorned with sandwich, plain in one case (Plate 139), enclosing nāga figures, in cave no. 2, and nāgas alternating with apsarās in cave no. 27.

Krishna Deva

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## CHAPTER 5

I.D.

Beginnings of North Indian style: Aparānta style,  
c. late fifth–early sixth century A.D.

## Traikūṭakas of Aniruddhapura

### Historical Introduction

The Traikūṭakas, sons of the Trikūṭa-parvata in Aparānta, ruled over the northern Koṅkaṇa from c. early fourth century A.D. They are believed politically to have been of Ābhīra affiliation, and used the Ābhīra era of the ruler Īśvarsēna (from the 11th century onwards this era was known as the Kalacuri era).

The Traikūṭakas ruled not only the coastal strip of the Koṅkaṇa but, at the peak of their power, ruled southern Lāṭa as far as the river Tapatī (Tāpī) and beyond the Ghāṭs as far as the borders of Nāsik. Dahrasēna proclaims in his charter of A.D. 453/4 to have performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice, suggesting his considerably augmented territorial power.

In or before A.D. 480, however, under pressure from the expansionist campaigns of the Vākāṭaka emperor, Hariṣēna of Vatsagulma, Traikūṭaka power fell under a shadow. The dynasty nonetheless survived, and a copper-plate inscription of A.D. 493 from Kanhērī (Kṛṣṇagiri) purporting to record the founding of a mahāvihāra speaks of the “growing prowess of the Traikūṭakas.” The Traikūṭakas not only issued donatory charters, but two of its greatest kings, Dahrasēna and Vyāghrasēna, struck coins modelled on Kṣatrapa ones.

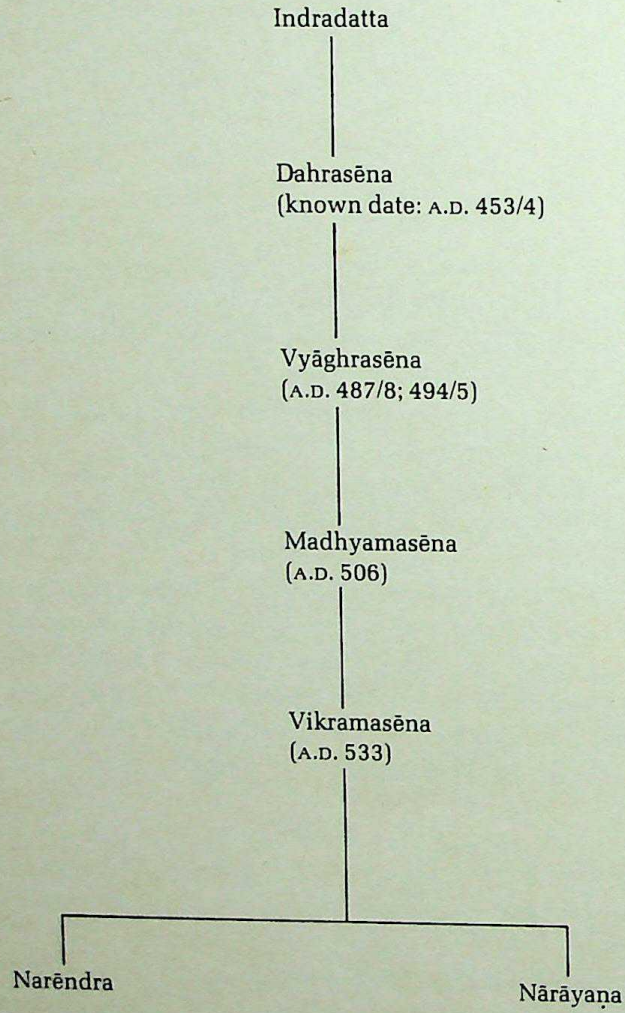
The capital of the Traikūṭakas, who were Vaiṣṇava, was Aniruddhapura, perhaps named after Aniruddha, son of Vāsudēva-Kṛṣṇa; it was located somewhere in southern Lāṭa, though its identification remains uncertain. Sōpārā (Śūrpāraka) appears to have been their chief seaport.

By c. A.D. 533, Vikramasēna, grandson of Vyāghrasēna had lost his independence to the Kalacuris (probably to Kṛṣṇarāja, who consolidated his power in Vidarbha, the heartland of the previous Vākāṭaka dynasty). Before the end of Traikūṭaka power, two vassals appear, the Śūras in southern Gujarat and the Mauryas, who seem to have held possession of Bombay and Elephanta islands.

No structural temple of the Traikūṭaka period so far has been revealed. Of the large concentration of Buddhist rock-cut foundations at Kṛṣṇagiri, several come from the Traikūṭaka period. Most are small and are more important for their sculpture than their architecture; three caves from Kanhērī and one at Lōnāḍ, however, are of architectural interest. It is difficult to date these caves precisely, and the Traikūṭaka attribution presented here must remain tentative, based largely on geographic and stylistic considerations that chronologically place the caves within the Traikūṭaka region and time-frame.



### Genealogical Table: Traikūṭakas of Aniruddhapura





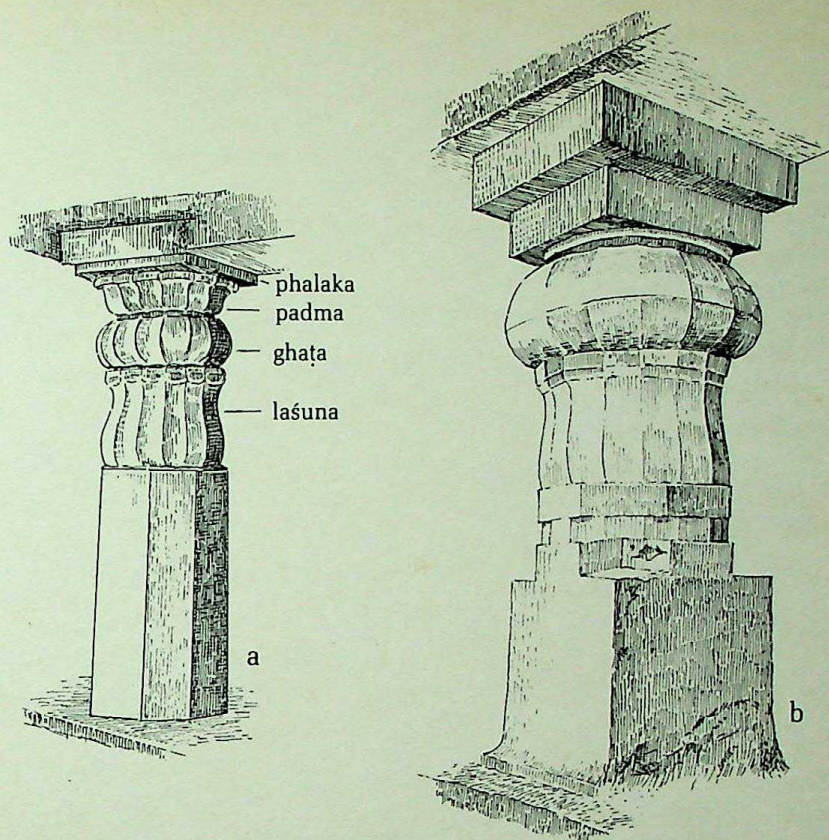


Fig. 32. Columns:

a. Ajaṇṭā. Cave no. 7, mukhamaṇḍapa; b. Kanhērī. Cave no. 1, façade, lower storey.

### Architectural Features

Of the few examples of Traikūṭaka cave-architecture available, each represents a distinctive trend, suggesting separate formal origins and connections. Certain of their architectural features, however, add to our knowledge of origins for later structural conventions.

#### *Kanhērī, cave no. 32 (Plate 163)*

The well-proportioned façade of this austere cave reveals a few important features: unmoulded, unadorned, octagonal columns without capitals, pilasters with undecorated darpaṇa pattern showing affinity with Vākāṭaka parallels at Ajaṇṭā, and a dado of three parts that looks toward the future vēdikā, āsanapaṭṭa, and kakṣāsana of structural temples (though here lying along a vertical axis, their differentiation as independent architectural members not yet clear).

#### *Kanhērī, cave no. 1 (Fig. 32b)*

This cave reveals an interesting column-type (Fig. 32b) sometimes thought of as "Dravidian." The lower square section of this dwarfish column resembles Koṅkaṇa-Maurya columns. The upper section, with its faceted, fluted, lightly ribbed laśuna, ghaṭa, and double phalaka, however, is not a customary form in this region or period.



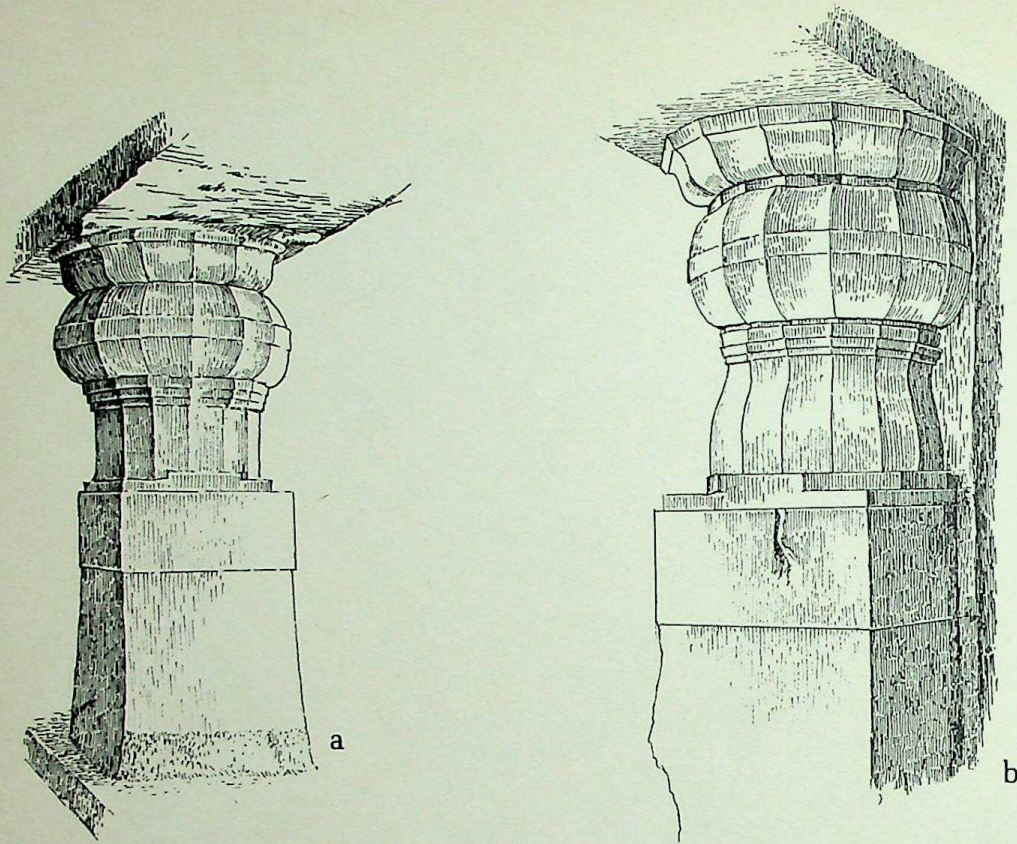


Fig. 33. Columns:

a. Elephanta. Cave no. 6, façade, vīthikā; b. Elephanta. Cave no. 6, façade, vīthikā, end-pilaster.

Its origin lies in an earlier Sātavāhana order, which had treated the Maurya/Śuṅga fluted padma as a broadly faceted member.

Padma is reversed to form a sort of faceted laśuna; contemporaneous analogues are encountered in pillars of the mukhamaṇḍapa of cave no. 7 at Ajaṇṭā (Fig. 32a) and three to four decades later in Elephanta cave no. 6 (Fig. 33a-b). In lower Drāviḍadēśa, the Pallavas followed an almost identical technique, but the laśuna was not differentiated from the shaft. A few Pāṇḍya caves of the late seventh and early eighth centuries adopt a similar disposition. These Traikūṭaka Deccani instances assume importance as the harbingers of a form widely adopted later in lower Drāviḍadēśa. This cave may be dated to c. A.D. 500 or slightly later.

Lōnāḍ, cave (Fig. 34b; Plates 165-166)

The corpulent, unfinished Brahmakānta columns of the façade of the Lōnāḍ cave have sharply flexed laśuna and ghaṭa, massive and strongly ribbed (Fig. 34b). This is perhaps the earliest example of such an occurrence; in Ajaṇṭā, ribbed Brahmakānta pillars with flexed laśuna are known, but their use was restricted to the stambhaśākhā of doorframes or as thin intermediate colonnettes (Fig. 34a). Taraṅga-pōtikā has a medial belt showing valli-decoration (Plate 166).

The central of three doorframes that open into the vīthikā has projecting yakṣa figures at the bottom and stambhaśākhās with ribbed laśuna, ghaṭa, and padma, the



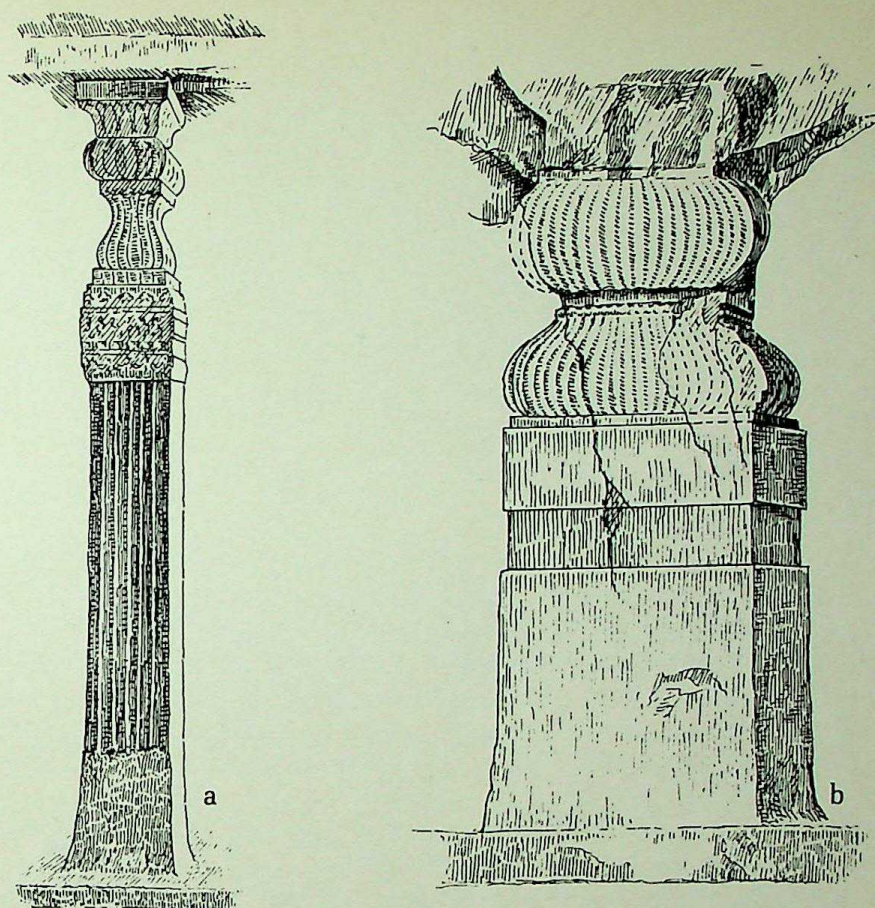


Fig. 34. **Brahmakānta columns:**

a. Ajaṇṭā. Cave no. 16, garbhagrha; b. Lōṇāḍ. Cave façade.

form and treatment of which anticipate the development found in the Maurya period in the northern Koṅkaṇa. The cave may be dated to c. A.D. 500.

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## CHAPTER 6

I.E.

Beginnings of North Indian style: Kuṅkaṇadēśa style,  
c. A.D. 540-610

## Mauryas of Purī

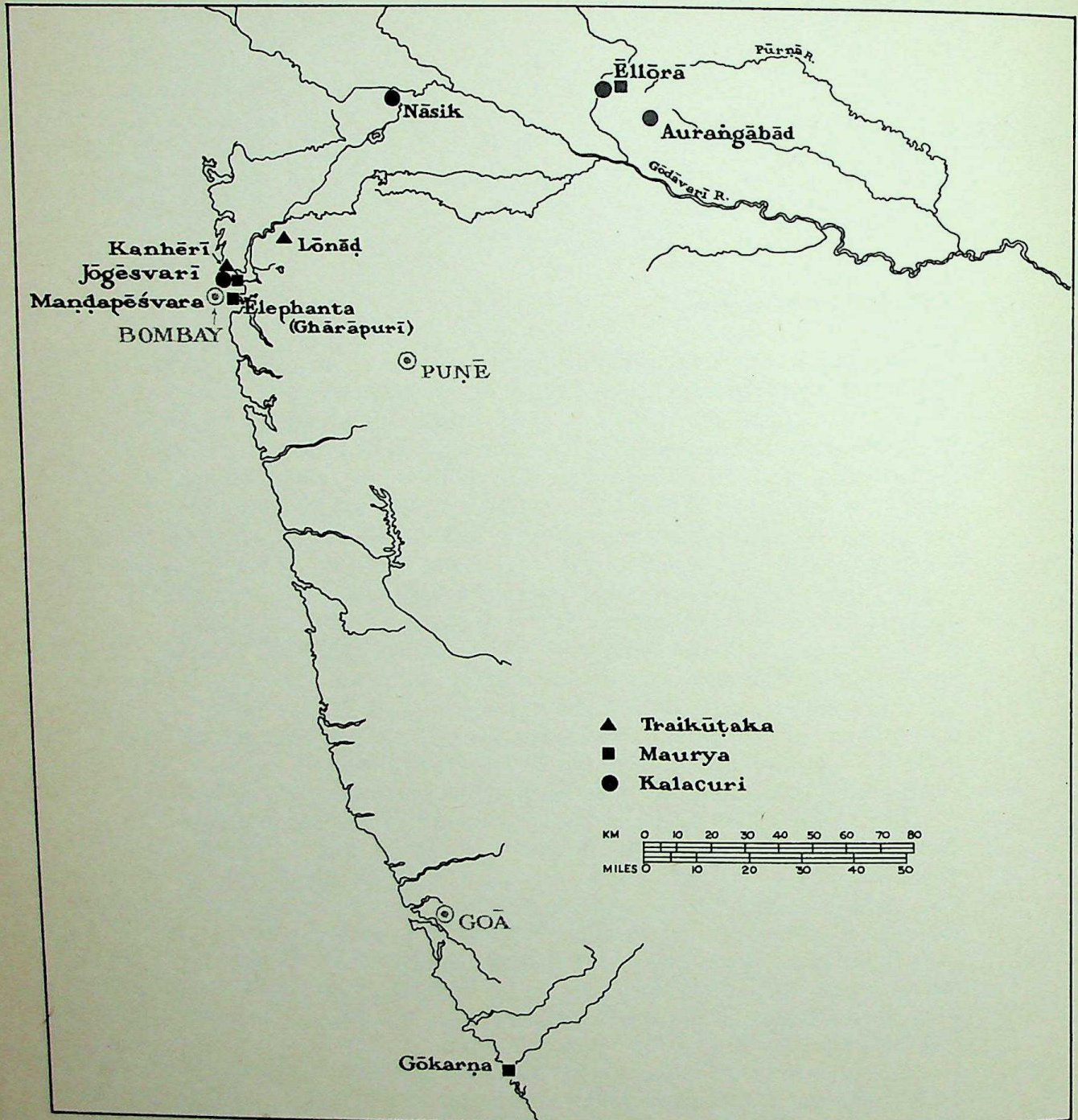
## Historical Introduction

The presence of the Traikūṭakas of Aparānta in the vicinity of Kanhērī (Kṛṣṇagiri) is attested to by an inscription of A.D. 493/4; they, however, apparently did not rule beyond the island of Salsette. Further south and southeast, islands including Elephanta were in the possession of a minor dynasty, the Mauryas. Southern Koṅkaṇa, with Gōmāntaka (Goa) as its pivot, was governed by the Bhōjas, a Central Indian dynasty of ancient extraction who may have settled near Goa sometime in the fourth century A.D. The Mauryas seem to have vanquished the Bhōjas and added the southern Koṅkaṇa to their coastal and island possessions; however, by the middle of the sixth century, they perhaps had become subordinate to the Kalacuris, as had the Traikūṭakas a generation earlier. The famous Śaivite sculptures and monuments of the Bombay islands may all have been executed between c. A.D. 525-550, as argued by Walter Spink, though they were more likely produced under the immediate political patronage of the Mauryas than of the Kalacuris, as he argues. (The cessation of architectural activity by c. A.D. 550 in the Maurya domains and the migration of artists and artisans to Ēllōrā [Ēlāpura] in the heartland of the Kalacuri empire could, in fact, seem to indicate final subordination of the Mauryas to the power of the Kalacuris.)

The history of the Mauryas remains poorly defined and a sequence of dynasts cannot be ascertained. Two short copper-plate charters, one by Maurya Candravarmā of his second year, the other of Maurya Anirjitavarmā of his 29th year, were found in Goa, suggesting that the Mauryas had by then extended their sway to the southern Koṅkaṇa. Kumāradvīpa, from which the second charter was issued, cannot be identified; it could be some island in Goa, but could even be Elephanta. An image of Harihara from Gōkaṇa on the coast not far from Goa attests to the spread of Maurya style and polity or, if imported, suggests trade and political connections. Maurya charters refer to no era, nor to a superior power.

The origins of the Mauryas are unknown, their feudatory status vis-a-vis the Traikūṭakas and Kalacuris and their possession of the Bombay islands is still guesswork, but their end is known for certain. The Aihole eulogy of Ravikīrtti dated A.D. 634 mentions the subduing of the Mauryas, Nalas, and Kadambas by Calukya Kīrttivarmā (A.D. 566-594), father of Pulakēśi II; a second reference in the inscription credits Pulakēśi, with capturing Purī, the island-capital of the Mauryas, through a naval victory (this must have taken place after A.D. 610). During the first defeat, the Mauryas apparently lost the southern part of their domains to the Calukyas, who stationed their governor, Svāmīrāja, at Rēvatīdvīpa (Rēḍi in Ratnagiri District); he was





Aparānta, Kuṅkaṇadēśa, and Vidarbha: Traikūṭaka, Maurya, and Early Kalacuri sites.



killed by the Calukya regent Maṅgalēśa (A.D. 594-609) and then replaced by Indravar-mā. The Mauryas are not heard of after the Aihole notice. (Almost nothing else is heard of the Bombay islands, in fact, until their occupation by the Portuguese many centuries later.)

### Architectural Features

No structural examples of Kuṅkaṇadēśa style remain; date and attribution of the severe and simple apsidal temple at Gōkaṇa (Plate 168) are uncertain. The study of Maurya architectural style is therefore dependent on cave-shrines at four sites: Kanhērī, Jōgēśvarī, Maṇḍapēśvara on Salsette island, and the Ghārāpurī caves on Elephanta. These cast little light on the external appearance of contemporaneous structural temples. Their façades can, however, reveal certain adhiṣṭhāna types and their interiors, aspects of columnar halls and the garbhagṛha. A cave's floor-plan, in its distortions, cannot provide a true perception of the interlocking proportions and elements involved in the formulation of a structural maṇḍapa. Some generalities of column types and of door-frames and their śākhā-divisions can, however, help provide an idea of what structural buildings could have been like.

The architectural style of the Mauryas formally relates to styles in the preceding Traikūṭaka-Koṅkaṇa and Vidarbha-Vatsagulma regions under the Vākāṭaka dynasty, and to a degree to the early Surāṣṭra style of the Maitrakas of Valabhī (particularly in regard to adhiṣṭhānas); sculptural style shows some affinity with earlier and contemporaneous styles of Ānarta, Mēdapāṭa, as well as Vidarbha-Vatsagulma. Despite these kinships, architectural as well as sculptural style under the Mauryas is highly individual, powerfully conceived, unsurpassed in imagery and narrative power. Art and architecture follow the ideas and ritual needs of a resurgent Pāśupata Śaivism, whose achievements tower over those of both previous and contemporaneous Buddhist, Bhā-gavata, and Jaina patrons.

Examples of adhiṣṭhānas available at Kanhērī (Fig. 35a) and Elephanta (Fig. 35b) betray some kinship to the Vatsagulma-Vākāṭaka type but even more to that of Surāṣṭra-Maitraka-Gārulaka examples. Kumuda over heavy jagatī, kandhara (in some cases intended to receive pramatha figures between galapādas; Fig. 35b), heavy kapōta, and a topping paṭṭa constitute the Maurya adhiṣṭhāna, differing significantly from Vākāṭaka and Traikūṭaka norms.

The most frequent type of column, aside from the "Dravidian" type, is one having a ribbed laśuna, ghaṭa, and padma (the latter sometimes topped or replaced by plain, thin phalaka and taraṅga-pōtikā). These elements are drawn from the Vākāṭaka milieu, but Maurya artists have attempted to attain a more graceful shape, a more organic articulation of the upper part of the pillar, and a more harmonic relationship of that with the lower section. The initial form at Kanhērī has a concave laśuna (Plate 171), a direction quickly understood as a mistake and never repeated. A very graceful form was achieved at Kanhērī in the end bays of the long vīthikā of cave no. 11 (the main hall of which shows square Traikūṭaka columns and was possibly used as an assembly hall or refectory). A second infrequent variety of Maurya column is Brahmakānta (Plate 172).

Doorframes of earlier caves (Jōgēśvarī, Maṇḍapēśvara, cave no. 6 at Elephanta) show śākhā-vibhakti. The exterior śākhā is thin, as in some Ajaṇṭa caves, showing lotus-petals, and sometimes is replaced by "sandwich" pattern as in Ajaṇṭa. Stambha-śākhā is a fluted, ribbed, or plain Brahmakānta pillaret (thinner than in Vākāṭaka



examples), supporting a cāpākāra makara-tōraṇa above and sometimes having a lateral vyāla-bracket. Other śākhās may be mālā-, in one rare instance (at Jōgēśvarī) nāga-, and ratnaśākhā. In one instance at Jōgēśvarī, stambhaśākhā and tōraṇa are replaced by a Gandharvā-Vidyādhari śākhā with a lintel having the same pattern.

The śākhās in relatively earlier doorframes are ornate; a plainer doorframe, however, with fewer śākhās (disregarding stambhaśākhā, in some instances, banishing ornament, and with an arrangement of receding planes) came in vogue. Artists understood the virtue of plain staggered śākhās; large door-guardians, not practical in structural temples, flank and relieve these handsome doorways growing progressively taller, more “divine,” and heroic in proportions from Jōgēśvarī to Elephanta.

The doorway's tōraṇa-loops may contain Lakulīśa as tutelary deity. At least in two instances at Jōgēśvarī, the tōraṇa is replaced by a lintel containing tilakas and temple-models (kūṭas and madhyaśālā).

Jōgēśvarī (Bombay), cave (Plates 173-181)

The Śaivite cave at Jōgēśvarī is partly sunk in the ground and often water-logged in the monsoon. The heavy Bombay rains have eaten away parts of columns, doorframes, and images. Jōgēśvarī is a large ensemble, with entrances preceded by a sunk approach at east and west; the southern side opens into a courtyard facing cells cut in the cliff.

The eastern is the main approach and has a pratōlī, an inner closed vīthī, and small astylar open court between; the pratōlī and vīthī have ornamented doorframes, the decoration largely decayed. The pratōlī is pañcaśākha (Plate 175): remnants of carving show valliśākhā, padmaśākhā, patraśākhā, stambhaśākhā with vyāla, a broad plain śākhā, and a staggered plain śākhā. The tōraṇa-loop above contained Kailāsaharaṇa. The doorframe of the eastern vīthī (Plate 174) was also pañcaśākha; only an upper portion of its south side and the damaged door-guardians at the bottom survive. The outermost was patraśākhā, followed by sandwich, Brahmakānta stambhaśākhā, and two plain staggered śākhās that are not so broad as in the last case. The lintel carried gaṇas and in the central part a raised tōraṇa, which carried a figure of Naṭeśa.

The broad inner eastern vīthī has typical ribbed columns. The door in the east wall has no frame but has a makara-tōraṇa supported by fluted Brahmakānta pilasters, the loop of which shelters a powerfully rendered image of seated Lakulīśa with his four disciples (Plate 173). The door is flanked by two dvārapālas looking very like Pāsupata monks. Above them are Hara-Gaurī (right) and Pārvatī-pariṇaya panels. The inner hall has columns (recently restored). At the centre of the hall is a sarvatōbhadrā shrine with less elaborate doorways but still with some carving; the eastern shows a small trilobate makara-tōraṇa canoping a seated figure of Lakulīśa and some subsidiary figures; the western doorway has a lintel with five plain tilakas and a bāhyaśākhā followed by sandwich (the upper fluted section of the stambhaśākhā is round; Plate 177).

The western approach to the cave leads through a carved entrance to the much decayed pratōlī whose south bay once contained an image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The once impressive outer doorframe seems to have possessed bāhyaśākhā (padma-patra), mālā-, nāga-, and ratnaśākhā (with two juxtaposed vertical bands of gems quite unlike Vatsagulma-Vākāṭaka examples in form and detail), and a plain inner śākhā (Plate 179).

The inner western doorframe leading to the central hall has five śākhās: thin vertical manipattī and mālāśākhā (forming an overdoor above), fluted Brahmakānta stambhaśākhā, vidyādhari-gāndharvī śākhā (with vidyādhara- and gandharva-mithunas in panels continuing on the lintel), and lastly a plain inner śākhā (Plate 181).



(The profile of the figural śākhā shows valli carving; Plate 180.) The space above the lintel seems to have been reserved for some narrative, now eaten away.

The south vīthikā is as long as the great hall to which it pertains; it has three doors, the central one flanked by grilled ventilators. The central doorframe (Plate 178) is important, its śākhās much like those of the western doorframe. The uttarāṅga shows Valabhī and Phāṁsanā (with fluted ghaṇṭā) shrine-models reminding one of Maitraka-Gārulaka parallels. Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures fill the sides of the overdoor (Plate 178). A cell to the southwest of the vīthikā has a carved Brahmakānta pilaster showing a śālabhañjikā (Plate 176).

The Jōgēśvarī cave may be dated to c. A.D. 525.

#### *Maṇḍapēśvara (Bombay), cave (Plates 182-184)*

The rather wide vīthikā (its front columns completely destroyed) of the Maṇḍapēśvara cave has bays at north and south. The pilasters of the façade are of an archaic ribbed type (upper section); the ornamentation of the upper belt of its square section is also of an older variety (Plate 183). The bay-pillars also seem archaic. The corresponding pilasters are of a ribbed ghaṭapallava type with well-carved panels and belts (Plate 182).

The west wall of the southern bay has a large but damaged central figure of Nāṭēśa, and subsidiary figures seem older than those at Elephanta. The northern doorframe on the west wall has five śākhās, the second showing sandwich pattern (Plate 184). The mukhālinda in front of the garbhagṛha doorframe has heavy archaic stambhaśākhā, its upper part formally similar to that of the ribbed pillars. There is an overdoor and the lintel shows five plain tilakas, the central one damaged. The decoration remains unfinished.

Architectural members and figural carving support Spink's date of c. A.D. 525 for this temple.

#### *Elephanta (Ghārāpurī), caves (Figs. 35b, 36; Plates 185-192)*

Elephanta (Ghārāpurī) was probably the capital city ("purī") of the Mauryas. While no direct evidence obtains on the personal faith of the Mauryas, the large number of Śaivite cave-temples would indicate that the religion of both royalty and ruled was primarily Śaiva.

Six rock-cut Śaiva shrines exist on the island, of which the Mahēśamūrti cave (cave no. 1) is the most famous. The other five preceded it in time, however, judged by their style. All the generalities of Maurya style as found on Salsette are present here, but the Purī guilds seem to have developed their own nuances, a superior aesthetic vision, and more competent handling of the chisel. The strength of Jōgēśvarī figures gives way to a suave serenity and a deep sense of transcendence. Architecture is far better articulated, each component striving to achieve individual perfection as well as to become incorporated into the harmony of the ensemble.

#### *Elephanta, cave no. 3 (Plate 185)*

The north bay of this unfinished cave shows the Maurya column-type struggling to emerge. The lower section of the shaft is octagonal; an octagonal projecting belt, under developed laśuna, presence of tāṭī, etc., bespeak of a transitional form (Plate 185).

#### *Elephanta, cave no. 4 (Fig. 36; Plate 186)*

This unfinished rectangular cave has north and south bays and three cells along the west. The columns of the bays are like those of cave no. 3, stunted but somewhat better



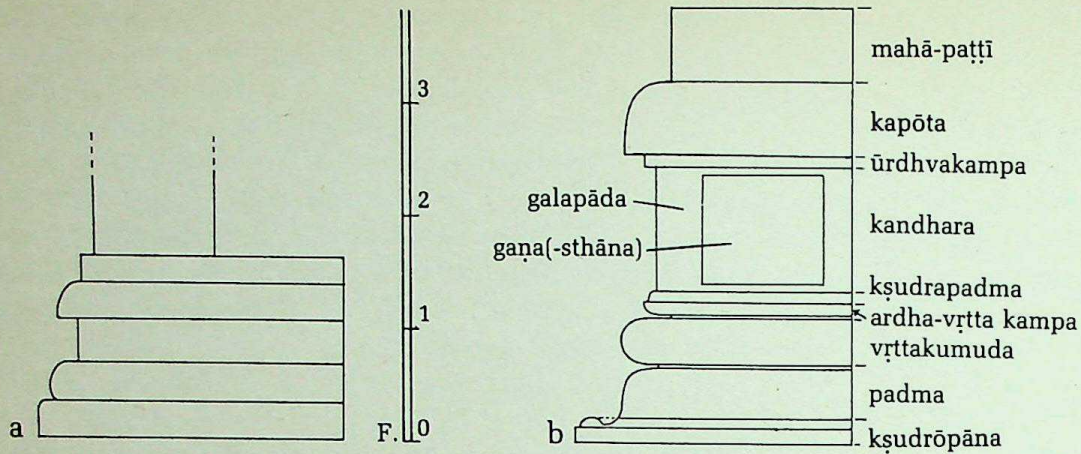


Fig. 35. Adhiṣṭhānas:

a. Kanhērī, Cave no. 41, façade; b. Elephanta, Cave no. 1, east façade.

finished (Plate 186). The northern and southern cells have plain triśākha frames; that at the north has stambhaśākhā (with plain round laśuna and ghaṭa) that supports a kapōta and a śālā-śikhara topped by a round, pointed, hut-shaped śikhara (Fig. 36). The south cell's doorway has plain Brahmakānta stambhaśākhā supporting a thin kapōta surmounted by a long śālā-śikhara (Fig. 36).

Elephanta, cave no. 2 (not illustrated)

The much damaged and unfinished pañcaśākha doorframe of this cave has a narrow tōraṇa supported by Brahmakānta stambhaśākhās. A vyāla jumps outward from the laśuna. Life-size dvārapālas flank the doorway. The gliding gandharvas, vidyādhara, siddhas, cāraṇas, etc., that usually gather at the ends of the tōraṇa in Maurya style are partly present here.

Elephanta, cave no. 6 (Fig. 33b; Plates 187-188)

The façade columns are "Dravidian" (vide the previous chapter). The doorframes of the three cellas along the east wall are neatly chiselled, without surface ornament. The central one has Miśraka stambhaśākhā with beautifully flexured, ribbed laśuna, ghaṭa, and padma (Plate 188). The two doorways are triśākha; that to the south is one of the handsomest simple doorframes in India. Its outermost sandwich-pattern śākhā is followed by plain round and plain rectangular śākhās (Plate 187), all neatly defined and demarcated by depressions between.

Elephanta, cave no. 1 (Fig. 35b; Plates 189-192)

The grand main cave at Elephanta seems an edifice of royal patronage. It is famous for its incomparable Śaivite tableaux, but its architecture is no less magnificent. Maurya architects perfected their ribbed laśuna-ghaṭa-padma-phalaka pillar-type in the great hall of the main cave (Plate 191).

The austere adhiṣṭhāna (Fig. 35b) and hastihasta stairway (Plate 190) are in total harmony with the spirit of the cave, in their form, flow, and the proportional system of mouldings by which they are composed.

In the east court, a north-facing rock-cut Śiva shrine, excavated probably soon after the completion of the main cave, has in its east bay unfluted Brahmakānta col-



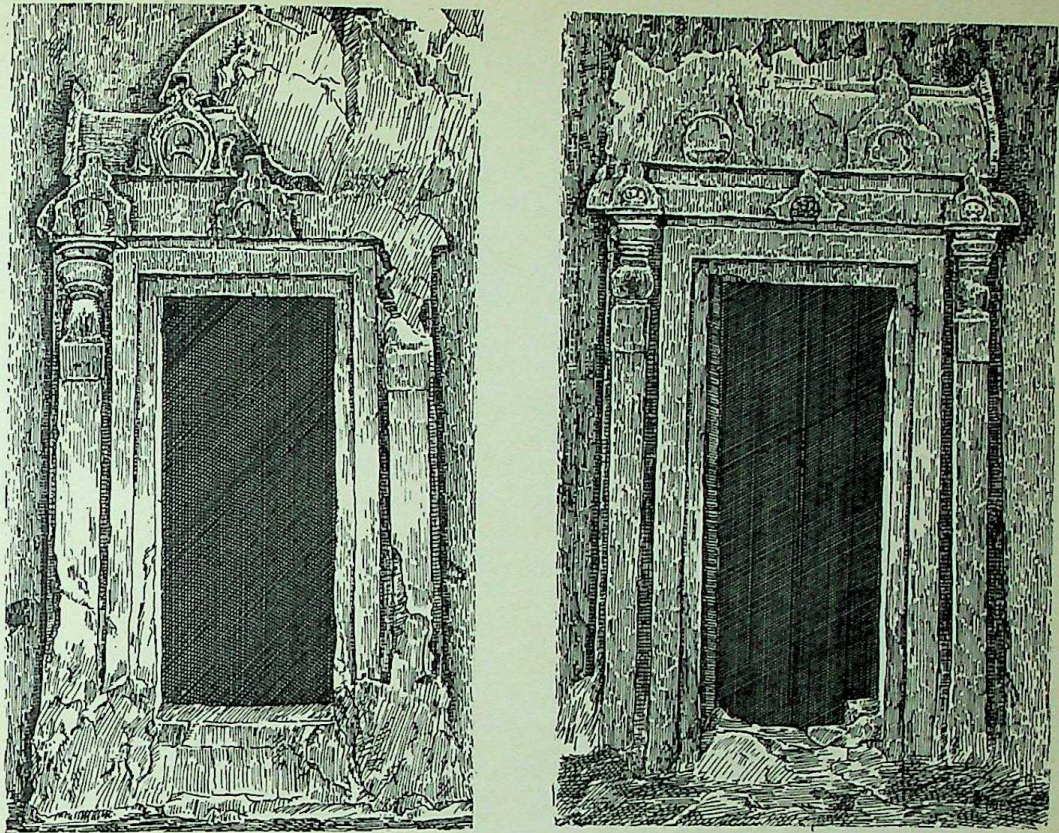


Fig. 36. Elephanta. Cave no. 4, doorframes to minor cells.

umns and half-columns (Plate 192). The cave is *sāndhāra*; the *garbhagrha* has a moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* of its own and a *hastihasta*-stairway, flanked by lion figures, that leads directly to the *garbhagrha* doorway. The *pañcaśākha* doorway has first a plain, thin, round *śākhā*, next sandwich pattern, then *Brahmakānta stambhaśākhā*, and finally two plain *śākhās* (Plate 189).

The next phase of Maurya style is met with at *Ēllorā*; the influence of this grand and subtle style was felt throughout lower Western India, up to *Gūrjaradēśa*. *Surāṣṭra* style is retrograde with little vision, but *Mahā-Gūrjara* architects wholeheartedly took up the Maurya form of *stambhaśākhā*, with significant aesthetic consequences. The Maurya type of free-standing column was not so suitable for structural halls; for full effect it needed both mass and space not easily provided in structural halls.

A modified version of the Maurya pillar occurs at *Bādāmi* in rock-cut caves, whether in round form or ribbed *Brahmakānta*. Its derivatives (strangely, sometimes with *Traikūṭaka* flavour) are also met throughout the seventh century in *Calukya* centres in upper *Drāviḍadēśa*.

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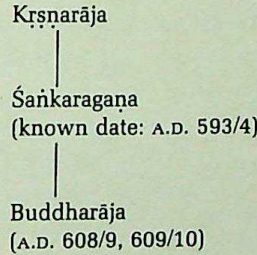
## CHAPTER 7

I.F.

Beginnings of North Indian style: Late Vidarbha style, c. A.D. 550-650

## Kalacuris of Māhiṣmatī and Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Ēlāpura

### Genealogical Table: Kalacuris of Māhiṣmatī



### Historical Introduction

Among the eventual beneficiaries of the vacuum created by the sudden end of Vākāṭaka power in the Deccan were the Kalacuris (perhaps a foreign immigrant tribe initially, for "Kalacuri" is Turkish in origin and signifies some important "office-bearer"). The Aśmakas' plan to overthrow the Vākāṭakas may have met with success in c. A.D. 484/5 (Spink) and the Aśmakas as a consequence may for a while have held the western Vākāṭaka territory of Vatsagulma (some of the latest caves at Ajaṇṭā, including nos. 26 and 27, may have been excavated during Aśmaka occupation). The Nalas consolidated their position in southeastern Vidarbha, and Mahārāja Subandhu, once thought to be an early Kalacuri monarch of Anūpadēśa, settled at Māhiṣmatī (modern Mahēśvara) along the Narmadā, controlling the heartland of the erstwhile main line of Vākāṭakas. In A.D. 533, the Traikūṭaka monarch Vikramasēna had a grant issued from Aniruddhapura, his capital, which he dubbed "Kalacuri city," possibly indicating the loss of his independence to the Kalacuris (Karl Khandalavala, however, disagrees with this surmise of Shobhana Gokhale and Walter Spink). It is not certain who the Kalacuri



overlord of Vikramasēna was, whether Kṛṣṇarāja or his unknown father. Kṛṣṇarāja's coins are found as far west as Kanhērī and Śalsette besides Ēllōrā and places in Nāsik area, though these can be explained as an offering by pilgrims coming from the Kalacuri region. If the Traikūṭakas of Aparānta were subdued by the Kalacuris, the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇa may also at some stage have accepted vassalage to the Kalacuris.

Kṛṣṇarāja seems to have been responsible for the first real expansion of Kalacuri power; he could bring Lāṭa and Aparānta under his hegemony besides adding Nāsika (Nāsikya) or Gōvardhana territory to his burgeoning monarchy.

Whether in Śaṅkaragaṇa's early years or Kṛṣṇarāja's last, the Mauryas lost the southern Koṅkaṇa to Calukya Kīrttivarmā of Kuntala. Śaṅkaragaṇa apparently was victorious in the north as far as Ujjayinī, as attested by his grant of A.D. 594/5. After that, and before A.D. 601 (probably taking advantage of the fresh incumbency of Śaṅkaragaṇa's successor, Buddharāja), the Calukya regent Maṅgalēśa led a successful campaign against the Kalacuris. In his Mahākūṭa column-inscription he claims to have captured Kalacuri treasures, though the site of the battle is not mentioned. It is likely that the southwestern portions of the Kalacuri kingdom, as far as Ēllōrā, may have passed then to the Calukyas. Buddharāja, however, was firmly in control of his Anūpa- or Narmadā-valley possessions, as well as of Lāṭa and much of the Mālava country, since he could issue a charter in A.D. 608/9 from Vidiśā, and in A.D. 609/10 Bhṛgukaccha-ṣaya (northern Lāṭa) was still in his domains as attested by a charter from Sarasvani near Baroda.

Soon after A.D. 610, the Ēllōrā area apparently was given over to Gōvinda, probably of Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin, by Calukya Pulakēśi II to win him over to his side. Pulakēśi's grant of A.D. 630 pertains to a village in Nāsik area, doubly confirming that southwestern Mahārāṣṭra had by then become a part of the Calukya empire. Soon after, the Kalacuri kingdom was hemmed in from the west by the expanding frontiers of the Maitrakas of Valabhī and in the north by the imperial expansion of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. The Kalacuris were forced to retrench within their ancestral land in the middle reaches of the Narmadā, reconciling themselves to a much reduced territory. By entering into matrimonial relations with the Calukyas of Vātāpī and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa, they survived long enough to generate a fresh lustre in the medieval period.

### Architectural Features

From c. A.D. 550 on, Ēlāpura (Ēllōrā) was apparently under Kalacuri patronage and came to be an important centre of Śaivism and of Buddhism. The area around present-day Aurangabad continued to be a Buddhist centre of activity. Slight Buddhist activity also is discernible at Nāsik.

Structural temples of the Kalacuri period are unavailable, and reliance has to be placed on rock-cut temples for deducing data on the formal nature of Kalacuri architectural components.

There is, however, no single style for the Kalacuri period. The Kalacuri domains inherited a style followed in the days of the Vākāṭakas and Aśmakas (by virtue of their now possessing western Vidarbha and Vatsagulma territory in addition to their ancestral Anūpadēśa in the Narmadā valley); at the same time, the style of the Koṅkaṇa country is also present, and architects and sculptors schooled in the Maurya style had, apparently, settled in Ēlāpura under the compulsion of political and economic circumstances. These two styles are essentially different. The post-Vākāṭaka Aśmaka



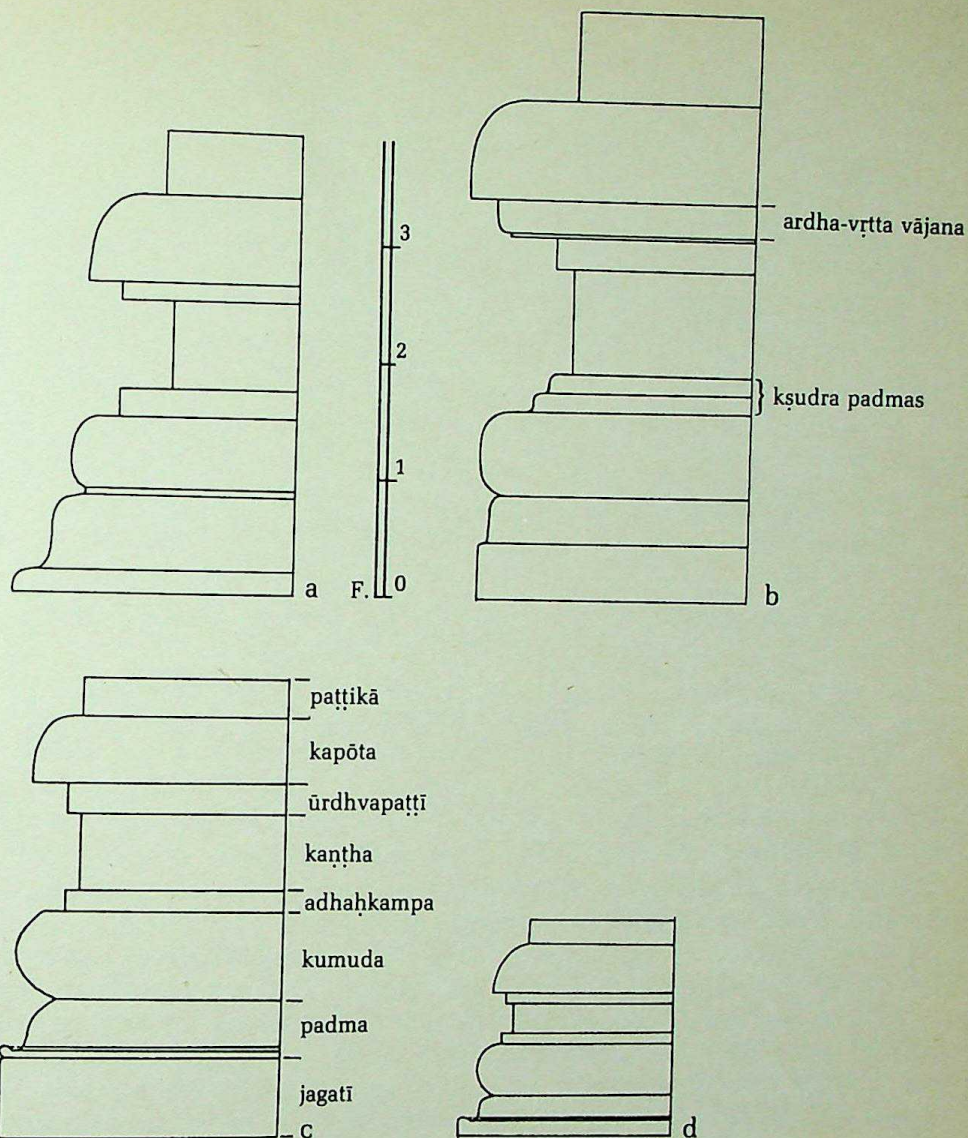


Fig. 37. Adhiṣṭhānas, Ēllōrā:

a. Cave no. 26; b. Cave no. 29, west façade;  
c. Cave no. 29, north façade; d. Cave no. 5.

style continued forms and ornamentation of the preceding century with diminished excellence and reduced varieties of expression; unlike the Maurya style, it luxuriated in rich and abundant ornament. The juxtaposition of these two major styles at Ēllōrā results in their inevitable interaction, to differing degrees and with different levels of adjustments and absorption in various examples. Remnants of the style of Bāgh in lower western Mālava and influences from the Calukya art of the Vātāpī region also seem to have percolated into Kalacuri territory.

Problems of "Kalacuri styles" thus are very complex and need deeper and detailed study. The style-complex that developed at Ēllōrā during the Kalacuri period continued to flourish long after Kalacuri hegemony had ceased, with gradual penetration of Kaṇṇāṭa influence, particularly in the domain of hieratic and attendant figural sculpture. (This process of southernization was facilitated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who



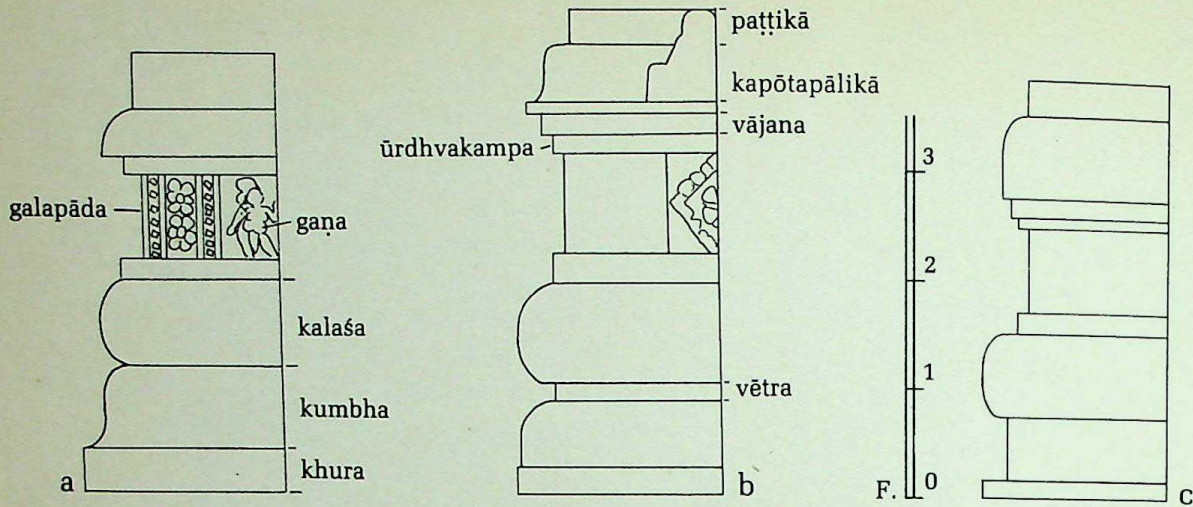


Fig. 38. Adhiṣṭhānas, Ēllōrā:

a. Cave no. 2; b. Cave no. 12; c. Cave no. 14.

apparently controlled Ēlāpura from c. A.D. 611 on, and were the vassals of the Calukyas of Vātāpī.)

Kalacuri adhiṣṭhānas have been formulated using both Vidarbha (Vākāṭaka-Aśmaka) and Koṅkaṇa (Maurya) styles, with instances available in the main from Ēllōrā. Tall padma and kandhara are of Koṅkaṇa extraction (Figs. 37a-c), shorter ones signify Vidarbha origin (Figs. 37d, 38a). Kandhara, in rare instances, shows gaṇa figures between galapādas, as in cave no. 2 at Ēllōrā; Plate 216). Kapōtapālikā in lieu of kapōta as in Ēllōrā cave no. 12 reveals a Calukya perception.

The chamfered, Vākāṭaka-Aśmaka, Rucaka half-column, showing puṣpapattī, maṇipattikā, and darpaṇa ornamented with gandharva- or vidyādhara-mithuna, ihā-mṛga, makara, or kalpavallī, continued to be used in Auranṅābād (Plates 193-194). This type was a direct descendent of the Ajaṇṭā order, but at Ajaṇṭā this variety was not used for full columns; a single column is seen at Ēllōrā in cave no. 5 (Plate 196).

In the interior, massive, well proportioned, elegantly decorated columns, with a variety of carved belts and panels, and finally an upper ghaṭapallava is seen in several caves at Ēllōrā that range in date from mid-sixth to c. mid-seventh centuries (Plates 197-200, 202) and later. The sequence and formal generalities of the carved belts directly follow Vākāṭaka-Aśmaka conventions (Plate 200) or create something somewhat new but derived from the same mould (Plates 197-199, 202). At Nāsik cave no. 19, highly provincial but imaginative ghaṭapallava pillars occur at the front of the garbhagṛha (Plates 204-205).

A second trend in pillar types at Ēllōrā is derived from Maurya style, examples of which appear in cave no. 26 (Plates 201, 206) and, with some dilutions (padma beneath the phalaka and ornamental belts below laśuna) in other caves (Plates 203, 207-211, 213). At Nāsik, this type occurs in one instance (Plate 212), but with no particular elegance or finesse. Square, fluted, Brahmakānta pilasters with vyāla-profiled capitals occur in cave no. 14 at Ēllōrā (Plate 214). The façade of cave no. 21 shows kakṣāsana with mithunas in shallow panels between wide galapādas bearing a kalpavallī (Plate 218) as also on the terrace-parapet of cave no. 10 (Plate 217); these are the earliest decorated kakṣāsanas in India.

Śākhās of pañcaśākha doorframes usually are left plain. The Rāmēśvara cave's garbhagṛha, however, shows vidyādhari-, fluted stambha-, bhūta-, ratna-, and plain



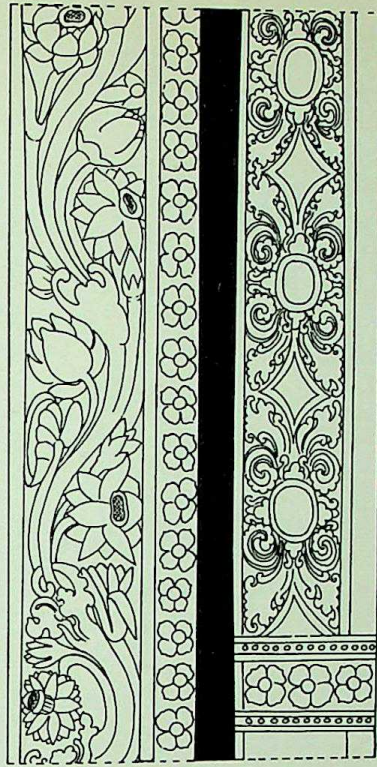


Fig. 39. Ēllōrā. Cave no. 2, garbhagrha-doorframe, valli and ratnaśākhā.

śākhās with female figures and pratihāras on the pēdyās (Plate 219). Cave no. 2 has valliśākhā (showing gracefully flowing padmalatā) and ratnaśākhā (Fig. 39). At Auraṅgābād cave no. 6, a catuḥśākhā frame has no udumbara but has bāhya-, mālā-, bhūta-, and plain śākhā (Plate 220). (Both these instances are, in part, derivative of Vākāṭaka types.) Cave no. 10 is the only instance at Ēllōrā where sandwich pattern occurs on a subsidiary doorway (Plate 215).

The doorway lintels of cave nos. 6 and 7 at Auraṅgābād carry shrine models (Fig. 40b) representing Phāṁsanā temples, much like those found in Surāṣṭra; those from the Rāmēśvara cave and cave no. 7 at Ēllōrā show round, probably circular shrines (Plate 219; Fig. 40a). The façade to cave no. 9, among the Buddhist group, replicates a full, multi-tiered, straight-edged Phāṁsanā-roofed hall. These few examples can lend some idea of contemporary structural buildings under Kalacuri patronage.

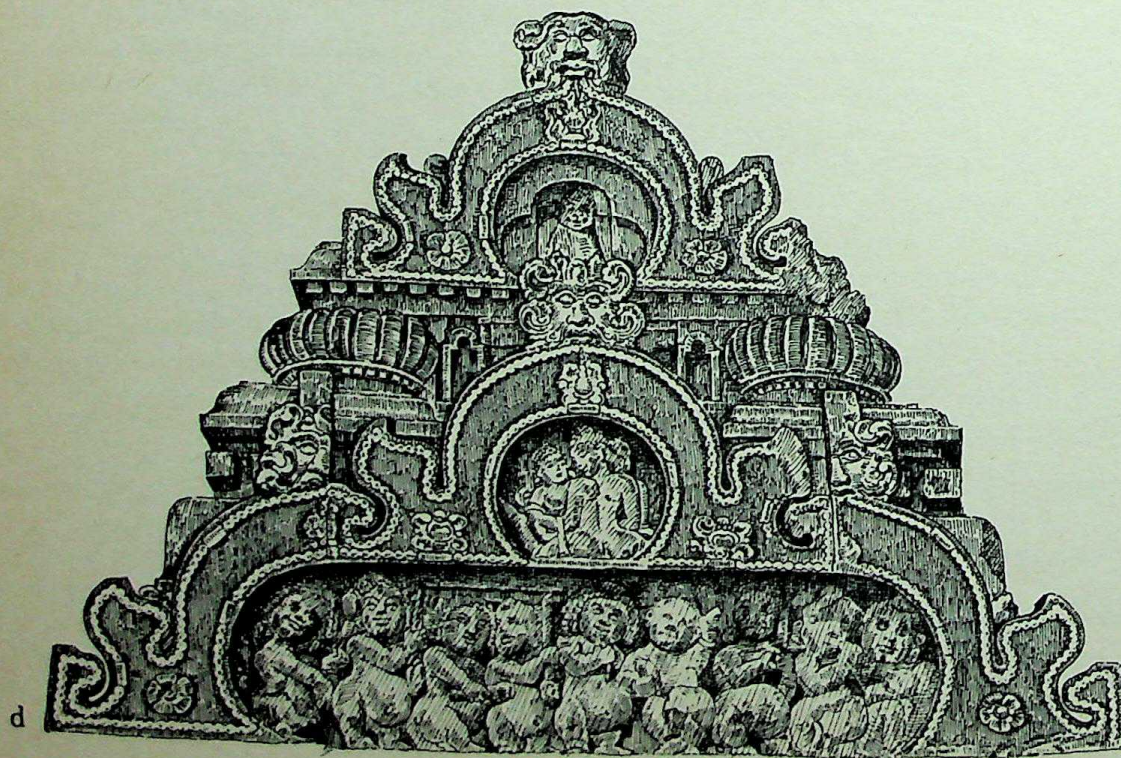
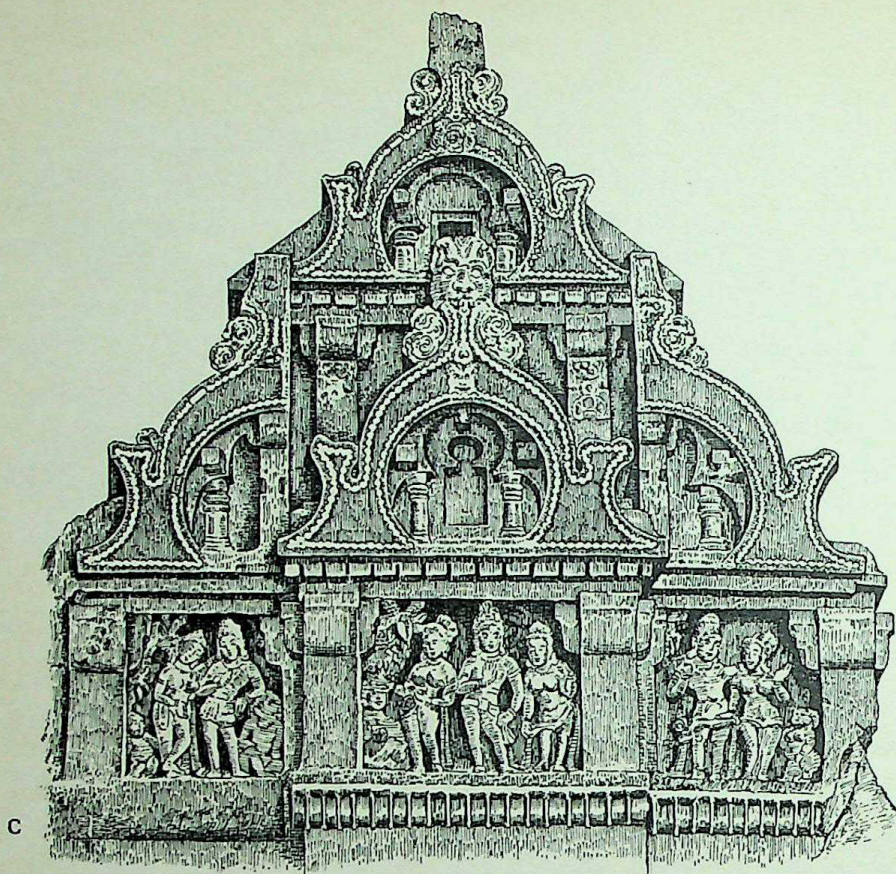
*Ēllōrā, cave no. 10 (Viśvakarmā), façade (Figs. 40c-d)*

Some conception of the types of superstructure Kalacuri structural temples may have had can be gained through the somewhat large scale models depicted on the façade of cave no. 10 at Ēllōrā, particularly from the pediments above the niches flanking the great central gavākṣa. That to the left (Fig. 40c) has the lower section of a superstructure above the figural panels having skandha (eave, normally found below a Valabhī) and a pyramidal Phāṁsanā. The pediment over the right niche (Fig. 40d) depicts the fronton of a śukanāsa of an early Nāgara temple, with heavy karṇāṇḍakas and a śurasēna-front.

*Ēllōrā, cave no. 9, façade (Fig. 40e)*

Much larger is the profile of a full-fledged three-tiered Phāṁsanā roof above the upper







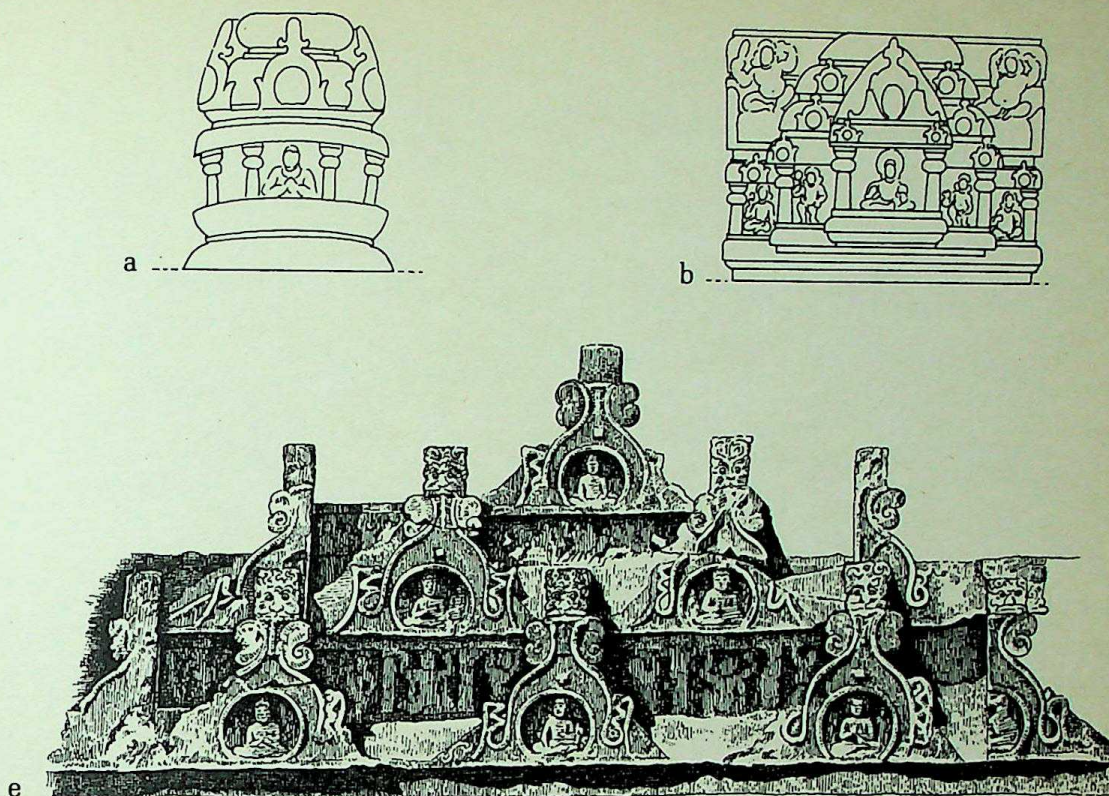


Fig. 40. Architectural models:

a. Ēllōrā. Cave no. 6, garbhagṛha-doorframe, uttarāṅga; b. Aurangābād. Cave no. 7, garbhagṛha-doorframe, uttarāṅga; c. Ēllōrā. Cave no. 10 (Viśvakarmā), façade, upper section, niche-pediment, left of the central gavākṣa; d. Ēllōrā. Cave no. 10, façade, upper section, niche-pediment, right; e. Ēllōrā. Cave no. 9, façade, upper storey, superstructural relief. (c-e, after Burgess.)

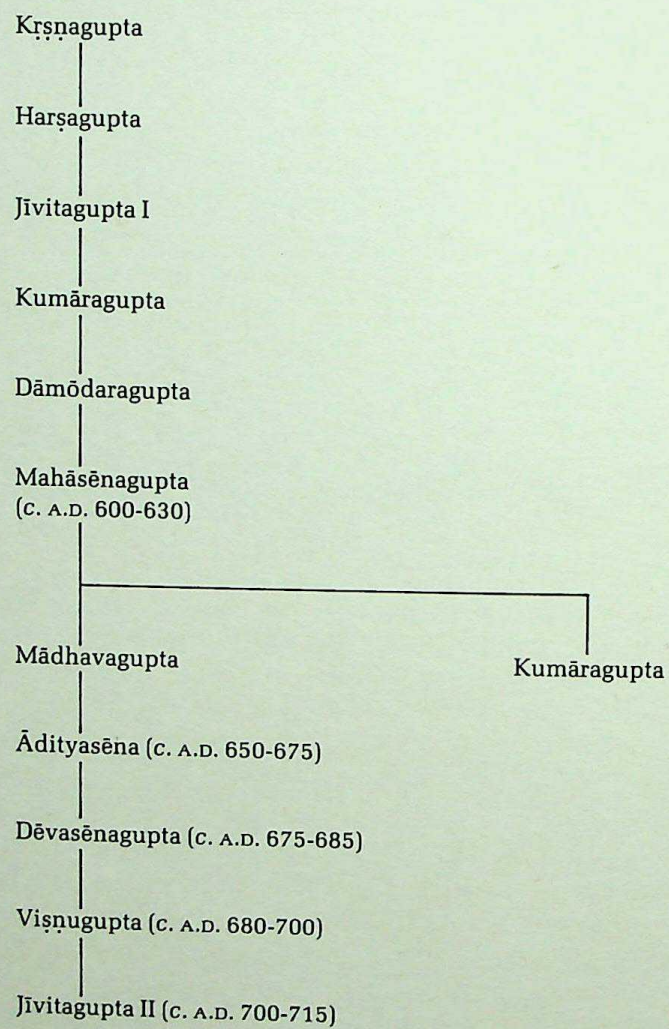
storey of cave no. 9 at Ēllōrā (Fig. 40e). The tiers show large gavākṣas. The pattern of the superstructure recalls slightly earlier ones at Gōp and Dhāṅk in Surāṣṭra; a primary difference at Ēllōrā is that split-gavākṣas also occur, at the extremities of the lower two tiers.

M.A. Dhaky

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## CHAPTER 8

II.A.1.

Varieties of North Indian style: Magadha style,  
phase 1, c. A.D. 500-700

## Later Guptas and Minor Dynasties

### Historical Introduction

The vacuum created by the fall of the Gupta empire was filled in Madhyadēśa by the Maukharis and in Magadha by the Later Guptas, who started as petty feudatories under the Gupta emperors towards the close of the fifth century A.D.

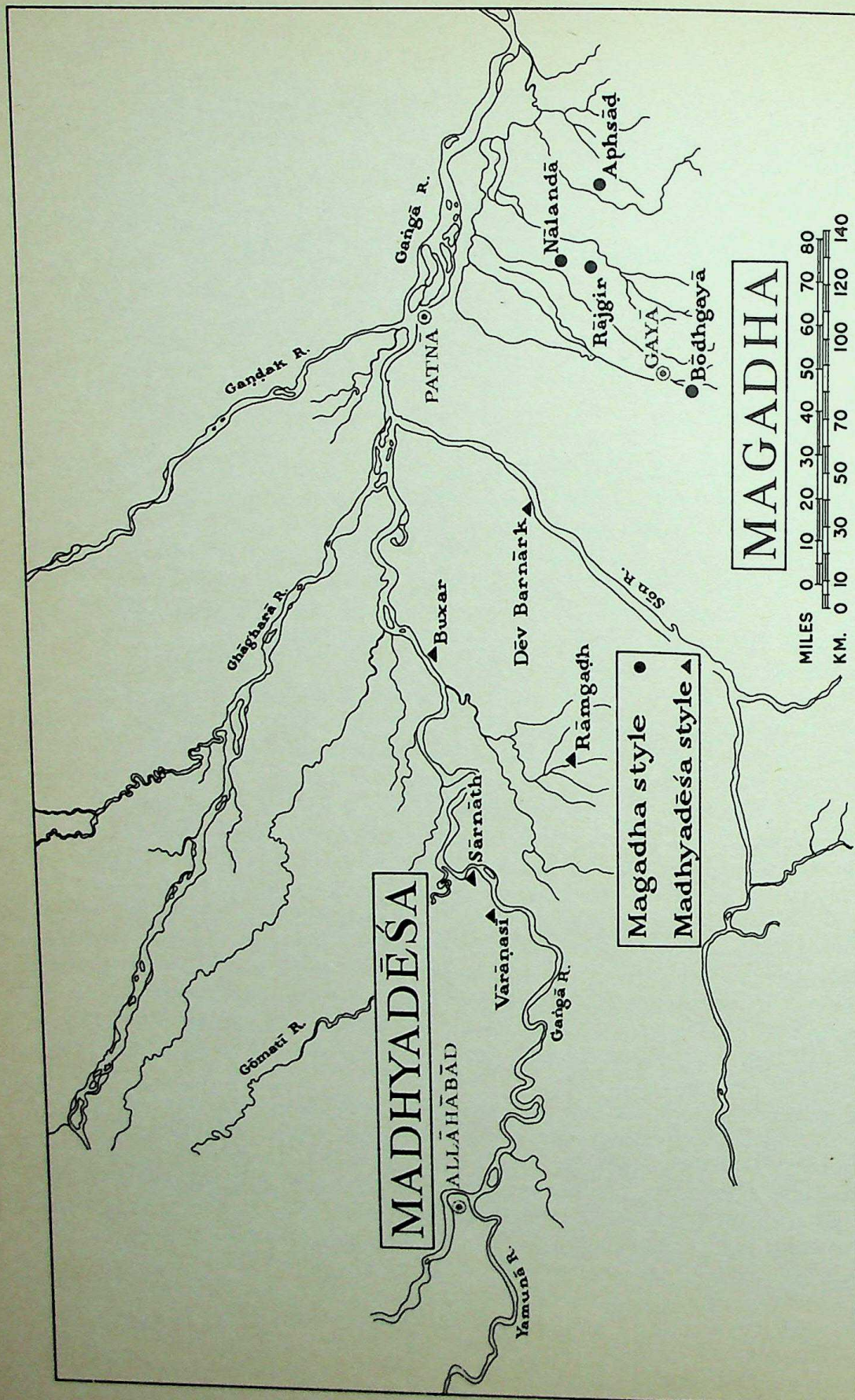
Among the Later Guptas of Magadha, Kumāragupta was the first to assume full independence. His successor, Dāmōdaragupta, established control over Mālava. Mahāsēnagupta, the next chief, was a powerful ruler, credited with a victory over Lauhitya (the Brahmaputrā valley). In his late years, Mahāsēnagupta had to cede Mālava following its invasion by the Maitraka king, Śilāditya I, and the Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa. After the loss of Mālava, Mahāsēnagupta was obliged (according to the *Harṣacarita*) to send his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to the Thānēśvar court to wait upon the princes Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana.

The Later Guptas thus became a relatively minor power confined to Magadha. Mādhavagupta had to remain contented as a subordinate ally of emperor Harṣa, but his son Ādityasēna, who came to his throne after Harṣa's death, regained authority over Magadha and the contiguous tract of Aṅga (attested to by inscriptions). Ādityasēna was a pious and powerful king who is credited with the building of an excellent temple of Viṣṇu identified with the terraced brick temple at Aṇṣāḍ and a temple for Narasiṃha at Mandāragiri (ancient Aṅga, now District Bhagalpur). His queen built two tanks at Mandāragiri and one at Aṇṣāḍ where his mother also constructed a maṭha. Ādityasēna was succeeded by three descendants, of whom the last, Jivitagupta II, engraved an inscription on a pillar at Dēv Baranārka, District Shahabad. This confirms land granted in favour of a hereditary priest of Sūrya called Varuṇavāsin, after whom the village is now called Baranārka.

The Later Guptas, Maukharis, and then Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, received a rich cultural heritage from the imperial Guptas. During this period, Magadha was known for important Buddhist establishments at Nālandā and Bōdhgayā, Madhyadēśa for establishments at Sārnāth, Śrāvastī, and Kasiā (ancient Kuśīnagara). Nālandā was internationally celebrated as a centre of Buddhist learning. These establishments were endowed with land and revenue and successive rulers took care to maintain and augment them. Like the Guptas, these rulers personally were devoted to Brahmanical deities, but supported and respected institutions of all sects. Hsüan Tsang states that Harṣa's policy was to allot a fourth of the crown's land-revenue to men of intellect and a second to support a variety of sects.

Of the surviving monuments at Nālandā, two are assignable to c. A.D. 575-650.





Magadha and Madhyadēśa: Later Gupta, Maukhari, and Puṣyabhūti sites.



Temple no. 3 is attributed to c. 575-600, before the reign of Harṣa; it could have been constructed by one of six rulers (Śākṛāditya, Budhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, Bālāditya, Vajra, or a king of Central India) mentioned by Hsüan Tsang. Stone temple no. 2 at Nālandā appears later than the time of Harṣa. Only the great Mahābōdhi temple at Bōdhgayā seems assignable to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. This temple had been remade and newly painted when Hsüan Tsang visited in c. A.D. 637. Hsüan Tsang reports that the temple was built by a Brahman minister, but it could also have been sponsored by Harṣavardhana.

### Architectural Features

In the Gaṅgā basin, brick continued as a popular building material due to the easy availability of clay and firewood. Ancient settlements in the region must have had many shrines of brick, adorned with terracotta tiles. Abundant remains of such brick temples and terracotta tiles have been reported from excavated sites spread over the entire Gangetic basin. Better known sites include Pāṭaliputra, Vaiśālī, Nālandā, Rājgir, Aṃśāḍ (in Bihar) and Rājghaṭ, Sārnāth, Kasiā, Bilsāḍ, Saṅkisiā, and Śrāvastī in Uttar Pradesh.

Magadha also preserves brick temples at Nālandā, Bōdhgayā, Rājgir, and Aṃśāḍ. These temples, while relatively simple in the Gupta period, begin to provide formulas for later temple complexes. Site no. 3 at Nālandā, with its four stūpa-like corner towers, simulates a pañcāyatana structure as is found also slightly later at Bōdhgayā. (The Bōdhgayā temple, as reconstructed early in the seventh century, itself begins to incorporate features probably first developed in stone.) At Nālandā, architects also had experimented with stone brought from the neighbouring Rājgir hills but the experiment remained confined to a single temple (no. 2).

#### *Rājgir, Maniyār Maṭh (Fig. 41; Plates 221-222)*

The earliest surviving temple in Magadha is the Maniyār Maṭh, a brick-and-stucco structure of unique plan and design. The temple is cylindrical, with bhadrā-projections at the cardinal points and a circular interior (of c. 11 ft. diameter). The temple stands on a vēḍibandha of tall kumbha, well-formed kalaśa, and plain paṭṭikā. The temple also was embellished with at least 13 niches, framed by pilasters that show ghaṭa-bases on lotus-pedestals and shafts with both square and octagonal sections. The upper part of the square section was embellished with a large ardhapadma on some pilasters. The niches once contained stucco images which have disintegrated; vestiges remain of a seated figure of Gaṇeśa on the south bhadrā. Old photographs as well as descriptions attest to the existence of nine other images: a Śivaliṅga, four-armed Viṣṇu (east bhadrā), nāginī, five figures of nāgas, and six-armed Naṭeśa.

Built on the ruins of previous structures, this temple underwent restorations and alterations. The upper portions of the niches are replaced by a plain circular wall of large bricks; this constituted the first restoration. The wall shows a neck-like constriction toward the top, with simple ornaments of compressed pilasters, floral pattern, and stylised candraśālikā; these indicate a date not earlier than the beginning of the sixth century. At a later point, the temple was blocked on the north and an entrance pierced through the wall to give access to its well-like interior. Concrete pavements indicate successive floor levels. The monument was later surrounded by a large oblong structure approached on the north by an imposing stairway. The most recent restoration was a circular construction concentric with the original temple.



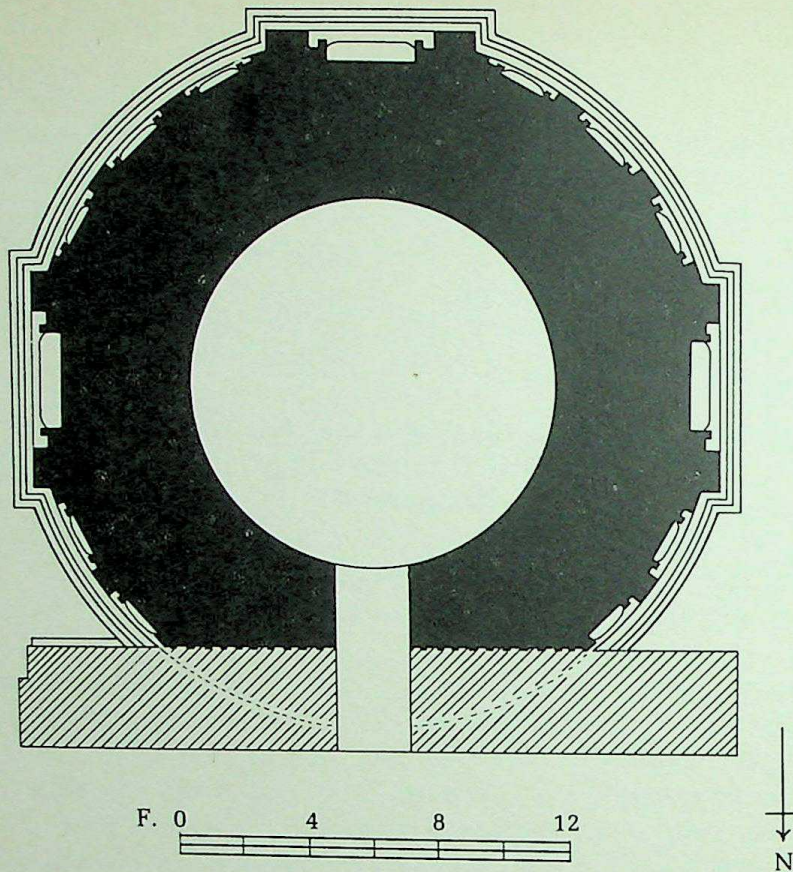


Fig. 41. Rājgir. Maniyār Maṭh, plan.

The stucco figures of the temple were delicately and sensitively modelled, informed by a warm sensuousness combined with classical quality (Plate 221). Their delicate modelling, tender expression, and soft smile are traits peculiar to the eastern school. The short kirīṭamukūṭa worn by Viṣṇu is also characteristic. The temple is assignable to c. A.D. 500.

Predominance of nāga images indicates that the temple was probably dedicated to the nāga cult, which did not exclude worship also of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Gaṇēśa. The name of the monument, Maniyār Maṭh, is itself derived from Manināga, who is mentioned as a tutelary deity of Rājagṛha in the *Mahābhārata*. ("Manināga" is also inscribed on a Kuṣāṇa image of a serpent deity found at the site.)

The monument probably represents one of the early temple-types (Ghaṭa or Liṅgākāra) discussed in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and *Viṣṇudharmōttarapurāṇa*.

*Bōdhgayā, Mahābōdhi temple* (Figs. 42-43; Plates 223-226)

A polished sandstone Vajrāsana decorated with the motifs of palmettes and geese, placed beneath the famed Bōdhi tree, is the earliest relic at the site of the Mahābōdhi temple and is traditionally attributed to the patronage of Aśōka himself. The Vajrāsana formed an integral part of an ancient Bōdhighara (a shrine surrounding the Bōdhi tree) said to have been erected by Aśōka and depicted in many bas-reliefs from Sāñcī and Bhārhut (one labelled "Bhagavatō Sakamuninō Bōdhi"). The attribution to Aśōka of the original shrine at the site is also attested by Hsüan Tsang's account: "On the site of the present vihāra (temple) Aśōka-rāja at first built a small vihāra (sanctuary). Afterwards there was a Brāhman who reconstructed it on a larger scale."



The next addition was a sandstone *vēdikā* around the Bōdhighara built by donors, among whom were Āryā Kurāṅgī and Nāgadēvī, wives of kings Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra. From the style of the bas-reliefs and the paleography of the inscriptions, the railing seems assignable to c. 75-50 B.C.

As Mahāyāna Buddhism ushered in worship of Buddhist icons and a pantheon of Buddhist divinities, with accompanying greater complexities in ritual, the modest Bōdhighara or Vajrāsana shrine could no longer satisfy devotees. To this older structure, a large temple adorned with images was added by at least the fourth century A.D. Fa-hsien, who visited Gayā in c. A.D. 410, reported that the foot of the Bōdhi tree was one of the four holiest spots of Buddhism (others being the sites of Buddha's birth, first sermon, and nirvāṇa) where towers had been raised and images placed. A well-known Buddha image made of Mathurā sandstone found from Bōdhgayā and dated in the year 64 (most often equated to Gupta era 64/A.D. 384 on the grounds of style) is likely to have adorned a local shrine. That a grand temple was in existence at the site of the

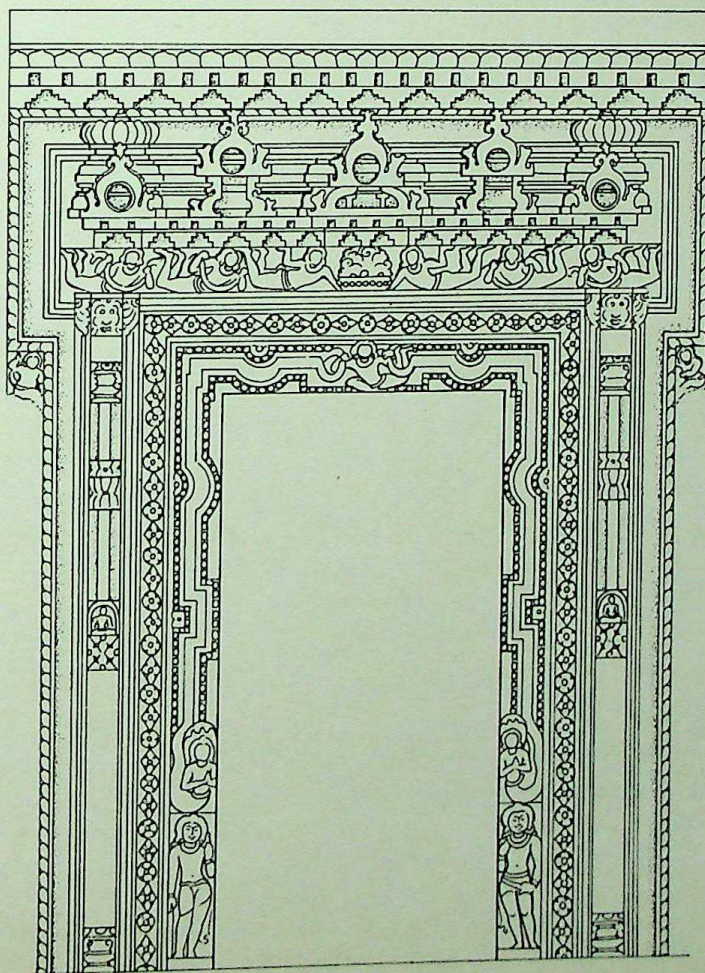


Fig. 42. Bōdhgayā. "Ratnagar" shrine, doorframe.

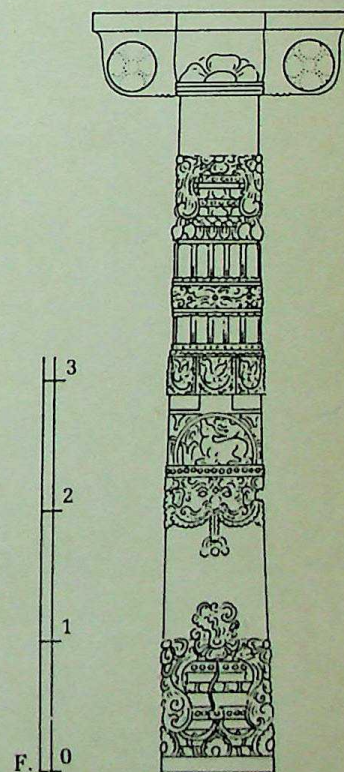


Fig. 43. Bōdhgayā. "Caraṇa" shrine, mukhamanḍapa pillar.



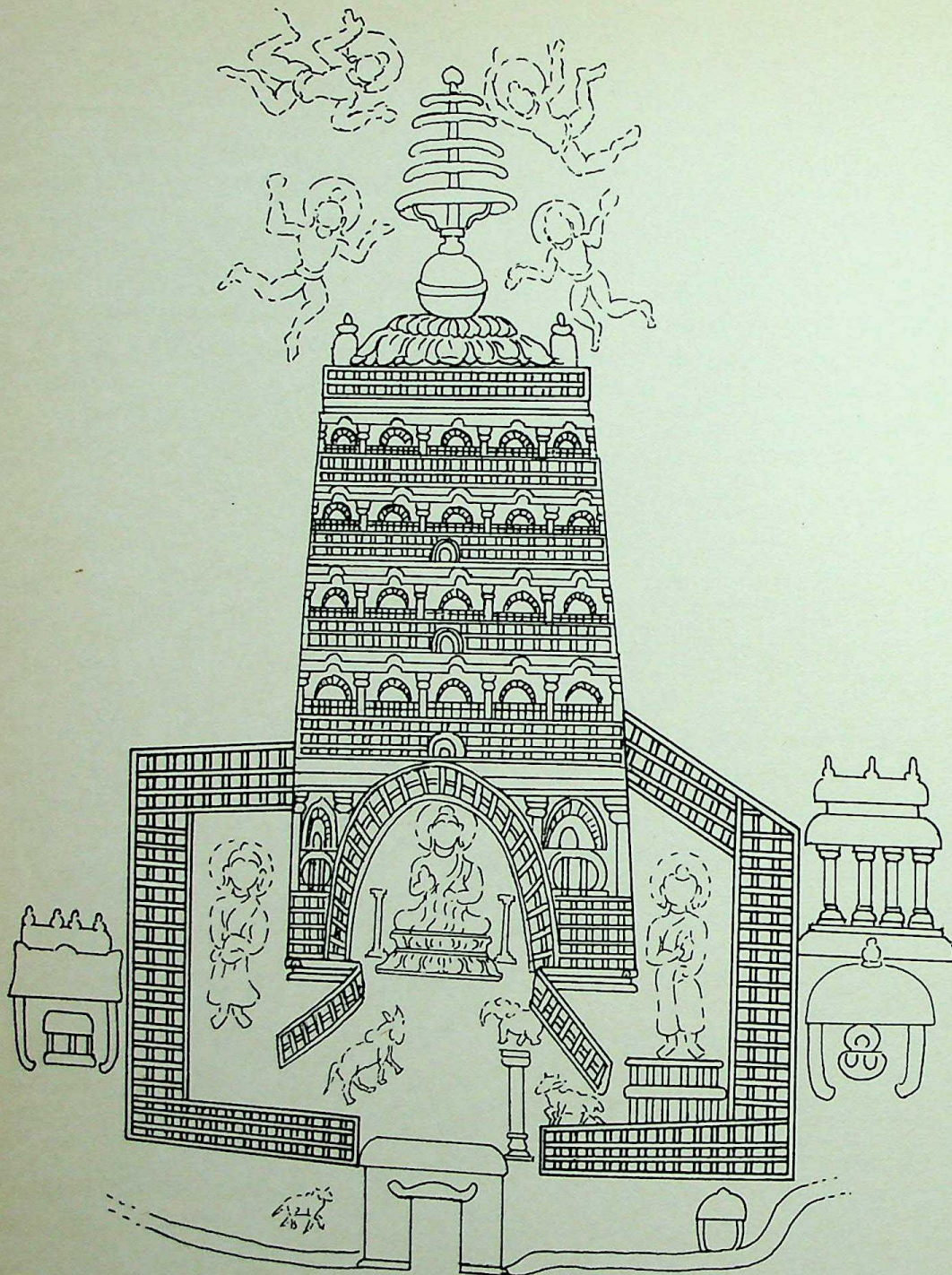


Fig. 44. Kumrahār. Inscribed terracotta plaque, relief representing a Buddhist temple, c. second-third century A.D.

Vajrāsana (Vajrāsana-vṛhadgandhakuṭī) during the early sixth century and that this prāsāda received grants in cash and kind for its upkeep and the maintenance of the daily worship of Buddha images enshrined in it and in an adjacent monastery is testified to by an early sixth-century inscription added to the ancient railing. Another inscription dated A.D. 589 at the site refers to the construction of a prāsāda at Bōdhi-



maṇḍa by a Ceylonese monk Mahānāman, who belonged to the royal family. These references prove that the Vajrāsana temple by the fifth and sixth centuries was a much larger structure than the original Aśōka-period shrine and that it was surrounded by other shrines embellished with images.

That addition and modification at this sacred site was a continuous process, even during the second and third centuries, may be inferred from a terracotta plaque from Kumrahār that bears a short Kharōṣṭhī inscription of the second or third century A.D. (Fig. 44). It shows a temple with a tall pyramidal śikhara housing an image and agrees in many details with the account of the Mahābōdhi temple given by Hsüan Tsang. The façade of this temple shows storeys with enclosing railings, pillars, and arched dormers similar to forms of architecture seen in Sāñcī reliefs and in Buddhist cave-temples of the first centuries A.D. in the Western Ghats. The seventh-century shrine modelled itself on this second-third century formula, but with some significant changes, particularly the addition of karṇāṇḍakas and a centralised band of candraśālās.

The Vajrāsana itself underwent at least three restorations, one of which was effected during the early Gupta period (to which the stucco figures of yakṣas and lions seen in early photographs belong).

As the temple complex expanded, the original sandstone vėdikā was found inadequate and was enlarged using granite pillars. The original enclosure measured c. 250 ft. in circumference and comprised about 64 posts; the extended vėdikā measured c. 520 ft. It had c. 108 posts, of which c. 100 survive. The granite posts show typical early Gupta motifs: grāsamukha, haṁsa with scrolled tails, human heads wearing Gupta coiffure, vidyādhara, and even a narrative panel depicting the story of the loquacious tortoise (also found at Nālandā, temple no. 2).

The existing temple represents a restoration carried out by Alexander Cunningham in 1880, and the last of a chain of several restorations. This large brick-and-stucco edifice consists of a central, straight-edged, pyramidal śikhara, 160 ft. high, now restored, and three newly built subsidiary shrines at the corners of an extensive rectangular terrace (88 × 76 ft.) built to the east of the present Bōdhi tree (Plates 224-225). The main śikhara is seven-storeyed (each storey indicated by bhūmi-āmalakas) embellished with bold candraśālās and niches framed by pilasters. Rising on a bold vėdibandha composed of kumbha, kalaśa, and paṭṭikā, the jagatī is decorated with a broad register of sculptured arcuate niches framed by pilasters, a running band of bold grāsamukhas spewing pearl chains, a register of large candraśālās containing Buddhist images in rectangular and circular niches, and a crowning band of pilaster-framed shallow niches (Plate 223).

Internally, the garbhagrha is two-storeyed, with a vaulted roof, and is connected by a narrow passage through the thickness of the garbhabhitti to an alinda and mukhamāṇḍapa, both also with vaulted roofs. The garbhagrha measures 48 ft. 8 in. × 47 ft. 3 in. externally and 20 ft. 4 in. × 13 ft. internally and enshrines a Pāla-period image of the Buddha placed on a basalt pedestal.

The temple as it now exists answers to the description of Hsüan Tsang not only in height and extent but also in layout, design, and decorative features. The agreement is so close that the identity of the two is beyond question. It also shows that in spite of faulty restorations and some unavoidable alterations the basic form of the temple has remained unchanged since c. A.D. 637. Hsüan Tsang wrote that:

To the east of the Bodhi-tree there is a vihāra (temple) about 160 or 170 feet high. Its lower foundation-wall is 20 or more paces in its face. The building is of blue tiles



(bricks) covered with chunam; all the niches in the different storeys hold golden figures. The four sides of the building are covered with wonderful ornamental work; in one place figures of stringed pearls (garlands); in another figures of heavenly Rishis. The whole is surmounted by gilded copper *āmalaka* fruit. The eastern face adjoins a storeyed pavilion, the projecting eaves, its pillars, beams, doors, and windows are decorated with gold and silver ornamental work, with pearls and gems let in to fill up interstices. Its sombre chambers and mysterious halls have doors in each of the three storeys. To the right and left of the outside gate are niche-like chambers; in the left is a figure of Avalōkitesvara Bodhisattva, and to the right a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva. They are made of white silver, and are 10 feet high.

That the Mahābōdhi temple bears a striking affinity to the fifth-period temple of Nālandā site no. 3 (Plates 227-230) is shown by the analogous style of stucco carvings and figures. The forms of the pilasters, of the niches, the candraśālās, and the marking of horizontal zones by kapōta cornices with a band of minor tulā-ends beneath are also common to the two temples. Hsüan Tsang, in fact, has remarked that the temple of Bālāditya at Nālandā resembled this temple in magnificence, size, and sculpture. The Mahābōdhi temple also continues the niche-types initiated at Bhītargāñv (Plate 48), with which it shares some elements of plan, the vaulted design of the garbhagrha and connected chambers, and also the lancet window for lighting the interior.

The Mahābōdhi temple, rebuilt on a Kuṣāṇa model, still embodied, in the early seventh century, the best and latest developments in the field of brick-and-stucco architecture in eastern India. To the Kuṣāṇa pyramidal tower, with its pillared storeys and vēdikā railings, have been added a central emphasis of larger candraśālā dormers and corner āmalakas representing, probably, developments in the separate stone tradition. This monument constituted the grandest structure of a resurgent Mahāyāna Buddhism and in its present form dates clearly to the early seventh century, the period of Hsüan Tsang's account.

*Nālandā, site no. 3, fifth-period temple (Fig. 45; Plates 227-232)*

Site no. 3 at Nālandā, the ancient Buddhist university site in Magadha, is a tangled mass of buildings with an 80 ft.-high brick tower. This accumulation of seven successive stūpas and temples, built one above the other, enlarged the dimensions of the temple at each stage. Earliest was a small stūpa-base (5 ft. 8 in. square, 4.5 ft. high), then three increasingly larger stūpas (the fourth still hardly measured 12.5 ft. square).

The fifth stage of enlargement significantly altered the character of the structure. The temple (Plate 227) became an impressive pile raised on a 50 ft. square, 20 ft. high, bhadrapīṭha-terrace with tall stūpa-shaped karnaṇprāsādas (Plate 228). The façade of the temple was plastered and embellished with decorative courses and figures in stucco. The bhadrapīṭha had a three-storeyed elevation; the karnaṇprāsādas show five storeys, three common with the bhadrapīṭha. Nched figures of the Buddha and of Bōdhisattvas adorn the lower storeys of the bhadrapīṭha and karnaṇprāsādas.

The terrace of the bhadrapīṭha supported the garbhagrha, now lost, and also provided an upper pradakṣiṇā. This terrace was approached from the north by a flight of steps, the side walls of which continue the ornament of the bhadrapīṭha (Plate 230). Each of three stages of the stairway's parapet display figures of couchant lions.

Each karnaṇprāsāda is a square edifice of four storeys capped by a prominent cylindrical drum; crowning aṇḍas are lost.

The bhadrapīṭha and karnaṇprāsādas share a common vēḍibandha composed of a tall kumbha, antarapaṭṭa relieved by a running band of plain tulā-ends, and kapōtapālī.



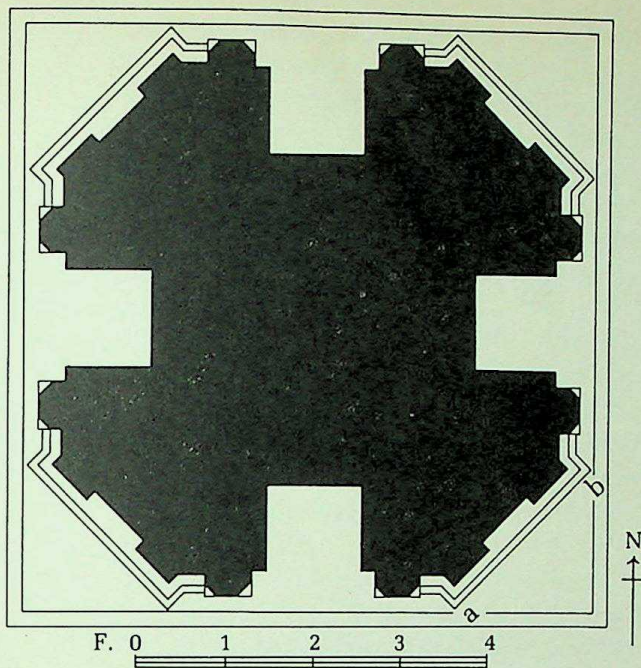


Fig. 45. Nālandā. Site no. 3, votive stūpa near fifth-period temple, plan.

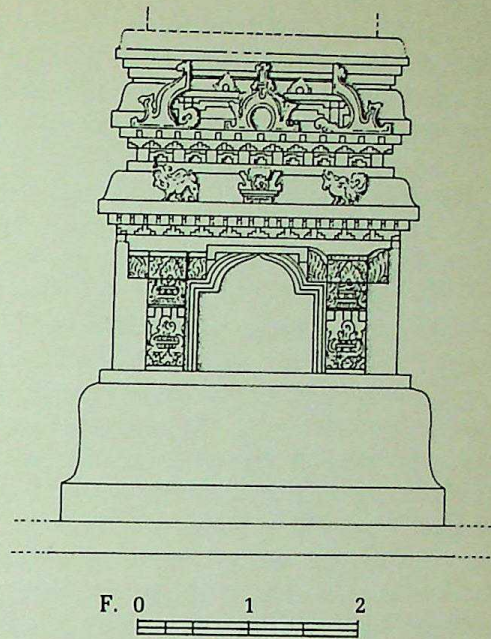


Fig. 46. Nālandā. Stone temple no. 2, moulded jagatī with niche.

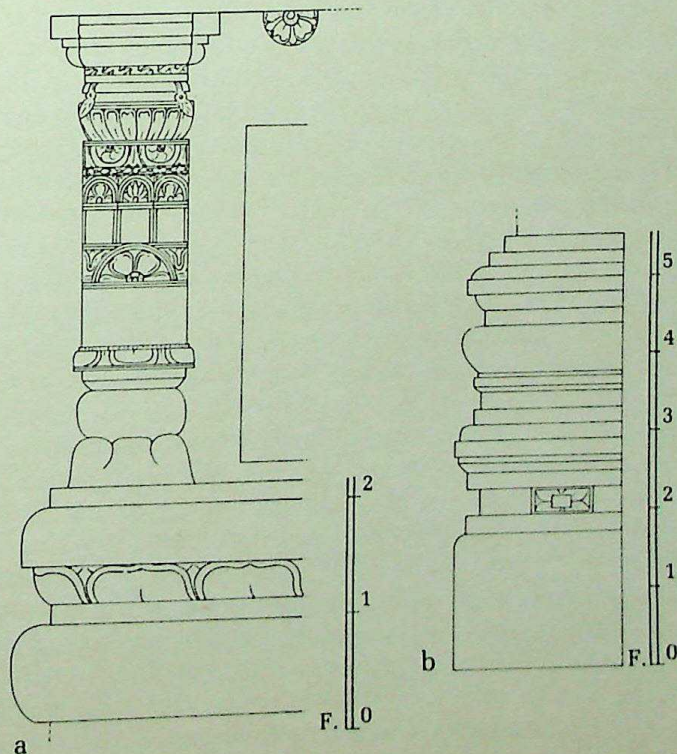


Fig. 47. Aṃśāḍ. Viṣṇu temple: a. first terrace, vėdibandha and pilaster; b. second terrace, vėdibandha.



The elevation above the vēdibandha consists of three registers of diminishing sizes. The lowest register shows standing figures in rectangular niches or seated figures in niches with arched tops. The niches are framed by pilasters with ghaṭa-base resting on a stylised lotus pedestal typical of early Magadha architecture. The shaft has square, octagonal, and square sections, with a circular ghaṭa at the bharaṇa, square abacus, and a cruciform bracket of plain curved profile. These brackets, reinforced by a row of brackets or by plain tulā-ends at the same level, support a plain beam surmounted by a prominent kapōtapālī. Short sections of kapōta with vṛttakarna relieved by lotus petals canopy the niches.

The middle register shows seated figures in niches on the bhadrapīṭha; on the karnaṇprāsādas, the figures appear within simhakarnaṇas (Plate 229). Pilasters of the middle level lack ghaṭa-design. The third level is devoid of figures and shows oblong windows with lateral extensions at base and lintel (as on the Pārvaṭī temple, Nacnā, and the stūpa at Mīrpurkhās). The east face of the northeast karnaṇprāsāda displays blind latticed windows with designs also similar to those at Mīrpurkhās. The pilasters of this register show ghaṭa-ornamentation on the bharaṇa but not on the base.

The karnaṇprāsādas have a very short fourth register with highly compressed pilasters capped by heavy kapōtapālī. The cylindrical drum above displays prominent cardinal niches, crowned by a simhakarnaṇa, containing seated Buddha images.

The north face, northeast corner, of the bhadrapīṭha is dominated by a niche, crowned by a conspicuous śūrasēnaka that contains a large image of seated Padmapāṇi Avalōkitēśvara. Though the niche fits the first register, the crowning śūrasēnaka spans both upper registers.

This temple was surrounded by numerous votive stūpas, generally of small size, built one over the other. Two of these votive stūpas are noteworthy for their interesting design. One of them has an octagonal plan showing various types of shrine-models (Fig. 45). The other shows shrines at the cardinal points containing Buddhist deities, including Tārā (Plate 231). Adjoining this stūpa and the northeast karnaṇprāsāda of the temple is a small Valabhī shrine adorned with Buddha figures in the simhakarnaṇas of the roof (Plate 232). Some of the votive stūpas contained bricks inscribed with Buddhist sūtras in sixth-century script, one dated A.D. 517 (probably a re-dedication).

The modelling of the Buddha figures on this temple and the treatment of drapery distantly echo the Gupta idiom of Sārnāth. Proportions and details of countenance, particularly of lips and eyes, are quite different. The saṅghāṭī of the Buddha shows a fork-like hemline on the left shoulder, a distinctive cliché of Nālandā. These figures are more self-conscious and extrovert than those of Sārnāth and harder in style than those of the Maniyār Maṭh. In architectural conception as well as decorative treatment, this temple resembles the Mahābōdhi temple at Bōdhgayā but seems slightly earlier. It is definitely posterior to the Maniyār Maṭh. On grounds of sculptural and architectural style, the temple is assignable to the last quarter of the sixth century A.D.

Nālandā, stone temple no. 2 (Fig. 46; Plates 233-243)

Nālandā is known for massive Buddhist monasteries and temples built of brick; stone was employed sparingly for occasional pillars or pillar-bases. A temple built of stone is thus exceptional, the more so since this is the only temple that shows Brahmanical, not Buddhist, divinities. The temple also does not conform to the general layout of the site but stands at an oblique angle to the meticulous alignment of the row of monasteries behind it. While the monasteries face west, this temple faces east.

The temple (Plate 233-234) had a stone jagatī (118 × 102 ft.), which has survived



to an uneven height. Above this, a plain brick wall was reconstructed at a later period. The moulded plinth of the jagatī rises over kharaśilā and comprises khura-kumbha, broad antarapaṭṭa, and a pair of kapōtapālī cornices with a brief intervening recess (Fig. 46). The broad antarapaṭṭa is carved with plain sunk niches containing a large variety of figures and decorative ornaments (Plates 235-240). Both kapōtapālīs are embellished with candraśālikās flanked by geese or suparṇas. The upper kapōtapālī is decorated where the jagatī projects by incipient śūrasēnakas. The jagatī walls have short projections, four on the karṇas and pratikarṇas, three on the bhadras. The east wall (Plate 234) has six projections, three to either side of a flight of steps (sōpāna).

Like other Nālandā temples, this temple was set on a jagatī. After the stone structure fell down, its remains were subsequently rebuilt, reconstructed partly with old pieces and partly with new brickwork (Plate 233). An examination of the surviving remains indicates that the stone temple had a garbhagṛha measuring 52 ft. square, 18 ft. internally. The garbhagṛha seems to have been connected through an oblong passage to a maṇḍapa (30 × 25 ft.) preceded by a small mukhamaṇḍapa. The mukhamaṇḍapa and sōpāna together project about 17 ft. from the east wall of the jagatī, which provides a space c. 22 ft. wide for pradakṣiṇā.

The superstructure has completely collapsed, not only of the original stone temple but also of the later reconstruction. Excavators found the temple choked with an enormous mass of fallen architectural members, most of which are now stacked around the temple precincts. An examination of these leaves no doubt that the stone temple had a rēkhā śikhara, with a madhyalatā made up of bold candraśālikās and with karṇas marked by bhūmi-āmalakas. A large āmalasāraka lying loose at the site may have constituted the crowning member.

The moulded plinth of the jagatī (Fig. 46; Plate 234) was embellished with c. 220 niches (200 now preserved). The niches (Plates 235-236) are framed by Rucaka pilasters carved with ghaṭapallava on the kumbhikā and bharaṇī and with a short octagonal section below the bharaṇī. The ghaṭapallava on the kumbhikā is frequently surmounted by an ardhapadma, ardharatna, or a conical design of padmalatā. The pilasters carry a cruciform śirṣaka decorated generally with ardharatna flanked by floriate palmettes; sometimes the bracket is adorned by vidyādhara carrying garland or by kumāras. The niches are rectangular in shape, with a usually arcuate but occasionally rectilinear top, and are mostly enclosed by an ornamental border.

The themes depicted in the niches comprise gods and goddesses, vidyādhara, gandharvas, a kinnara and suparṇas, scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, miscellaneous secular subjects like animal fables, cock-fight, musicians and dancers, acrobats, ascetics, teacher and disciple, mother and child, and amatory couples. Among gods and goddesses (represented with two-arms and showing simple iconographic features) are Śiva, Gaṇakṣmī (Plate 235), Kubēra, Balarāma, Kārttikēya, Agni (Plate 239), and probably Hārītī.

Five panels represent scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa; in three, Rāma is marked by his distinctive channavīra ornament and by his bow and arrow. One portrays Rāvaṇa as a six-armed, three-headed figure holding various weapons, rushing threateningly towards Sītā who is turning away in fright and grief. While all gods and goddesses have been treated as if normal humans, Rāvaṇa is multi-armed and multi-headed, perhaps to bring out his superhuman prowess and arrogance.

Of two animal fables carved here, one represents the story of the loquacious tortoise; the other represents the kind-hearted rat helping the ungrateful lion. Semi-divine figures of flying vidyādhara (Plate 240) and gandharvas and secular themes of



dance and music (Plate 238) claim the largest number of panels. Characterised by rounded features and flowing contours, figures are informed by a rhythmic movement and sense of abandon. Flight and dance are highlighted by fluttering scarves and by brisk flexions (which characterise also some of the amorous couples).

Panels with decorative carvings show a variety of animal, floral, and geometric designs. Among animals, the fabulous karimakara and haṃsa (Plate 237; depicted frequently with a luxurious scrolled tail and a lotus stalk in its beak) are much in favour. Floral designs include interesting lotus forms. Among other motifs are grāsa-mukhas (Plate 236) and a number of jālaka patterns including rosettes set in hexagons.

Figures on this temple pertain to the late Gupta style of eastern India. The body type is mostly stocky, male and female figures having their hair dressed in a two-tiered top-knot. We also find male and female figures of a slighter build, however, with other hairdos including wig-like curls.

These panels anticipate depictions at Pāhārpur, where figures often echo representations on this temple. In eastern India, this is the earliest temple to introduce a band of niched figures (showing eclectic iconography) mixed with a variety of lively, seemingly secular themes.

We have mainly to rely on considerations of style to arrive at a date. Some graffiti, in the nature of pilgrim records, are engraved on the jagatī on the northern end of the east face. These are palæographically akin to the Aṃśāḍ stone inscription of Ādityasēna (c. A.D. 650-675). Sculptures seem earlier than the earliest group at Pāhārpur and bear some affinity to images at Muṇḍēśvarī.

Many components of the śikhara (Plates 241, 243) share forms common to the temple at Muṇḍēśvarī, which also has yielded versions of incipient śūrasēnakas on the upper kapōtapālī of the jagatī. While the bold kapōtapālī moulding of the Muṇḍēśvarī temple is quite plain, the same moulding on the jagatī of this temple is adorned with haṃsas and suparṇas (Plates 235-236), a later feature.

The rendering of mouldings, pilasters, and ornaments lacks depth and definition: it seems the handiwork of craftsmen used to handling brick and stucco. Architectural motifs are common to those at Muṇḍēśvarī, and the temple may roughly be attributed to the end of the second quarter of the seventh century A.D.

*Aṃśāḍ, Viṣṇu temple* (Fig. 47; Plates 244-246)

The site of Aṃśāḍ in Magadha has been well-known for artistic sculptures of c. the seventh century for some time, including a zoomorphic Varāha, Viṣṇu, and a Cakra-puruṣa. An inscription of Ādityasēna of the Later Gupta dynasty from the site also was known and a 60 ft. high mound that extended over an area roughly 200 ft. square. In 1965, the lower part of the mound was cleared, exposing a portion of a brick-and-stucco temple with eight panels depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Plate 246). These were published by B. P. Sinha. Findings established that the mound contained remains of a brick-and-stucco temple (Plate 244) with five bhadrapīṭhas; the three lower ones were rectilinear like the stūpa-shrine at Lauriyā Nandagaḍh. The first bhadrapīṭha contained *Rāmāyaṇa*-panels in pilaster-framed niches (Plates 245-246); the second and third bhadrapīṭhas also once displayed jāṅghā niches (Plate 244). The vēḍibandha of the second bhadrapīṭha had tall kumbha, broad antarapaṭṭa relieved by tulā-ends with a simple floral pattern, short kapōtapālī, antarapaṭṭa, kalaśa, antarapaṭṭa, and short kapōtapālī (Fig. 47; Plate 244). The jāṅghā is capped by a broad kapōtapālī. The vēḍibandha of the third bhadrapīṭha is less tall, and comprises kumbha, antarapaṭṭa, and a short kapōtapālī capped by the jāṅghā.



The sanctum placed atop the highest bhadrapīṭha does not survive. There are extensive remains of brick foundations and pavements and some fragments of black basalt sculptures of c. the seventh century representing Sūrya, Viṣṇu, and their attendants.

The vēdibandha shows only a kalaśa and kapōtapālī with a vṛttakarna beneath. The floor level of this bhadrapīṭha appears to have been raised, concealing lower moulding (Plates 245-246). The jaṅghā above has niches with rectangular or arcuate tops. The framing pilasters have a simple ghaṭa base resting on a stylised lotus pedestal typical of early Magadha architecture. Above are a square section embellished in the upper part with a large ardhapadma, an octagonal section partly plain and partly decorated with a row of smaller ardhapadmas, a short square section carved with patravallī, a ghaṭa embellished with lotus petals that constitute the bharāṇa, a short square abacus, and a plain cruciform bracket. The brackets, reinforced by a pair of ardhapadmas above each niche, support a plain beam surmounted by a frieze of tulā-ends. The upper members of the jaṅghā have not been exposed.

The vēdibandha mouldings of this temple compare with those of the Muṇḍēśvarī temple (c. A.D. 636). The pilasters resting on lotus pedestals share a basic design with the fifth-period temple at Nālandā site no.3 and even more so with the ornate stucco pilasters of the large votive stūpa to its north. Figures in the Rāmāyaṇa-panels are folkish, of tall build, and show a dense grouping (Plate 246). Their countenances bear resemblance to terracotta figures from Bhītargāñv and Gōbind Bhīṭā, Mahāsthān (Bangladesh). Unlike the stucco figures, which follow a terracotta tradition, stone images from the site seem more developed. The crowned image of Viṣṇu from Apsāḍ (c. mid-seventh century) is representative of its time and is characterised by taut modelling and an oval face with a dignified expression free from spiritual abstraction. Ornaments continue to be few and rigorously selective; the "wet-drapery" effect of Sārnāth that is still apparent at Rājgir and Nālandā has been eliminated and the lower garment exerts its own weight and volume.

The undated stone inscription of Ādityasēna found at Apsāḍ gives a genealogy and a detailed history of the king and his dynastic predecessors. It is a foundation inscription for the "excellent temple" built in honour of Viṣṇu by Ādityasēna, for a maṭha constructed by his mother Mahādēvī Śrīmatī, and for a large tank excavated by his queen Kōṇadēvī. It is difficult to locate the maṭha and tank, but there should be no doubt that the partly exposed brick temple with Rāmāyaṇa-panels represents the Viṣṇu temple. One date, A.D. 672, is known for Ādityasēna, falling toward the later part of his reign. The sculptural and architectural style of the temple would also indicate a date in the third quarter of the seventh century.

Krishna Deva

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## CHAPTER 9

II.A.2.

Varieties of North Indian style: Madhyadēśa style,  
phase 1, c. A.D. 575-700

## Maukharis and Puṣpabhūti of Kānyakubja

### Historical Introduction

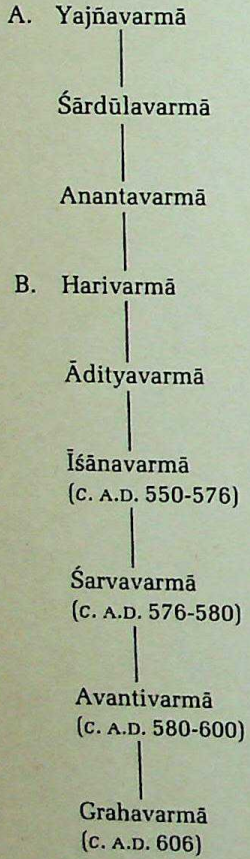
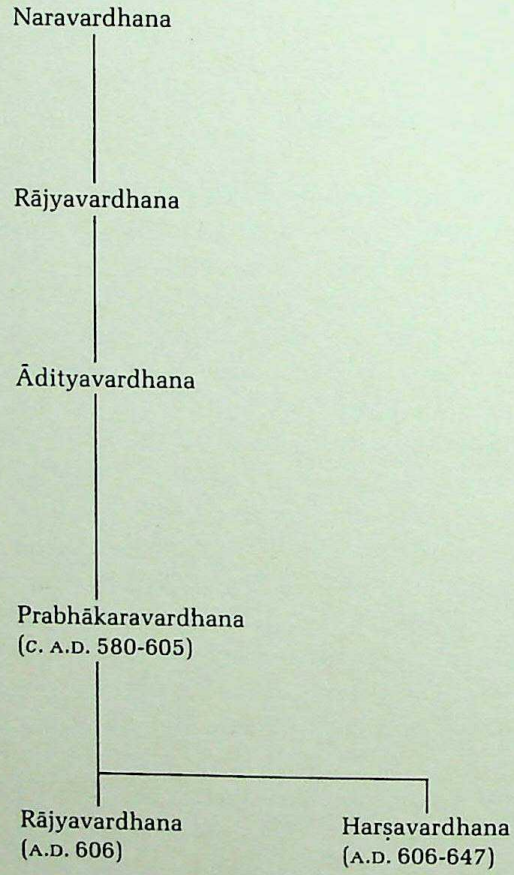
The Maukharis were an ancient clan who rose to real prominence along with the Later Guptas in contiguous regions of Madhyadēśa and Magadha late in the sixth century.

Three Maukhari chiefs are known from inscriptions in the caves at Barābar, District Gaya; these record the dedication of images of Kṛṣṇa, Śiva-Pārvatī, and Kātyāyanī by the Maukhari Anantavarmā some time during the later half of the sixth century. The family had only local significance.

The main Maukhari family, known from seals and inscriptions, rose in Madhyadēśa almost simultaneous with the Later Guptas of Magadha and gained considerable power and prestige; their capital was Kānyakubja (present Kanauj). Īśānavarmā was the first ruler to declare his independence and to lead victorious armies against the Āndhras, Śūlikas, and Gauḍas as claimed in his inscription of A.D. 554. Poised in contiguous territories of Magadha and Madhyadēśa, the Maukharis and the Later Guptas were bound to clash and they, in fact, remained at war through several generations. Īśānavarmā's struggle against his Later Gupta contemporary, Kumāragupta, resulted in his own discomfiture, a fact avenged by his son Śarvavarmā. Śarvavarmā not only defeated Kumāragupta's son Dāmōdaragupta but occupied a part of his adversary's territory, now in District Shahabad, where he and his son Avantivarmā re-confirmed an old land grant in favour of a hereditary Saura priest called Varuṇavāsi. Śarvavarmā had an elder brother, Sūryavarmā, who reconstructed a temple of Andhakāri Śiva in A.D. 554 (he probably predeceased his father). Śarvavarmā was succeeded by Avantivarmā, who was succeeded by his son Grahavarmā according to the *Harṣacarita*. Grahavarmā married Rājyaśrī, Harṣa's sister, and was later killed by Dēvagupta, a king of Mālava, who imprisoned Rājyaśrī. This murder led to a chain of events culminating in the union of the Maukharis and the Vardhanas and the transfer to Kanauj of Harṣavardhana's capital.

Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa (c. A.D. 600-636), one of the most romantic and controversial figures of Indian history, played a significant role in a political drama enacted about A.D. 606 in Kanauj. Taking advantage of the death of Prabhākaravardhana and the enmity of the Later Guptas and Maukharis, he sided with the Later Guptas, joined hands with Dēvagupta, king of Mālava, and fought and killed Grahavarmā and then Harṣa's own elder brother, Rājyavardhana. Rising to power rapidly in Gauḍa, he



**Genealogical Table: Maukharis and Puṣpabhūtiś****Maukharis****Puṣpabhūtiś**



quickly dominated Bengal, Bihar, and the Kalinga coast up to Ganjam. These he held for two or three decades, suddenly disappearing in c. A.D. 636. He left behind a notoriety as a fanatic Śaiva who destroyed the Bōdhi tree at Bōdhgayā.

Harṣavardhana (A.D. 606-647) by comparison is known as one of the great kings of India, famed for his personal attainments, religious tolerance, and patronage of arts and letters. Circumstances put him on the throne of Kanauj, which virtually became the political and cultural capital of North India. Harṣa defeated his enemies and consolidated his position through bold military leadership and statecraft. He ruled most of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and eastern Punjab and had friendly alliances with the kings of Kāmarūpa, Nēpāl, and Valabhī. He is said to have suffered reverses at the hands of the Calukya king Pulakēśi II, who took pride in calling the adversary he had defeated the "lord of the whole of North India."

Hsüan Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, would have us believe that Harṣa had special leanings toward Buddhism, though his own inscriptions reveal him as a devotee of Śiva and Sūrya who also was respectful toward Buddhism. He honoured gods and holy men of all sects. A poet and author himself, Harṣa was a patron of arts and letters; according to Hsüan Tsang, he endowed the University of Nālandā with the revenue of a hundred villages and undertook construction there of a magnificent bronze temple 100 ft. high.

### Architectural Features

Madhyadēśa in this period moved parallel to Magadha in the development of brick architecture. The development of stone architecture, however, seems to have been faster in Madhyadēśa. This becomes clear if we compare the Muṇḍēśvarī temple (dated c. A.D. 636) with temple no. 2 at Nālandā (c. A.D. 650). The former shows confident workmanship with bold and crisply carved vēdibandha mouldings, tall pillars, expansive doorframes, and a jaṅghā adorned with bold niches crowned by Phāṁsanā roofs with śimhakarṇas. The Nālandā temple, while executed in stone, actually was conceived in terms of brick. It shows shallow mouldings and even shallower decorative carvings. Its architectural members lack boldness of execution and its ornaments are devoid of depth and definition. The projections of its jagatī are halting and bereft of strength, suggesting that the Magadha architect was not yet at home with the medium of stone.

Muṇḍēśvarī is the only surviving seventh-century stone temple of the Madhyadēśa style and is one of the earliest temples in India to display a full complement of developed vēdibandha mouldings: khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōtapālī. It substitutes tulāpīṭha for kalaśa on bhadra projections. (Brick temples both of Magadha and Madhyadēśa often preferred tulāpīṭha to kalaśa.) Its jaṅghā can provide a representative picture of design and embellishment early in the seventh century. Plain masonry walls have niches crowned by a pent-roof pediment fronted by a large udgama ornament. The architectural pieces lying at the site suggest that the Muṇḍēśvarī temple had a Nāgara śikhara with a madhyalatā of kapōtas adorned by a vertical row of candraśālās flanked by half candraśālās. The karṇas were articulated by flat, squarish bhūmi-āmalakas, while the śikhara was crowned by a large āmalasāraka.

If the Muṇḍēśvarī temple is representative of a regional style, we can conclude that the "T"-shaped format common to Gupta doorframes had become optional; mithunas, stambhaśākhā, and lalāṭabimba also have not been used.



Rāmgadh, Muṇḍēśvarī temple (Figs. 48-49; Plates 247-258)

Built atop a 600 ft.-high hill at Rāmgadh near Bhabua, District Rohtas, Bihar, this temple has a remarkable, well-articulated, octagonal plan with bold masonry and crisp carving (Fig. 48; Plate 247). According to a broken foundation inscription, the temple was built in the reign of Mahārāja Udayasēna in the year 30 of an unspecified era. If referred to the Harṣa era, this would yield a date of A.D. 636.

The temple preserves the foundation of a maṇḍapa on the south, the direction from which the hill is ascended, but also shows an ancient Nandi platform in front of the west door (and blocks the east door with an ancient grille) suggesting an original westerly orientation. The temple comprises an octagonal garbhagrha, 40 ft. wide externally, 20 ft. internally, with four doorways facing the cardinal directions. The maṇḍapa on the south, of which a foundation and fragments survive, was probably a later addition.

Bold vēḍibandha mouldings (Fig. 49a) rise directly from a kharaśilā and comprise khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and a kapōtapālī with two minor karṇa mouldings below (the upper decorated with āmrālumbī). These mouldings are interrupted by doorways on the cardinal faces (Plate 247) and are confined to the bhadra-projections on the vikarṇa faces, where kalaśa is replaced by tulāpīṭha bosses (Fig. 49b). To either side of the bhadra-projections, in place of these vēḍibandha mouldings, is a broad kumbha face, demarcated from the plane of the jaṅghā and ornamented with a vandanamālikā suspended from a gorgeous śōbhāpaṭṭikā in alignment with the kalaśa moulding (Plate 248).

The jaṅghā is decorated on vikarṇa faces with three niches; the smaller side-niches are crowned by bold udgamas terminating in śimhakarṇas. The central bhadra niche is larger and its crowning pediment must have extended into the superstructure. The flanking niches rise from a short kapōtapālī that rests on a tulāpīṭha of four bosses (Plate 250); these are sometimes left plain and sometimes ornamented with human heads or grāsamukhas. These niches are framed by two śākhās, the first carved with patravallī, the second a stambhaśākhā of Rucaka type, with square kumbhikā and a cruciform śīrṣaka, both decorated with ardharatna flanked by floriate palmettes. The shaft is ornamented only on the upper half, showing ardharatnas on the madhyabandha, ardhapadma on the short octagonal section, and a ghaṭapallava on the bharaṇa. The brackets support a single kapōtapālī ornamented with two candraśālikās. Above, on the face of the Phāmsanā pediment, is a large udgama with śimhakarṇa. The ornament of the larger central niches is generally similar to that of the flanking ones. The pilasters show ghaṭapallava at the kumbhikā and a chain-and-bell suspended from a maṇibandha or grāsamukha. The niches are carved with three śākhās. Their architrave is ornamented with a bevelled course of lotus petals surmounted by a beam ornamented with ardharatnas.

The doorways have three śākhās, of which the middle one on the south is decorated with gaṇas (Plate 249). The figure at the top of the right jamb holds a sword (Piṅgala); the bearded figure on the left carries a staff (Daṇḍī). The lintel shows eight vidyādhara; the two central ones hold a short kirīṭamukuṭa. The prominence of this kirīṭamukuṭa suggests a Vaiṣṇava or Saura association. The bases of the jambs have large two-armed pratihāras in tribhaṅga who carry a lotus flower and have an attendant.

All four doorways show padmalatā on the inner śākhā and a floriate palmette design on the outer (Plates 249, 251, 253). The western doorway shows a luxurious lotus vine issuing from a pūrṇaghaṭa on the middle śākhā. The pratihāras of the west



doorway are two-armed. That on the left carries triśūla (its upper part mutilated); that on the right is attended by triśūlapuruṣa. Triśūlapuruṣa coupled with the depiction of a nāga rearing up from the shoulder of both pratihāras indicates a Śaiva affiliation. (A pillar bearing a figure of standing Sūrya flanked by Daṇḍī and Piṅgala was used to prop up this doorway at a later date.)

The north doorway is embellished with patralatā on the middle śākhā and is exceptional in showing four-armed female pratihārīs carrying swords. These pratihārīs are of Śākta affiliation, appropriate to a northern orientation.

The east doorway resembles the north one but shows Gaṅgā and Yamunā at the base. This doorway was blocked, perhaps at a later date, using an ancient jālavātāyana and two other architectural members, one of them fitted in upside down. The jālavātāyana (Plate 253) is noteworthy for introducing a frieze of ratnas and also a grinning grāsamukha with ring in his mouth as if it were a door-handle. This door is the only one with its architrave intact (Plate 252). It shows three ornate registers, the lowest carved with lotus petals and a garland pattern, the middle with a course of tulā-ends ornamented with six śimhavaktras, and the top with patralatā.

The upper part of the jaṅghā as well as the śikhara are missing. The existing ceiling and concrete roof are modern. The temple had some sort of rēkhā śikhara with madhyalatā made up of bold candraśālās addorsed to kapōtas and with karṇas marked by bhūmi-āmalakas (Plates 257-258). This is indicated by the numerous architectural pieces scattered at the site. The site has yielded half a dozen candraśālās inset with figures of Śaiva divinities which possibly adorned the base of the śikhara (Plate 254). There are two figures of Kārttikēya (Plate 256), one Śiva Andhakāntaka, benign and terrifying heads of Śiva, and a mutilated image of Gaṇēśa.

The interior of the temple shows four central pillars and four pairs of pilasters. The pillars are plain with a square kumbhikā and bharāṇa, an octagonal shaft, short 16-sided section below the bharāṇa, and a cruciform śīrṣaka with a plain curved profile. The pilasters are Rucaka with a plain half medallion, short octagonal section, and a plain ghaṭapallava marking the bharāṇa. A central pīṭhikā supports a caturmukha Śivaliṅga of c. 13th century. Principal worship today, however, appropriate to the present name, "Muṇḍēśvarī," is offered to a medieval image of an eight-armed goddess riding a bull (buffalo?), that is kept in the east entry.

The sketch-plan published by R.N. Martin in 1838 shows a pillared maṇḍapa in front of the southern doorway having 12 pillars. To the southwest of the present temple is the pīṭha of a tiny later shrine that contains a Śivaliṅga. The mouldings of this shrine interrupt the surviving foundation for the southern maṇḍapa. Among the architectural members lying loose around the temple are fragments of four pillars, the tallest about 11 ft. high; these are plain Rucaka pillars carved with an unornamented semicircular medallion and a short octagonal section on the bharāṇa. These need not be of the same date as the temple's inscription.

Among numerous loose images and architectural fragments at the site are a worn caturmukhaliṅga, two pillars with sarvatōbhadrīkā pratimās in niches (one showing Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, and Gaṇēśa, the other Sūrya, Harihara, Pārvatī in pañcāgnitapas, and Gaṇēśa), two pieces of a flat ceiling carved with a large lotus, and a corner fragment showing niches containing figures of Yama and Kubēra (two of the Lōkapālas).

If the foundation inscription refers to the Harṣa era, yielding a date of A.D. 636, the temple stylistically can be assigned to the same period. The inscription records that there was a temple of Nārāyaṇa (Nārāyaṇadēvakula), called Maṇḍalēśvarasvāmī,



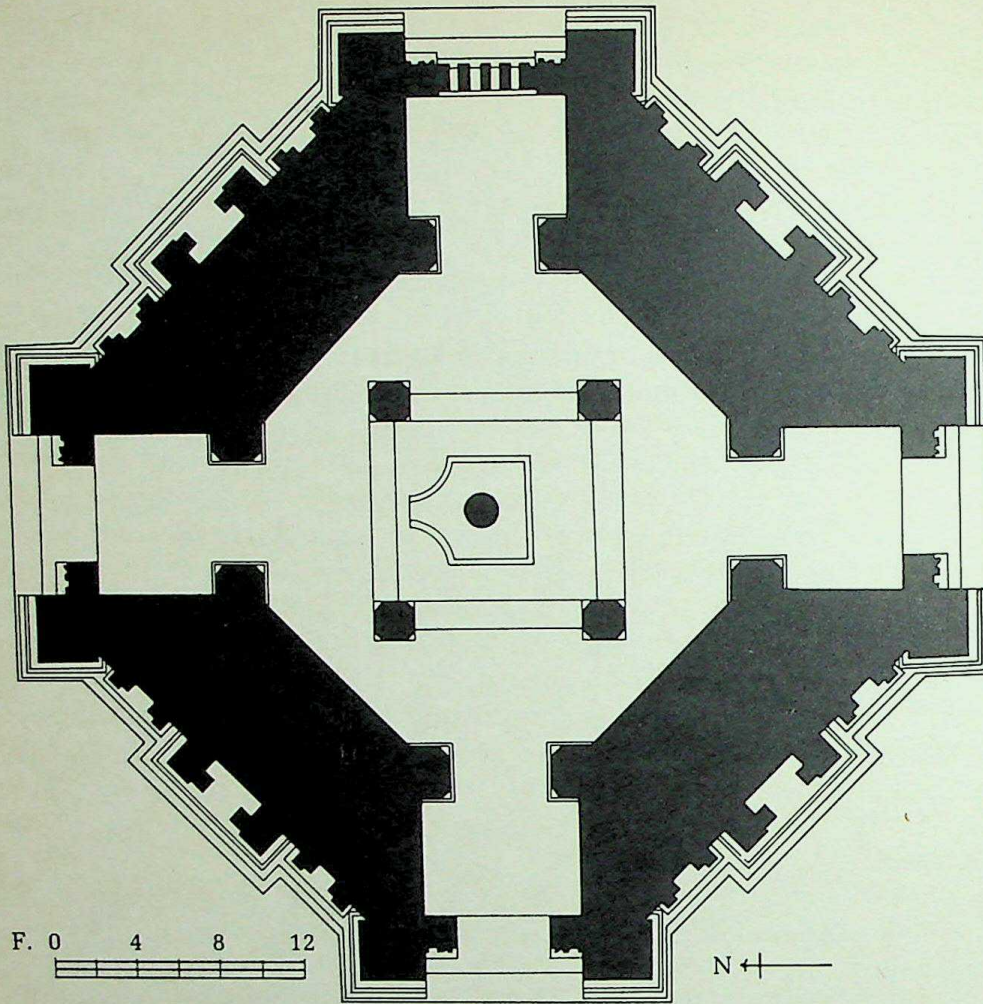


Fig. 48. Rāmgadh. Muṇḍēśvarī temple, plan.

which was an old establishment with a management committee (dēvanikāya) and storeroom kōṣṭhikā), to which was appended a Śiva temple and monastery (Vinitēśvaraṁaṭha) in the year 30; whether Nārāyaṇa here refers to Viṣṇu is not clear.

An analysis of the octagonal plan of this temple by Meister recently has demonstrated that its architects used both the grid of the Vāstumaṇḍala and the geometry of the Śulba Sūtras in its construction. While the large bhadra niches on the vikarṇa faces must have enclosed images of major deities, the flanking smaller niches may well have contained an early set of the Dikpālas acting as guardians of the eight directions. The Patna Museum preserves images from this site that include Sūrya, Harihara (bearing a short label reading "Vipaścitaḥ" in the same characters as the foundation inscription), seated Kārttikēya, standing Kārttikēya, standing Pārvatī, two seated Mātṛkās, seated Agni, and seated Kubēra, all stylistically of the early seventh century A.D.

Sculpture associated with this temple is not of uniform quality and seems to betray several idioms and levels of workmanship. Decorative ornament — scrolls and arabesques, grāsakiṅkiṇikā, lion heads on the architraves — reveals crisp and confident carving and fine workmanship, inspired in part by the Gupta idiom of Sārnāth. Larger figures from the site are generally clumsy. The image of Sūrya, on the prop fixed to the western doorway, and the left pratihāra carved on the same doorframe are



exceptions. Architecture seems to have been handled by a guild trained perhaps in the Sārnāth school while images were sculpted by local guilds, some of them trained, perhaps, in a wooden tradition.

The rocky ascent up the hill shows many later pilgrim-records and two such records are also engraved on the *vēdibandha* of the main temple in characters of the late seventh century. The number of inscriptions here in "shell" script also is remarkable.

#### Sārnāth, Mūlagandhakuṭī (Plate 260)

Sārnāth, so important a centre of late Gupta sculpture, continued to have temples added in the early post-Gupta period. The brick-built main shrine at Sārnāth largely belongs in its present form to the late seventh and early eighth centuries. This "Mūlagandhakuṭī" is an oft-restored temple of brick and plaster that reuses doorframes of the fifth/sixth centuries and has inserted stone architectural pieces of the sixth/seventh centuries as part of its pīṭha. Older remains, dating from Maurya through late Gupta times, lie concealed under the present pavement. The shrine, however, as it now survives perhaps continues an old plan. It is square, with prominent *bhadra* projections on three sides that contain shrine-chambers, and has a stepped entrance on the east, a closed rectangular court, and an open court. The *vēdibandha* mouldings and surviving portion of the *jaṅghā* (decorated with pilasters and niches crowned by *śūrasēnakas*) are typical of brick temples of the post-Gupta period. The *vēdibandha* of the temple is composed of a tall *kumbha*, *tulāpīṭha*, *kapōtapālī*, *kalaśa*, and second *kapōtapālī* (Plate 260). The *jaṅghā* is decorated mainly with pilasters crowned by *candraśālās* and *śūrasēnakas*. Each pilaster rests on a lotus pedestal of a design somewhat resembling that of its Magadha brick counterpart. The pilaster shows a *ghaṭa* at

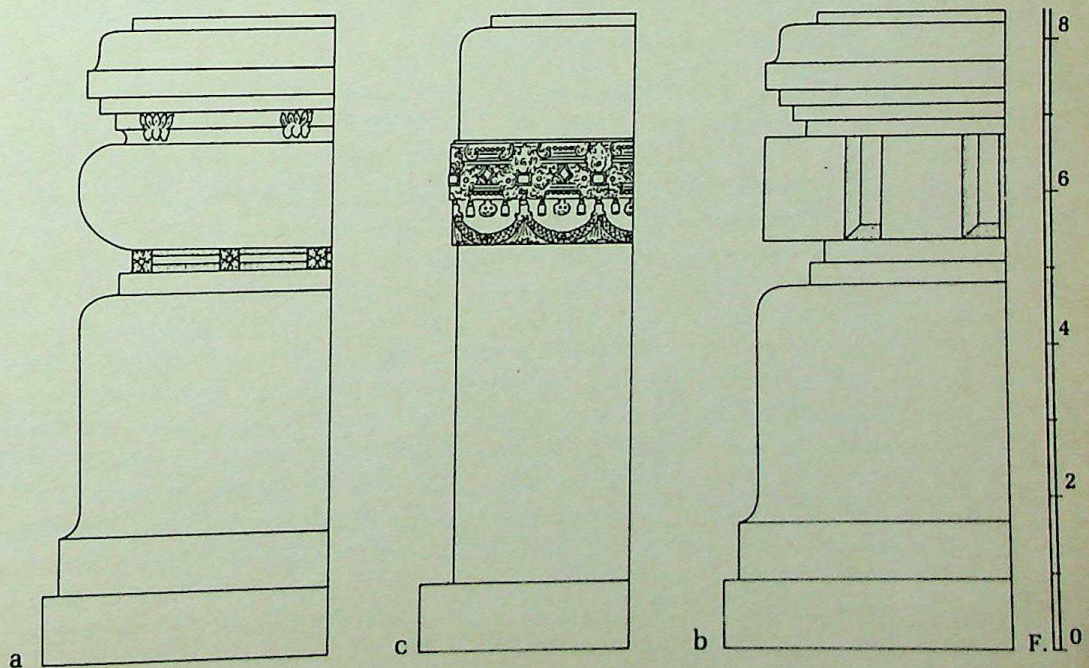


Fig. 49. Rāmgadh. Muṇḍēśvarī temple, *vēdibandhas*: a. at cardinal points; b. at *vikarṇa* points; c. between a and b.



the kumbhikā and a plain shaft with square and octagonal sections. The temple is essentially a square edifice, 68 ft. on a side, with prominent bhadra projections on three sides containing each a small shrine with doorway. The embellishment to this temple conforms to a pattern shared by almost all brick temples in this period including that at Apsāḍ and temple no. 12 at Nālandā.

*Sārṇāth and Vārāṇasī, architectural fragments (Plates 259, 261-263, 266)*

Numerous stone architectural fragments including doorframes, āmalakas, pillars, pilasters, and various components of the śikhara survive at Sārṇāth. Doorframes largely continue the motifs of the previous phase in a more stylised form. Patravallī and śrīvṛkṣa lose their freshness and depth. A new śākhā of maṇibandha with diamonds alternating with rosettes is added and brackets are introduced showing ardharatna or a grāsamukha flanked by palmettes. Figures of river-goddesses and pratihāras often show indifferent workmanship. A doorjamb from Vārāṇasī in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Plate 266) has four śākhās decorated with patravallī, stylised diamonds, stambha-śākhā with a ghaṭapallava base, and śrīvṛkṣa; it shows a large two-armed pratihāra at the base carrying a flower in his right hand, the left placed on a heavy scarf, and with awkwardly depicted shoulders resembling some of the pratihāras on the Muṇḍēśvarī temple. A doorjamb from Sārṇāth itself has three panels, the central carved with a grinning grāsamukha, and shows two śākhās, the first carved with diamonds alternating with rosettes, the second a much stylised patravallī.

As at Muṇḍēśvarī, Sārṇāth also preserves quite a few bhūmi-āmalakas, karṇakūṭas, and pieces of the madhyalatā of Nāgara śikharas. These pertain to fallen stone temples of the seventh and early eighth centuries.

It is not known whether Harṣa was responsible for any construction at Sārṇāth, though there is a real probability that he extended his patronage to this important Buddhist site within his dominion and not far from his capital city of Kanauj.

*Dēv Baranārḱ, architectural remains (not illustrated)*

Dēv Baranārḱ, District Shahabad, Bihar, has a cluster of eight brick shrines, the earliest of which, however, is assignable only to c. the 12th century A.D. The site has yielded architectural members and Brahmanical images in sandstone ranging from the sixth to the 12th centuries, however; the earliest of these are three pillars and a fragmentary doorframe that are strikingly similar to their counterparts from Sārṇāth. These are stylistically assignable to c. A.D. 500-550. One pillar was used by the Later Gupta Jivitagupta II to engrave an inscription that refers to the confirmation of land granted to hereditary priests of the sun-god (Varuṇavāsin) from the time of Bālāditya and the Maukharis Śarvavarmā and Avantivarmā. This would imply continued worship of the sun-god at the site from at least the sixth century. The mention of a village "Vāruṇikā" and the sun-god's designation "Varuṇavāsin" (one residing at Varuṇa) confirms that the ancient village name was "Varuṇa" (also attested to by the present name Baranārḱ).

About a dozen images of Sūrya at the site range in date from the seventh to the 11th centuries. Half are stylistically attributable to c. A.D. 675-750, coinciding with the period of Jivitagupta II and his immediate predecessors. Three images of Viṣṇu, a doorframe of a Viṣṇu shrine, a sculpture of a gaṇa, and one of Gaṇēśa seemingly pertain to the same period. The site has a contemporary pillar with two sets of sarvatōbhadrīkā images — at the base representing Śiva, Pārvatī, Sūrya (?), and Gaṇēśa, at the top, four Lōkapālas. The pillar shows square, octagonal, and circular sections and small standing figures of aṣṭagrahas in low relief.



### Buxar, temple remains (Plates 264-265)

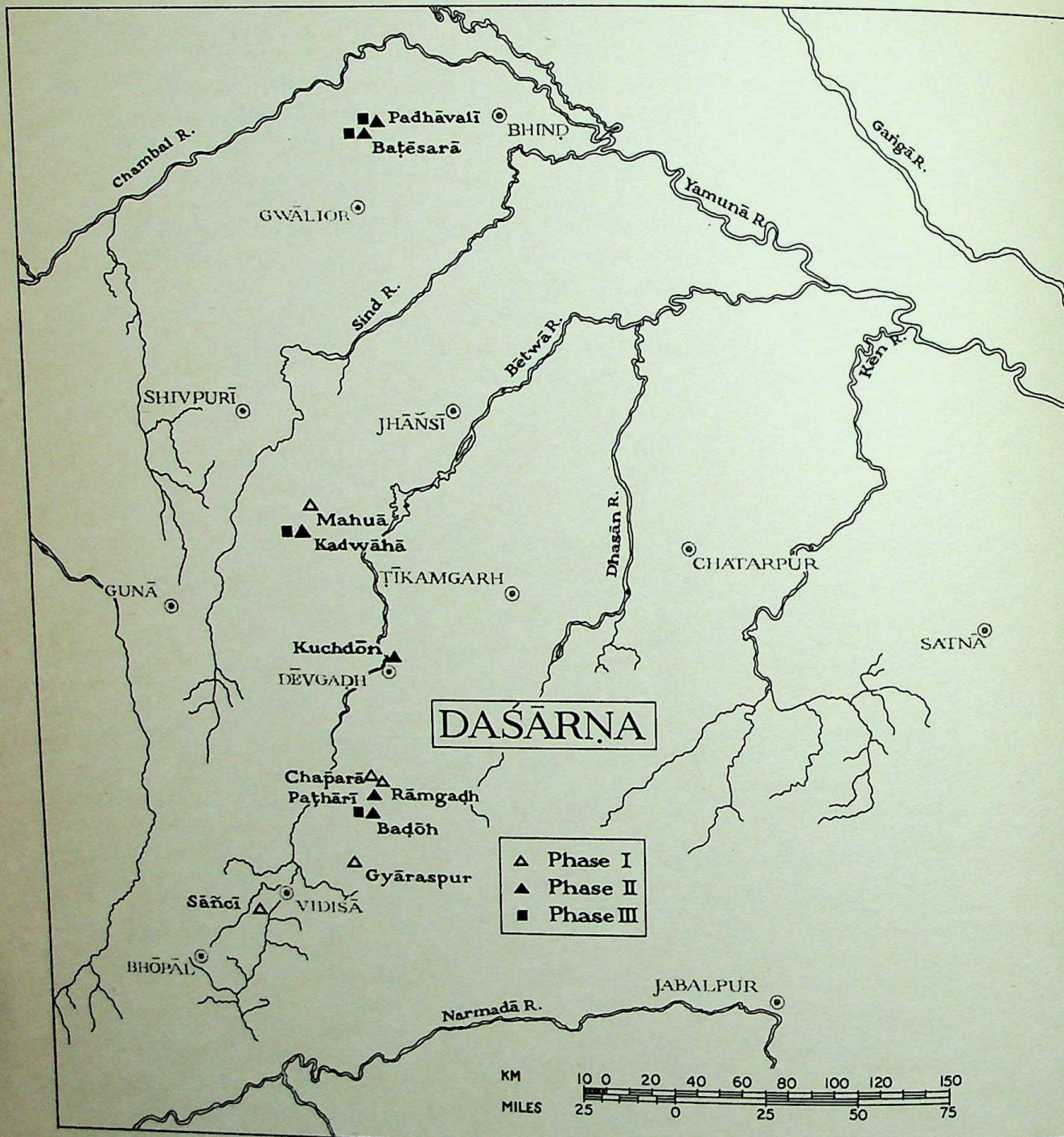
Buxar, District Shahabad, Bihar, is an ancient site situated on the right bank of the Gaṅgā, about 60 miles east of Vārāṇasī. The site has yielded a doorframe (Plate 265) of Vindhya sandstone composed of four śākhās, of which the first is carved with a kalpavallī that issues from the navels of two yakṣas and entwines jambhakas; the second śākhā shows maṇibandha of diamonds alternating with rosettes; the third is a stambhaśākhā with square, octagonal, and 16-sided sections with ghaṭapallava at the base, grāsamukha on a clasp in the middle, and a band of floral pattern surmounted by ardhapadma in the upper part. The octagonal section is also embellished with a band of floral pattern capped by three ardhapadmas; the upper part of the stambhaśākhā is mutilated. The fourth śākhā is carved with stylised śrīvṛkṣa motif. Gaṅgā and Yamunā (Plate 264) are depicted at the base of the doorframe in exaggerated tribhaṅga with usual attendants and vāhanas and flanked on one side by a mālāvidyādhara ensconced in clouds. A pair of haṁsas, carrying a garland, fly toward Yamunā. The modelling and stance of the river-goddesses, their headdress, and the stylised śrīvṛkṣa motif indicate a date of c. A.D. 675-700.

Krishna Deva

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Daśārṇadēśa: Minor dynasties, maṇḍapikā sites



## CHAPTER 10

II.B.1.

Varieties of North Indian style: Style of Daśārnadēśa, phase 1, c. late sixth–late seventh century A.D.

## Minor Dynasties: Maṇḍapikā and Early Nāgara Traditions

### Historical Introduction

Harṣavardhana (A.D. 606-647) wielded imperial authority, and was called “sakalōt-tarāpathanātha” (“emperor of the whole of North India”) even in the records of his enemies, the Calukyas of Bādāmi. His death was followed by political confusion. With no strong heir or successor state apparent, North India relapsed into petty warring kingdoms whose writ did not extend beyond their narrow dominions. Prominent among them remained the kingdoms of Magadha under the Later Guptas, Kashmir under the Karkōtakas, Orissa under the Śailōdbhavas, Valabhī under the Maitrakas, and Mālava and parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat under the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, Mauryas, Guhilaputras, Cāhamānas, and Cāpas. Madhyadēśa, with its principal administrative centre at Kanauj, and the sprawling region of Central India both had no stable ruling powers. The minor states that cropped up in those regions were very limited in their political and administrative jurisdiction. As example, a local dynasty listing five generations of chiefs ending with Vatsarāja is mentioned in an inscription on the Śiva temple no. 1 at Mahuā, District Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh. Kings mentioned in the inscription are Āryabhāsa (Vyāghrahēla), Nāgavardhana, Tējōvardhana, Udita, and Vatsarāja. This entire family, so typical of those ruling in Central India during the seventh century, are not known from any other historical source.

The religious and cultural climate continued unchanged after the death of Harṣavardhana. Hinduism was on the ascent and Buddhism was declining, confined to a few centres like Sāñci; Śaivism was widespread, with Śiva worshipped in aniconic form more than in viṅraha forms. By far the largest number of temples in this period was dedicated to Śaiva worship; other divinities also to receive popular adoration were Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Maḥiṣāsura-mardinī, Saptamātṛkās, Sarasvatī, Gaṇēśa, and Kārt-tikēya. Viṣṇu appears not only as Vāsudēva in caturbhuja form but also as Bhūvarāha, Trivikrama, Narasimha, and Śēṣaśāyī. A rock-cut representation of most of these divinities at one site appears at Rāmgadh, District Vidisha, attesting to the prevalence of pañcadēvōpāsana in seventh-century India.

The same catholic attitude is reflected by the images of Gaṇēśa, Maḥiṣāsura-mardinī, and Bhūvarāha in the bhadra niches on temple no. 1 at Mahuā, dedicated to Śiva. Shrine no. 1 at Rāmgadh, which is dedicated to Śiva, also preserves an image of Maḥiṣāsura-mardinī in its surviving bhadra niche.



## Architectural Features

The artistic momentum created by Gupta patronage in North India did not fully wear out until c. A.D. 700. The seventh century A.D. marked a period of transition between what may be perceived as a lingering "classicism" and certain early "medieval" tendencies in Central India. In architecture, small flat-roofed shrines (called "śilā-maṇḍapikā" in the Mahuā inscription) comprising a square garbhagr̥ha and prāgr̥iva, were erected in considerable numbers, as well as fully defined Latina Nāgara structures. Pillar-types, doorframes, and kaṭi all reflect designs new in this period.

Maṇḍapikā shrines show a kaṭi with a series of pillars with stone slabs set between, a form that seems derived from timber originals (where walling was made of simple posts with planks or lattices between). Often these shrines have a nascent triratha plan, with niches crowned by simple śimhakarṇa pediments on the bhadras.

These shrines are modest in dimensions, constructed in a distinctive way (with thin slab walls), and seem to reflect a local tradition, separate from Nāgara formulas and evolving side by side. This maṇḍapikā tradition evolves over several centuries, interacting at times with Nāgara formulas, but surviving independent of the mainstream of Nāgara architecture. The Mahuā inscription, which records that a temple, dedicated to Śiva, was set up "for the increase of the religious merit" of the king's parents, suggests that the tradition may represent a memorial type.

The maṇḍapikā at Chapārā has an absolutely bare kaṭi showing four pilasters on each side with three plain slabs between. Mahuā Śiva temple no. 1 has the same arrangement of pilasters and slab-recesses but is highly ornamented. Gyāraspur shrine no. 1 is a more ornate version of the Mahuā maṇḍapikā, which displays conspicuously projecting bhadras (acting perhaps as open balconies). The maṇḍapikā temple no. 1 at Rāmgadh has only slab walls with no pilasters or recesses but with bhadra niches with crowning śimhakarṇas.

The temple at Kuchdōn near Dēvgadh compresses maṇḍapikā walls to suggest the Nāgara formula of karṇa, pratiratha, and bhadra, with ornamented slabs forming a recess between karṇa and pratiratha only; on the slab roof above is set an entire sarvatōbhadrā Nāgara shrine with Latina śikhara. Later maṇḍapikā shrines at such sites as Padhāvalī and Baṭēsarā also sometimes show Latina śikharas fitted above maṇḍapikā walls.

Daśārṇadēśa (comprising Vidisha and adjoining Districts of Guna, Shivpuri, Lalitpur, Sagar, Damoh, and Jabalpur) was clearly the home of the maṇḍapikā type of shrine. The earliest maṇḍapikā temples, dating to c. A.D. 600, are found in this region, and the tradition persisted there well into the ninth century.

Other temple-forms, built in ashlar masonry, coexisted with maṇḍapikā shrines in Daśārṇadēśa. The most important was the square Nāgara shrine with Latina śikhara, of which the Śiva temple no. 2 at Mahuā is the earliest specimen surviving in Central India. This temple is dvi-aṅga on plan, with prominent bhadra and flanking upabhadras. Its elevation comprises vēḍibandha, pilastered jaṅghā, varaṇḍikā with a row of niches framed by vēḍikā pillarets, and a tribhūma Latina śikhara showing bold madhyalātā, vēṇukōśa with bhūmi-āmalakas on the karṇas, a narrower vēṇukōśa on the upabhadras, bālapañjaras in the salilāntara recesses between upabhadra and karṇa, and a globular āmalasāraka at the top. This temple introduces the convention of flying garuḍa as lalāṭabimba, holding the tail-ends of a pair of nāgas that provide canopies over the heads of river-goddesses on the pēdyās. The river-goddess panels are more elaborate than in an earlier period, with many attendants and with paired flying geese to the side.



Measurements of the plan of the Mahuā Śiva temple no. 2 by Meister show that it carefully followed a Vāstumāṇḍala grid of 64 squares, as prescribed in the sixth-century *Br̥hat Saṁhitā*. The central  $4 \times 4$  squares form the sanctum; the wall-thickness, measured on the exterior by the *kārṇas*, is two squares; the first level of projection on the outer wall, forming the *pratirathas*, measures the width of the inner sanctum; the final level of projection, forming the *bhadra*, measures the interior *Brahmasthanā*.

The *vēdibandhas* of earlier *maṇḍapikā* shrines (as at Chapārā and Rāmgadh) omit *kalaśa*, having instead a broad *antarapaṭṭa* (this feature is also shared by shrines at Mākangañj in *Upamāla*). Later temples of Daśārṇadēśa, including *maṇḍapikā* shrines, display fully developed *vēdibandha* mouldings, though often they replace *kalaśa* with *tuḷāpīṭha* on the *bhadra*.

Some scholars (Viennot, Tartakov) have suggested that all temples surviving with flat roofs (those of the Gupta period as well as *maṇḍapikā* shrines) had either a cubical cell above, as seen in old photographs of the Pārvatī temple at Nacnā, or had some form of curvilinear śikhara, as does the upper storey of the eighth-century Kuraiyā Bīr temple at Kuchdōn. This does not properly take into account either the presence of drain-chutes cut into the top surface of the flat roofs of Gupta temples (*Sāñcī* no. 17, Tigawā, Kuṇḍā, Maḍhiā), which must be explained if these roofs are taken to have had any further superstructure, or the *vēdī*-formula of many *maṇḍapikā* superstructures. Viennot mixes medieval temples, such as those at Baṭēsārā, Chandpur, and Patāinī Dēvī, with temples of the Gupta period, contending that all lost their superstructures due to fragile construction, decay, or accident, and Tartakov suggests that drains require a *vēdikā* or other coping to trap water (a defensible suggestion) but uses South Indian *anarpita* shrines, which use chutes to drain water from within a superstructure, as an example to insist on the presence of śikharas in the North (a less plausible argument).

These suggestions ignore the complexity of architectural development between the Gupta period and the early ninth century A.D. The Dēvgadh "Gupta" temple already had anticipated most components of the Nāgara śikhara by early in the sixth century, a fact suggesting that "muṇḍamāla," *maṇḍapikā*, and Latina structures contemporaneous in the seventh century represent separate forms, not part of a single line of development.

*Maṇḍapikā* shrines, modest in construction, with walls derived from timber prototypes of a post-and-plank type, and with simple "*vēdī*" superstructures (as Meister calls them), continued to be built in Central India into the ninth century, though some later *maṇḍapikā* shrines (Baṭēsārā, Padhāvalī), in imitation of the Nāgara tradition, do uncomfortably fit offset Latina śikharas to their square *maṇḍapikā* bases. Such complexities are common in this period.

Pramod Chandra, in publishing the Maḍhiā temple at Dēvrī Kalān, suggested that it had a pyramidal roof of two tiers that acted as a link between "flat-roofed" shrines and those with full-fledged śikharas. Meister's analysis of this superstructure carries more conviction. He suggests that Maḍhiā seems "to reflect, not a transition from a flat-roofed to a towered form, but rather a rudimentary attempt to adapt to stone a conception already developed for shrines in wood; a conception which can be seen better adapted (and transformed) in the 'flat-roofed' *maṇḍapikā* shrines of Central India, the clerestory temples at Aihole, and which is utilized in a modified form to roof the *maṇḍapas* for Mahā-Māru temples." Central to his argument is a recognition that the first level at Maḍhiā, rather than being part of the superstructure, is part of the wall,



representing an incipient *varaṇḍikā*, the complex cornice that tops the *jaṅghā* and separates it from the *śikhara* on later Nāgara shrines. Only the upper level at Maḍhiā — a *vēdī* platform with corners slightly articulated — can be called a superstructure.

Nanavati and Dhaky, in their discussion of Maitraka-period temples in Surāṣṭra, suggest further evidence for the evolution of Nāgara architecture in a series of seventh-century shrines in that area that show piled cornice-layers (*kapōtas* or *kapōtapālīs*, as on the late-Gupta lintel from Sārṇāth) over which *gavākṣas* gradually are arranged and *karnāṇḍakas* introduced to simulate Nāgara patterning. These, as in the early seventh-century Nāgara structures in Karnāṭaka, however, show no *bālapañjara* recesses in the superstructure, as had been present at Dēvgaḍh in the previous century. Of the full-fledged Nāgara tradition in North India, as it had developed late in the sixth and into the seventh century A.D., only the Śiva temple no. 2 at Mahuā survives.

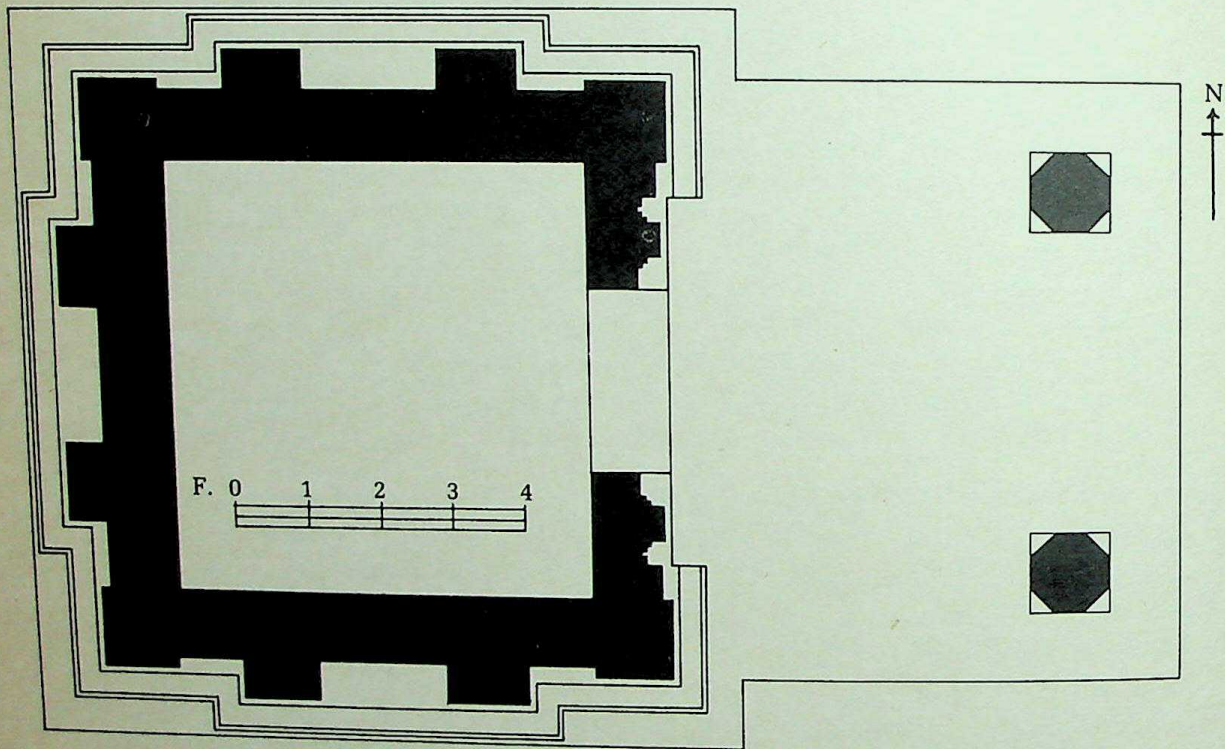


Fig. 50. Chapārā. Maṇḍapikā shrine, plan.

#### Chapārā, maṇḍapikā shrine (Figs. 50, 52a; Plates 267-269)

Chapārā village is situated around a barren hillock about three miles northwest of Paṭhārī, District Vidisha. A maṇḍapikā-type of shrine stands here on the eastern extremity of the low hillock. The shrine consists of a square garbhagṛha and prāgrīva, with shallow bhadra projections on three sides. The shrine faces east and stands on two plain foundation courses. Its *vēdibandha* consists of khura, kumbha, broad antapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī (Fig. 52a). The kaṭi, made up of orthostats, shows four Rucaka pilasters with three plain slabs between. The Rucaka pilasters have a short octagonal section fringed by corner lotus buds and with incised darpaṇa designs above and below. These pilasters support a plain lintel topped by a prominent kapōtapālī with tulāsaṅgraha and merlons below. The kapōtapālī is also decorated with candraśālās.



Above the kapōtapālī is a plain, wide recess crowned by a kapōta-like chādyā that acts as a flat slab-roof.

The roof of the prāgrīva extends from under the crowning chādyā of the maṇḍapikā and rests on a pair of octagonal pillars that have ghaṭapallava at base and top (Plate 269). The mālāsthāna of the pillars is carved with ardhapadma, a short band of scrolls, and kīrttimukha with garland-loops. The upper ghaṭapallava rests on a short 16-sided section and is crowned by a cross-corbel decorated with kīrttimukha and palmette with fruit designs.

The garbhagrha doorway has a "T"-shaped format and three śākhās (Plate 268). The first is decorated with a rich design of scrolls. The stambhaśākhā is plain below but repeats the design of the prāgrīva pillars on the upper part, save that the brackets have plain, curved profile. The outer śākhā, which also encloses the overdoor, displays śrīvṛkṣa motif, as seen on later Gupta temples. The stambhaśākhās support paired kapōtapālīs with two candraśālās, at the centre of which an elegant simhakarṇa with inset altar-design projects; the ends of the lintel also project, forming units, faced with large candraśālās and surmounted by both āmalaka and kalaśa, that act almost as śṛṅgas. The pēdyā of each jamb shows a standing pratihāra, of which that on the right holds a staff. The interior of the garbhagrha is plain, with a featureless ceiling.

The altar, acting as lalātabimba, suggests that the temple was dedicated to Sūrya, who can be worshipped in the form of a lotus on an altar. The pratihāras might then represent Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, attendants of the sun-god.

Its modest size, simple plan and design, triśākha doorway with śrīvṛkṣa design, and developed pillars suggest that this temple is assignable to c. A.D. 600.

Hardly 20 ft. north of this shrine stood another with a similar plan, design, foundation, and vēdibandha. The structure above the vēdibandha is lost.

Not far from these remains lie a few architectural pieces from seventh-century shrines; these include loose niches containing sculptures of standing Sūrya and four-armed Maḥiṣāsura-mardīnī.

*Rāmgadh, maṇḍapikā shrine no. 1 (Figs. 51, 52b; Plates 270, 272-273)*

Rāmgadh is a village situated at the foot of a low hillock c. four miles north-northeast of Paṭhārī; caves, known as the Sāt-Marhiyā, excavated in a rock facing south on the upper slopes of the hillock, enshrine Śivaliṅgas. In front of the Sāt-Marhiyā are two maṇḍapikā shrines (nos. 2 and 3); further down the south slope is shrine no. 1.

Shrine no. 1, dedicated to Śiva worship, faces east and stands on a vēdibandha resting on a kharaśilā. The vēdibandha has khura-kumbha, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī (Fig. 52b). The shrine consisted of a modest square sanctum and a prāgrīva with two pillars in front, part of which has now fallen down (Fig. 51; Plate 270). Bold dēvakōṣṭhas are carved on the shallow bhadrā projections of the kaṭi. These dēvakōṣṭhas are framed by Rucaka pilasters, with brackets of plain, curved profile, that carry a kapōtapālī decorated with two small candraśālās; this is surmounted by a bold and elegant simhakarṇa (with backing Phāmsanā visible at two levels). The north dēvakōṣṭha preserves a relief of four-armed Maḥiṣāsura-mardīnī trampling on the head of the buffalo demon, who is represented in zoomorphic form; she holds its tail in her left hand and pierces its back with a triśūla carried in her upper right hand.

The kaṭi is surmounted by kapōtapālī, wide recess, and a plain roof slab that extends beyond the kapōtapālī.

The "T"-shaped doorway was composed of four śākhās, the first carved with frothy scrolls, the second with śālmali blossoms, the third with stambha, and the



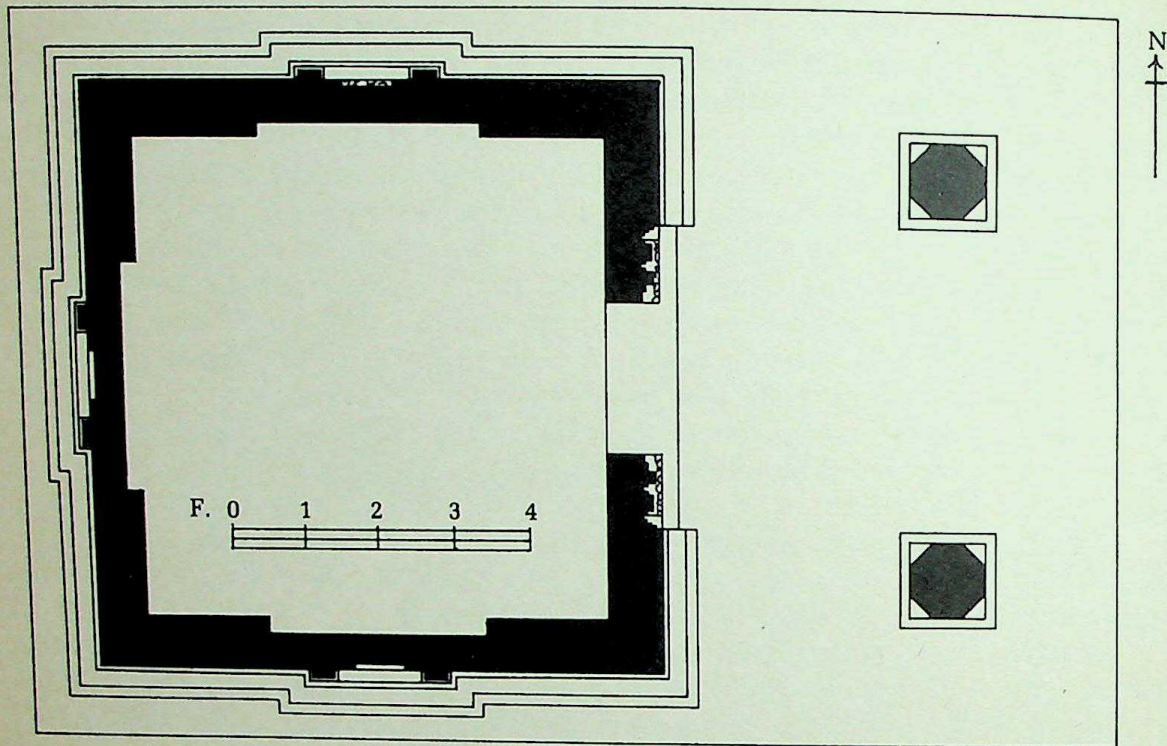


Fig. 51. Rāmgadh. Maṇḍapikā shrine no. 1, plan.

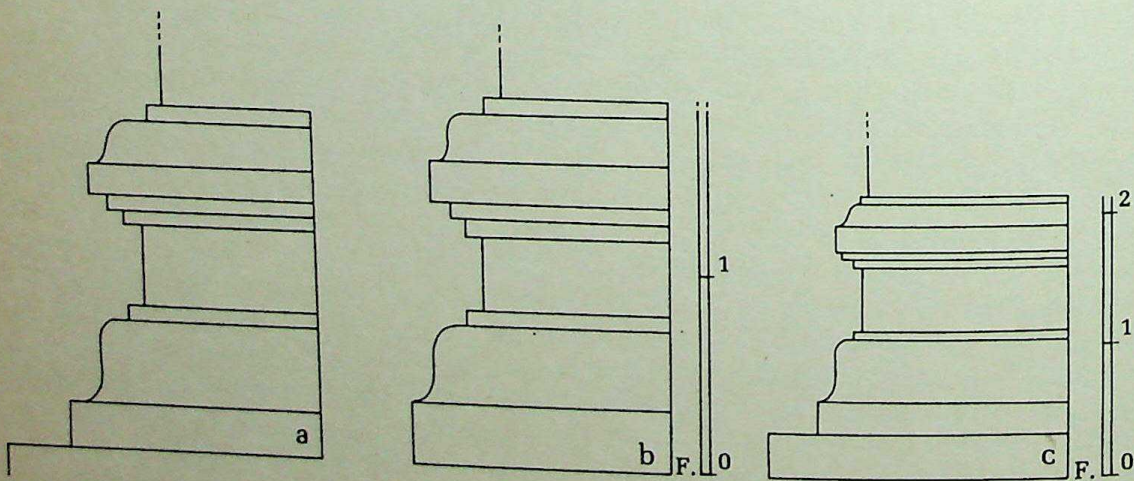


Fig. 52. Vedibandhas:

a. Chapārā. Maṇḍapikā shrine; b. Rāmgadh. Maṇḍapikā shrine no. 1; c. Rāmgadh. Maṇḍapikā shrine no. 2.



fourth with a garland of date-palm pattern (Plates 272-273). The Rucaka stambhaśākhā was plain on the lower half and ornate above, showing ghaṇṭamālā and lotus designs on the mālāsthāna. It has an upper ghaṭapallava and brackets of plain, curved profile which supported two kapōtapālī mouldings decorated with candraśālās. The central candraśālā had a Śivaliṅga complete with pīṭha; others were left plain. The architrave above the doorframe showed a design of plain tulāsaṅgraha. The pēdyās are embellished with figures of river-goddesses flanked by images of two-armed Śaiva pratihāras holding large triśūlas. The workmanship of these figures is crude compared to that of the Mahiṣasuramardinī image.

The prāgrīva had a pair of octagonal pillars with base and upper square ghaṭapallavas. The mālāsthāna was decorated with ghaṇṭamālā, grāsamukha, and lotus patterns; the brackets are cruciform embellished with tālapatra.

The interior of the sanctum is plain and shows clearly that the portion below the kaṭi is made of four horizontally laid courses and the kaṭi of three vertical slabs surmounted by a thick lintel and two other courses, above which is the plain, monolithic ceiling.

The shrine is similar in construction to the maṇḍapikā shrine at Chapārā, but is slightly more ornate and may date to c. A.D. 625-650.

*Rāmgadh, maṇḍapikā shrine no. 2 (Fig. 52c; Plate 271)*

Shrine no. 2 faces east, is much dilapidated, and has lost all traces of both prāgrīva and back wall. Its vēdibandha (Fig. 52c) shows the same mouldings as no. 1; its kaṭi is made of two vertical slabs on each side with three Rucaka pilasters and two, plain, recessed panels as ornaments. The kaṭi is surmounted by a lintel with a cornice of lotus petals and a course of tulāsaṅgraha. This lintel supports a roof-slab that measures 6 ft. 10 in. square and 4 in. thick. Internally, the shrine measures 5.5 ft. square.

About 20 ft. to the east of shrine no. 2 is an open maṇḍapa resting on four heavy Rucaka pillars. The pillars carry heavy cross corbels, are plain, and support a beam surmounted by a roof-slab measuring 7 ft. 4 in. square by 4 in. thick.

*Sāñcī, temple no. 18 (Plate 274)*

This apsidal Buddhist temple faces the southern gateway of the main stūpa at Sāñcī; it was first built in the Śuṅga period and then rebuilt in the seventh century A.D. when the surviving 12 monolithic pillars (Plate 274) and two pilasters, each 17 ft. high, were put up. These constituted the colonnades of the nave and aisles. They are plain, Rucaka, with a slight taper, and show, on the upper part, lotus shoots and incised darpaṇa motifs with a short octagonal section between. All have simple brackets with curved profile and carry plain beams. The superstructure, probably of timber, is lost.

The temple as it stands is assignable to c. A.D. 650 on stylistic grounds as well as by reference to the seventh-century date suggested by Sir John Marshall on the basis of stratigraphy.

*Sāñcī, temple no. 31 (not illustrated)*

This flat-roofed rectangular temple enshrining an image of Buddha was put up near the beginning of the seventh century on top of the ruins of an earlier shrine. It is located about 100 ft. to the northeast of stūpa no. 1. Built of small ashlar, the temple has three colonnades. Two of its central pillars were taken from an earlier shrine; these show a square lower half, short octagonal and 16-sided sections, a fluted ghaṭa resting on a thin band of lotus petals, short octagonal section, and a plain, square abacus. Two



other Rucaka pilasters have the same design of lotus shoots and incised darpaṇa motifs as is found on the pillars of temple no. 18. The remaining pillars are mostly plain, Rucaka type. Brackets and the entire superstructure are restored. Marshall proposed a seventh-century date for the temple.

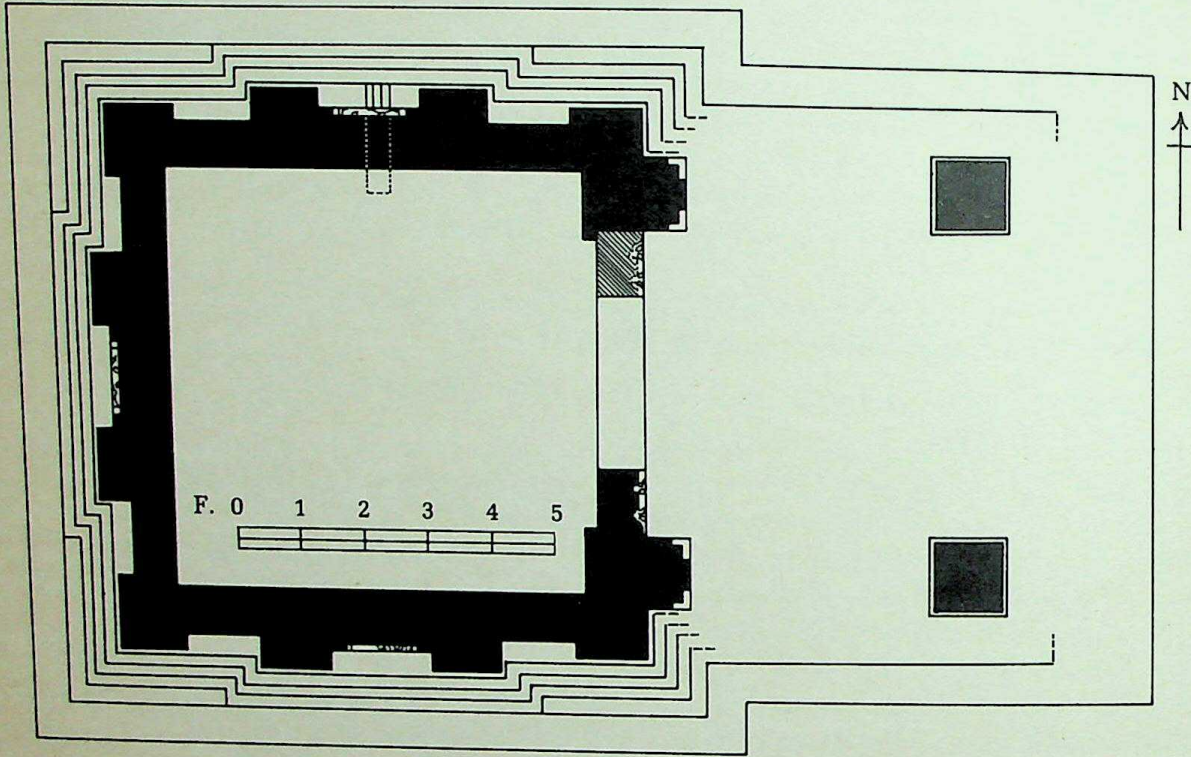


Fig. 53. Mahuā. Śiva temple no. 1, plan.

*Mahuā, maṇḍapikā temple (Śiva temple no. 1) (Figs. 53, 55a; Plate 275)*

This flat-roofed, east-facing, maṇḍapikā shrine has a square garbhagrha and a prāgrīva with two pillars (Fig. 53; Plate 275). The vēdibandha rests on two plain foundation courses and is composed of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōtapālī, the last decorated with haṁsas and a pair of gaṇas as well as with candraśālās (Fig. 55a). The shrine shows bhadrā projections that extend through the vēdibandha, kaṭi, and varaṇḍikā. A tulāpīṭha of six bosses carved with floral designs, grāsamukhas, haṁsa, and makaras replaces kalaśa on the bhadrā. The mouldings of the prāgrīva replace kalaśa with a broad antarapatta.

The kaṭi shows four pillars on each side resting on a flat course; the two central pillars project slightly and frame a shallow niche carved with images of Gaṇēśa (S), Bhūvarāha (N), and Mahiṣāsūramardini (W) surmounted by a simhakarṇa. The flanking recesses on the kaṭi are carved with kalpavallī (issuing from a yakṣa's navel, with



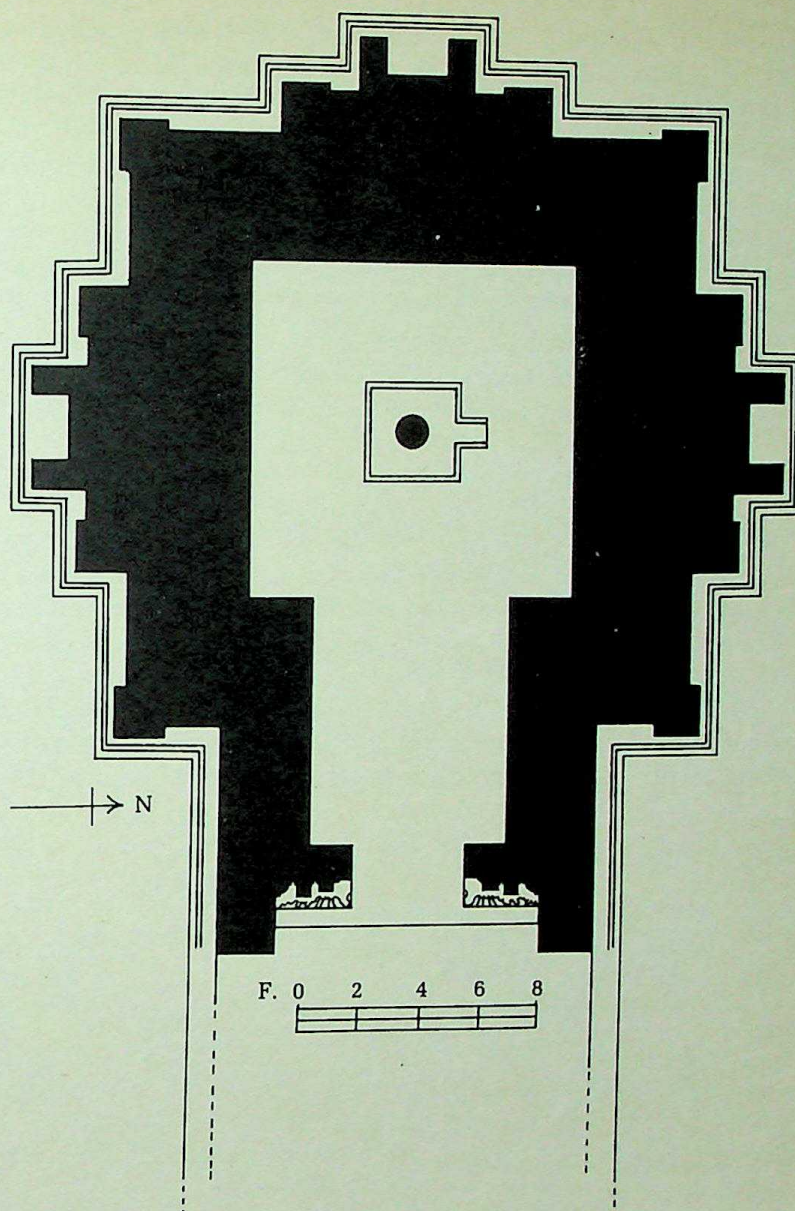


Fig. 54. Mahuā. Śiva temple no. 2, plan.

makaras, gajas, or mithunas). The Rucaka pillars have a short octagonal section with incised darpaṇa ornament above and below, cruciform brackets, and carry a beam surmounted by a heavy kapōtapālī. Above is a broad kaṇṭha capped by a roof-slab.

The doorframe is composed of three śākhās of which the first and third are carved with varieties of patravallīs. The middle is a highly ornamented stambhaśākhā with upper ghaṭapallava and a fluted bharaṇa. The stambhaśākhā supports two kapōtapālīs with a śūrasēnaka in the middle showing Gaṇēśa as lalāṭabimba; there are also a pair of candraśālās and two small triratha Latina śikharikās at the ends. Above the image of Gaṇēśa, in the surrounding mālā, is a grotesque grimacing face. The base of the doorframe on the left shows Yamunā with a chatradhāriṇī. The right śākhās are lost.



The *prāgrīva* has a pair of plain *Rucaka* pillars with incised *darpaṇa* ornament as on the *kaṭi*'s pilasters. Two ornate pilasters to either side of the doorway are carved with *ghaṭapallava* at base and top, have a broad octagonal neck with *kīrttimukhas* spewing pearl-chains, and show vertical strips of vine scrolls on the sides and front of the square shaft. The *mālāsthānas* are embellished with *vidyādhara-mithunas*, *mayūras*, and a *yakṣa* amidst foliage.

The front beam of the *prāgrīva* carries a four-line inscription on its outer face engraved in characters assignable to no later than the third quarter of the seventh century. The inscription refers to the foundation of a "*śilā-maṇḍapikā*" dedicated to *Dhūrjaṭi* (*Śiva*) "for the increase of the religious merit of [his] parents" by a chief called *Vatsarāja* of a local dynasty that claims to have ruled in the region for five generations. The inscription is a metrical *praśasti* composed by a poet called *Bhaṭṭa Īśāna* of *Kānyakubja*.

The shrine is assignable to c. A.D. 650-675.

*Mahuā*, *Śiva* temple no. 2 (Figs. 54, 55b; Plates 276-279)

This temple, situated on a rock just outside the village of *Mahuā*, is the earliest temple surviving in Central India to have a fully developed *Latina śikhara*. Though poorly preserved, all of the significant architectural features survive. The *prāgrīva*, *mukha-maṇḍapa*, and *Nandi-maṇḍapa* are lost. The *garbhagrha* is of a developed tri-aṅga plan. The cardinal *bhadra*-projections each contain a sunken niche framed by a doorway, with *padma* course, *tulāsaṅgraha*, *kapōtapālī*, and a *dvi-phāṃsanā* pediment with *śimhakarṇa* fronton above, and extend through the *śikhara* as *madhyalatā*; these are

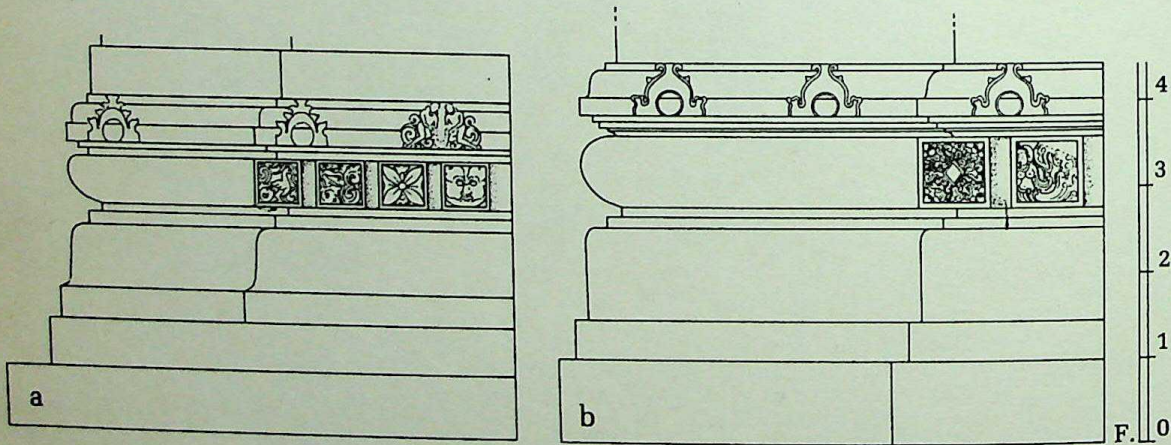


Fig. 55. *Mahuā*, *vėdībāndhas*: a. *Śiva* temple no. 1; b. *Śiva* temple no. 2.

flanked by *upabhadras* which also extend, as an inner *vėṇukōśa*, for the full height of the *śikhara*. Between the inner and outer *vėṇukōśa*-bands, a broad recess shows well-defined *bālapañjara* pattern. The temple stands on several plain foundation levels and shows a fully developed set of *vėdībāndha* mouldings (Fig. 55b). *Kalaśa* is replaced on the *upabhadras* by *tulāpīṭha* (Plates 277, 279).

The *kaṭi* is dominated by the bold *bhadra* niche, which is surmounted by a *tulāsaṅgraha* of seven bosses, *kapōtapālī*, and a crowning *udgama*. Two pillarlets above extend this projection up to the *varaṇḍikā* and then up the *śikhara* as a *madhyalatā*. Ornate *Rucaka* pilasters canton the *upabhadras* and *karṇas*; these support a horizontal beam in the masonry just underneath the *varaṇḍikā*. The *śikhara*, rising above the upper *kapōtapālī* of the *varaṇḍikā*, is *tribhūma*, articulated by a *madhyalatā* embel-



lished with a jālaka of bold candraśālās (Plate 276); both inner and outer vēṇukōśas show śimhakarṇas (spanning each of three khaṇḍas) crowned by karṇāṇḍakas. The salilāntaras between upabhadra and karṇa are carved with bold bālapañjara patterns. The śikhara is badly mutilated beyond the second bhūmi, but shows elegant curvature (rēkhā), and is crowned by a globular āmalasāraka.

The Rucaka pilasters display luxurious ghaṭapallavas at base and top, ardha-padma at the mālāsthāna, with a jewelled band and ghaṇṭamālā below and haṁsamālā within garland loops in a short octagonal section above (Plate 277). Above the upper ghaṭapallava, a plain block supports cross-corbels, richly carved with tālapatra.

The sanctum doorway is "T"-shaped, pañcaśākhā, composed of patraśākhā, nāgaśākhā (resembling date-palm pattern), gaṇaśākhā, stambhaśākhā, and śrīvṛkṣaśākhā (Plate 278). Garuḍa is represented as lalāṭabimba and holds the tail-ends of nāgas carved on the nāgaśākhā. Gaṇas are replaced on the lintel by flying vidyādhara, the central pair holding a crown over the garuḍa. The pēdyās show river-goddesses accompanied by three attendants, each flanked in the upper field by a pair of flying geese. The architrave, of which only the middle portion is preserved, shows an udgama pattern flanked by karṇāṇḍaka, apparently with ākāśaliṅga finials.

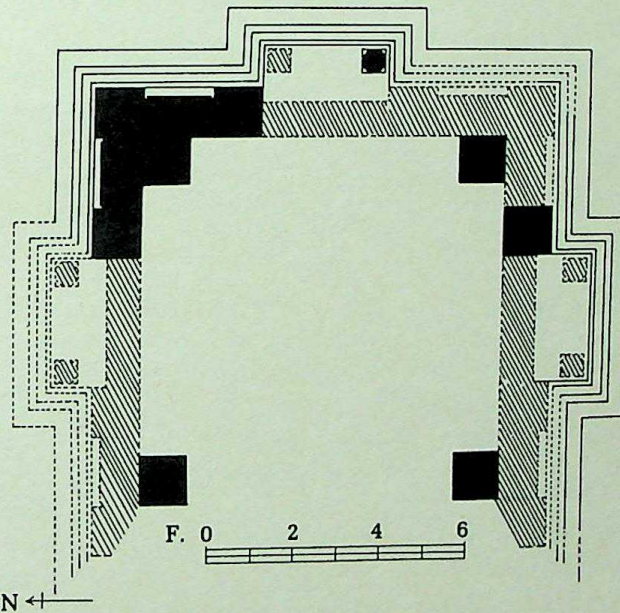


Fig. 56. Gyāraspur. Maṇḍapikā temple no.1 overlooking Mānasarōvara tank, plan.

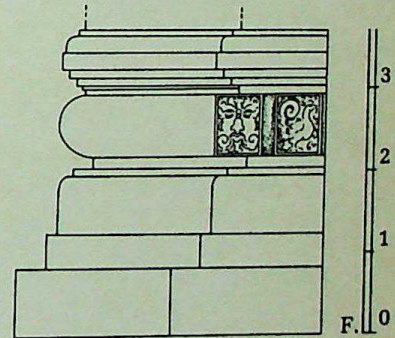


Fig. 57. Gyāraspur. Maṇḍapikā temple no. 1, vēḍibandha.

An old līṅgapīṭha is preserved, though the existing līṅga is not original. A broken but contemporary image of Śiva lies nearby.

This temple is related in ornament, its use of pilasters, and the peculiar cross-lintel in the masonry under the varaṇḍikā to temple no. 1, and can be assigned a date of c. A.D. 650-675.

*Gyāraspur, shrine no. 1 above the Mānasarōvara tank (Figs. 56-57; Plates 280-282)*

This west-facing maṇḍapikā shrine, overlooking the west bank of the Mānasarōvara tank, is much damaged; built on a sort of precipice, its foundation is supported on the east by a retaining wall of boulders. Its vēḍibandha, standing on plain foundation courses, is composed of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōtapālī (Fig. 57). As with



Mahuā temple no. 1, kalaśa is replaced on the bhadra by tulāpīṭha. The kaṭi shows ornate Rucaka pilasters with elegantly carved slabs set between. Prominent dēvakōṣṭhas project as bhadras between the central pairs of pilasters. The dēvakōṣṭhas were fronted by pairs of small octagonal pillars with ghaṭapallava at base and top, supporting kapōtapālī, short vēdikā, and an udgama pediment. Only the dēvakōṣṭha on the east is preserved. Pilasters are profusely ornamented (Plates 281-282) with ghaṭapallava at base and top, mālāsthāna carved with kīrttimukha with pearl-chains, kinnara, or karimakara surmounted by short octagonal sections of ghaṇṭamālā and ardhapadma, and a plain crowning abacus with ornate brackets carved with miscellaneous designs such as peacock, geese, kīrttimukha, and tālapatra. Only two of the slabs between pilasters are preserved (Plate 282), one each on the east and north. These are exquisitely carved with padmalatā and patravallī and are crowned by bold candraśālās at the lintel level. The kaṭi is capped by kapōtapālī, with courses below of tulāsaṅgraha and merlons; above is a kaṇṭha capped by a simple paṭṭikā representing a chādyā. The superstructure above the chādyā corresponds in size to the four interior pillars. It consists of a vēdikā, kapōtapālī, plain kaṇṭha, and a monolithic, flat roof-slab.

The interior of the garbhagrha has four, tall, Rucaka pillars at the corners, plain except for a pair of lotus flowers carved to either side of a brief octagonal section. Cruciform brackets are plain or have a large kīrttimukha with tālapatra.

This is a highly ornate maṇḍapikā shrine, more developed than the Mahuā temple no. 1, and may be dated c. A.D. 675.

*Gyāraspur, shrine no. 2 above the Mānasarōvara tank (Plates 283-285)*

This ruined Śaiva shrine preserves only a west-facing doorway, two interior pillars of the garbhagrha, a portion of the sanctum ceiling, and a portion of the core fabric of the śukanāsa.

The "T"-shaped doorway had five śākhās (Plate 284). The outer śākhā is lost except for the mālā and band of lotus petals above. Surviving śākhās comprise patraśākhā, nāgaśākhā, ratnaśākhā, and a highly ornate stambhaśākhā. The stambhaśākhā is Rucaka, decorated with ghaṭapallavas near the base and at the top; a strip of scroll connects the basal ghaṭapallava with a mālāsthāna embellished with kīrttimukha and thin registers of patravallī and haṁsas, surmounted by a short octagonal section carved with lotus flowers. The brackets are carved with kīrttimukha and support an overdoor of three kapōtapālīs with a central udgama (containing a Śivaliṅga and its pīṭha), two udgamas on the side, and two projected udgamas at the ends. Garuḍa appears as lalāṭabimba on the patraśākhā. The pēdyā bases of the jambs show standing river-goddesses; a two-armed Śaiva pratihāra wearing jaṭājūṭa is preserved on the right. The architrave above the overdoor is carved with patravallī and a luxurious band of padmalatā with a figure of jambhaka in the middle.

The garbhagrha had tall, plain pillars of the Rucaka type, similar to the interior pillars of the maṇḍapikā shrine nearby.

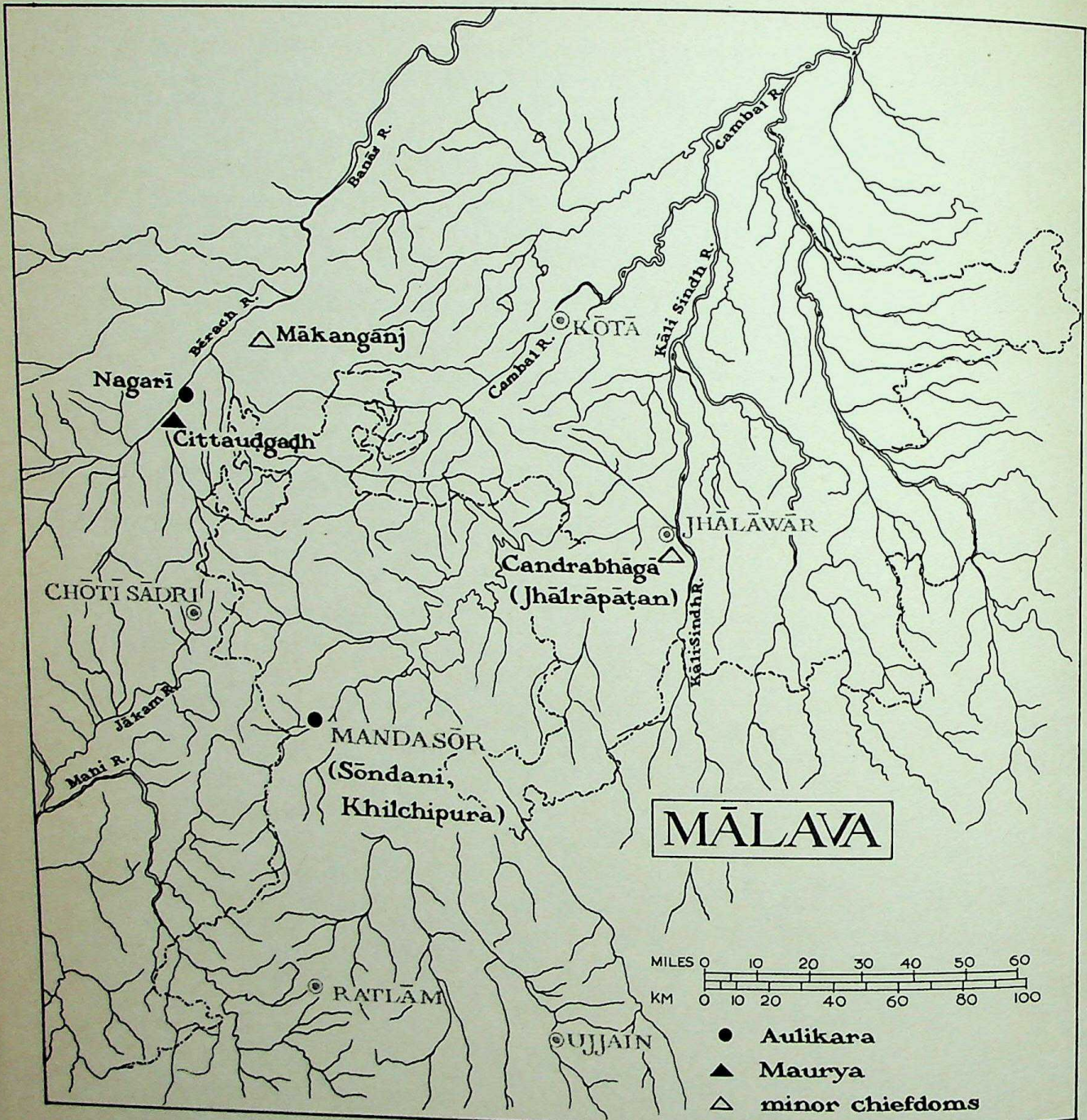
Surviving courses of the core of the śikhara suggest that there was a śukanāsa over the doorway. This is consistent with a Latina śikhara similar to that seen on Mahuā temple no. 2. The decorative motifs on the shrine indicate stylistic affinity to the adjacent maṇḍapikā shrine. The temple would appear to be roughly coeval with Mahuā temple no. 2 and the neighbouring maṇḍapikā shrine, and can be assigned to c. A.D. 675.



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Mālava: Aulikara, Maurya, and sites of minor chieftains.



## CHAPTER 11

II.B.2.

Varieties of North Indian style: Mālava style, c. early sixth–late seventh century A.D.

## Aulikaras, Mauryas, and Minor Chieftains

### Historical Introduction

Mālava in ancient times was the region around Ujjayinī (Ujjain), the western part of present Mālwa, ruled by the Mālava tribe from at least the first century B.C.; the earliest inscriptions using the Vikrama Era describe the era as “handed down by the Mālava tribe.” Long subject to invasion by various powers, to whom control of at least the peripheries of the Mālwa plateau was important for imperial and regional security, the cultural integrity of the region often was threatened, as it absorbed provincial capitals for a number of distant dynasties.

Ujjayinī itself was seized from the Śakas by Candragupta II in the Gupta period, becoming an important centre of culture under Gupta hegemony (Kālidāsa wrote from this regional court) and its regional position continued for many centuries. The *Kuvalayamālā*, written at Jālōr (Rajasthan) in A.D. 778, differentiates the Mālavas from Gurjaras, Saindhavas, Lāṭas, and Maravas, and, in spite of various invasions, it is likely that the region remained relatively independent until the spread of Imperial Pratihāra hegemony to the region early in the ninth century A.D. (A reference in the Jaina *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa* of A.D. 783 to an “Avantirāja,” sometimes thought to be a reference to a Pratihāra king, more likely refers to an independent ruler in the region.)

The town of Nagarī (Madhyamikā-nagarī), near present-day Chittauḍgaḍh in the Upamāla (upper Mālava) region of eastern Rajasthan, also was an important centre from at least the third-second century B.C. Many coins of the Śibi dynasty have been found there, and an inscription of the early first century B.C. records the construction of a “Nārāyaṇa-vāṭaka.” The Aulikaras, a clan of the Mālava tribe, ruled as vassals from Daśapura (modern Mandasor in Madhya Pradesh) in the Gupta period. An inscription of A.D. 491 from Chōti Sādrī, near Neemuch, records the building of a Mātṛkā shrine by a feudatory of Ādityavardhana of Daśapura named Gaurī.

By the end of the fifth century A.D., the Hūṇas had ousted Gupta rule in Mālava and had subjugated the Aulikara chiefs. Inscriptions on pillars set up at Sōndani near Daśapura in A.D. 532, by the Aulikara Yaśōdharmā Viṣṇuvardhana, record, however, that he had by then freed the region from the Hūṇa invader, Mihirakula; both inscriptions refer to Yaśōdharmā as “Rājādirāja-Paramēśvara.” Remains of the Aulikara period around Mandasor are substantial, and a brick temple, with an elegant stone tōraṇa that still survives, was built at Nagarī early in the sixth century, reflecting the town’s position as a district headquarters within Yaśōdharmā’s kingdom.

Toward the close of the sixth century A.D., the Kalacuris of northern Mahārāṣṭra extended their power into western Mālava; “whether the collapse of Aulikara power



and the rise of the Guhila houses in Rajasthan have both to be regarded as the result of Kalacuri expansion in Malwa," D.C. Sircar remarks, "cannot be determined without further evidence."

Mirashi, however, has published an inscription from Mandasor of a post-Aulikara ruler named Kumāravarmā whom he dates to c. A.D. 580-610. The inscription refers to "a son of Kṛṣṇa" slayed in battle by Kumāravarmā, which Mirashi suggests is a reference to Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Kṛṣṇa of the early Kalacuri dynasty (c. A.D. 530-570). (Śaṅkaragaṇa's Abhōṇa plates of A.D. 597 were issued following an earlier invasion and victory in Mālava.) The inscription provides a lineage for Kumāravarmā consisting of:

[Ya]jñadēva  
|  
Vīrasōma  
|  
Bhāskaravarmā  
|  
Kumāravarmā

Mirashi believes that Yajñadēva rose to power in c. A.D. 540 as a feudatory of the Aulikaras and that Bhāskaravarmā, his grandson, overthrew the Aulikaras in c. A.D. 575.

By the second quarter of the seventh century, regional power in Upamāla had shifted from Nagari to Chittauḍ fort, where Nagari's artistic tradition to some extent continued under the patronage of the later Mauryas. Fragmentary inscriptions as well as sculpture survive to attest to their activity. A foundation inscription for a Śiva temple built by Śivagaṇa, a local prince, at Kaṇvāśrama (Kansuāñ, near Kota) in Mālava Era 795/A.D. 738 refers to these Mauryas as the "friends" of Śivagaṇa's father. Another temple to Śiva was built on the bank of the Candrabhāgā, outside of Jhalrapatan, in c. A.D. 689, by Vōppaka, during the reign of a local chieftain named Durgagaṇa. While it may be assumed that this chief was subject to Maurya suzerainty, the inscription in fact is silent about such an arrangement.

The history of Mālava in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. can be reconstructed only from such limited and fragmentary evidence. To the south and west, the Maitraka kingdom of Valabhī, attacked by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj in the seventh century, fell finally to Arab raids late in the next century. Guhila tribes had established small chiefdoms around Nāgda and Kiṣkindhā (Kalyanpur), the latter leaving both inscriptions and sculptural remains. To the south, the Kalacuris, the probable patrons of the early Brahmanical caves at Ēllōrā, fell to the Rāṣtrakūṭas by the end of the sixth century and took temporary refuge in Mālava. To the far west, on the desert lands of Maru, a tribe of Brahman-descended Pratihāras had established a chiefdom, centered at Maṇḍōr, District Jodhpur, and Mēḍta by the late sixth century A.D. The "Gurjara" Pratihāras were only a minor tribe in the Jālōr region in the seventh century. By early in the eighth century they had begun to build a substantial base for imperial power by rallying a confederation of princes to throw back the Arab raids, a goal ultimately achieved only when they occupied Kanauj early in the ninth century A.D.

### Architectural Features

Fragmentary remains from the sixth and seventh centuries in Mālava suggest a variety of artistic residues, possible in a period of political fragmentation and in a region, like



Mālava, contiguous with so wide a range of other regions. (Architectural remains of the Mauryas of Mālava in the eighth century will be discussed in a later chapter.) The Aulikaras, in the second quarter of the sixth century, left remains at Mandasor and Nagari that suggest their continuing aspiration to extend and replace Gupta hegemony in the region, artistically as well as politically.

Among these remains are architectural representations that give evidence for an early phase of stone construction and suggest (as do the shrine-models on the Dēvgadh "Gupta" temple's doorjambs) a process of experimentation that leads toward the development of Nāgara formulas. In particular, kapōtapālī cornice-layers, faced with early forms of udgamas or śiṃhakarṇas (Plates 287-288), show distinct kūṭa units to either side, rather like altar-platforms, made up of kumbha, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōta crowned by āmalaka and kalaśa. On the top cross-bar of the tōraṇa at Nagari, such units stand to either side of a two-tiered, straight-edged Phāmsanā structure faced with gavākṣas (Plate 291).

Both Mandasor (Khilcipura) and Nagari preserve remains of large tōraṇas elaborately ornamented with figural panels, mālās, etc.; that at Nagari had a lower cross-bar with figural panels, including scenes of the Kirātārjunīya legend, and an upper cross-bar with makara-ends and a series of architectural motifs. Yaśōdharmā's inscribed pillars, set up at Sōndani, follow the imperial pattern of having an inverted-lotus (Maurya-"bell") capital and a large block above showing addorsed lions. A pillar of the sixth-seventh century survives at Mandasor, with figures, haṃsas with foliated tails, lotus-medallions, etc., as ornament, that reinforces the feeling of some scholars that the art of the Aulikaras in Mālava contains elements of Vākāṭaka as well as Gupta heritage.

At Nagari and then at Chittauḍ, fragments of sculpture and some older pillars, placed at a later period within the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of the Kumbhaśyāma temple, suggest the existence of a regional style in Upamāla by at least the middle of the seventh century. The only temples that remain in the region, however, are somewhat anomalous. Those at Mākangañj of the first half of the seventh century have been called "lithic primers" by Krishna Deva and indeed represent provincial, even primitive experimentation in their definition of mouldings, plain ashlar walls, and rudimentary superstructures. They still provide evidence, however, for a style perhaps prevalent in Mālava in so early a period, not tied directly to Gupta heritage but looking to the west and south. These have plain, ashlar, masonry walls with atypical mouldings (kalaśa framed by broad paṭṭikās, with antarapaṭṭa-recesses both above and below, basal kumbha, and crowning kapōta on only one of the shrines), unornamented kaṭi, an upper kapōta, and in one instance the remnants of a partial superstructure with cornice layers, faced on the bhadras by a bold śūrasēna pattern of an early form. Formative in nature, built of long ashlar blocks, these shrines relate more clearly to such early Nāgara structures as that at Akhōdar in Surāṣṭra than to the few other remains of temples surviving in Upamāla of the seventh century. They do not suggest direct importation from Surāṣṭra, however, but rather some common denominator linking the two regions in this period, as a general post-Gupta style links early Nāgara structures in north and western Rajasthan and Central India.

The only other temple of the eighth century in Mālava surviving is the Śitalēśvara temple on the Candrabhāgā outside of Jhalrapatan, datable by reference to an inscription of A.D. 689, a structure that, with the clustered pillars and pilasters that make up its walls, suggests wooden formulas more than lithic ones. The pilasters are Rucaka, with ghaṭapallava bases, vertical patralatās, kīrttimukha block, ornamented ardha-



darpaṇa, tall, octagonal, ornamented neck, and a ghaṭapallava above supporting simple curved brackets. Ghaṇṭāmālā replaces the typical, expressive kīrttimukha mask on one pilaster on the northeast corner. The temple has masonry kapilī walls, with simple niches with udgama pediments, connecting the mūlaprāsāda to a single-aisled mukha-maṇḍapa; this “mukhālinda” in fact reminds one of earlier cave-traditions, oddly adjusted to a standing temple (a later raṅgamaṇḍapa was added in the ninth or tenth century to “finish” the square; Fig. 62). Pillars in the prāggṛīva are Rucaka; the two central pillars of the mukhālinda are circular; the flanking pair are 12-sided. Beautifully plastic in its ornament, related in some ways to seventh-century ornament in Central India, this temple in most respects is more an anomaly than a standard, save for the originality of its artists and the cross-currents at work in Mālava in this period.

Sōndani (Mandasor), architectural fragments (Plates 286-287)

Yaśōdharmā's two large pillars lie in an archaeological enclosure at the site of Sōndani outside of Mandasor. The root of each pillar is square, the shaft 16-sided, the inverted-lotus capital somewhat elongated compared to earlier Gupta or Maurya models. The massive square blocks placed above show addorsed couchant lions; sockets show that these bore further images.

In front of these pillars, two larger-than-life dvārapāla figures have been set up, along with several fragments showing rūpa- and mithunaśākhās, with chequer-pattern in the recess between. The architectural representations above each figural panel are comparable to those on the tōraṇas at Khilcipura and Nagarī and suggest a form of early stone architecture having a series of piled stone cornices, with āmalakas and kalaśa finials at the corners, a bold siṃhakaṇṭha set against straight-edged phāṃsanā acting as fronton, as at Darrā and on the doorjamb shrine-models at Dēvgaḍh. One fragment (Plate 287) makes clear that the corner āmalakas stood on their own stone platforms (as is even more evident at Nagarī; Plate 291).

Khilcipura (Mandasor), tōraṇa (Plate 288)

Now set up in front of the Collector's office in the Mandasor fort, a large upright for a tōraṇa originally set up at the site of Khilcipura in Yaśōdharmā's period represents the highest standard of art under the Aulikaras. Śaiva in affiliation, the post shows a Śaiva pratihāra at the base on one side, Yamunā on the other, three mithuna panels above separated by architectural models, a lotus-filled darpaṇa, octagonal necking, and the remnants of a crowning ghaṭa. No fragments of any cross-beam remain. Within this rūpastambha on each side is an elegantly ornamented and segmented mālā as well as a narrow puṣpa-band. The lateral (inner) face of the tōraṇa's upright is fluted, a twisted mālā at the centre, segmented by large square panels ornamented with lotus-medallions, a formula reminiscent of the much simpler fluted pilaster surviving at Darrā as part of the antarāla and the even more ornate, if cruder, remnant at Cārcōmā.

Nagarī, tōraṇa (Plates 289, 291)

Fragments of a tōraṇa of the Aulikara period lie in front of the ruins of a brick temple at Madhyamikā-nagarī near Chittaudgaḍh. In most respects comparable to that from Khilcipura and of the same period, the Nagarī tōraṇa shows little of the high refinement of the Daśapura example. The rūpaśākhā alternates architectural models with simple pedestals as frame for the mithuna panels; candraśālās have been left plain, without being scooped out, and take a slightly different shape from that found at Khilcipura. At the top of the śākhā, a characteristic kīrttimukha mask has been carved.



The lower cross-beam of this *tōraṇa* was carved with *Kirātārjunīya*-scenes on one side and *Śaiva* panels on the other; the upper cross-beam had *makara* heads at each end with architectural representations on the cross-lintel that show *dvibhūma Phāṁsanā* structures faced with *candraśālās* and with small, square, stone platforms supporting globular *āmalakas* represented to either side of the upper *bhūmi* (Plate 291). Such units have been found at *Bhūmarā* and *Sārṇāth*, are suggested at *Sōndani* and earlier at *Bilsaḍ*, are still utilized on structures in *Surāṣṭra* in the seventh century, and contribute conceptually to the formulation of the *Nāgara* superstructure, where they become incorporated as *bhūmikhaṇḍas*.

*Mākangañj*, temple no. 1 (Figs. 59, 60a; Plate 292)

This is the better preserved of two shrines that stand within 20 ft. of each other in the fields outside the village of *Mākangañj*, about 2.5 miles northeast of *Bichor* in District *Chittorgarh*, *Rajasthan*. (The village was named after Mr. Mackintosh, who founded it for a small colony of *Mīnās* in c. A.D. 1844.) The shrine faces north and bears an inscription in a niche on the south wall. Made of *ashlars*, the temple has a flat-roofed rectangular *garbhagrha* and a *prāgrīva* with two pillars.

The *vēḍibandha*, only partly exposed, shows *kumbha*, broad *antarapaṭṭa*, primitive *kumuda* framed by broad *paṭṭikās*, *antarapaṭṭa*, and *kapōta*. The *kaṭi* has a *bhadra* projection only on the south. On the east wall, a central sunk niche framed by *Rucaka* pillarets, with plain *darpaṇa* pattern, and crowned by a bold *siṁhakarṇa*, contains the inscription. The *kaṭi* is capped by a *kapōtapālī* decorated with large *candraśālās* and a broad recess crowned by the *kapōta*-edged slabs of a flat roof, of which only remnants have survived.

The two pillars of the *prāgrīva* stand on square simple *kumbhakas*; the square lower shaft of each is plain, above which is a short octagonal necking, a square block ornamented with *kīrttimukhas*, *ghaṭapallava*, a *ghaṭa* with deeply fluted belly, and an octagonal section with leaf-drops crowned by plain corbels.

The inscription, much abraded, is c. 14-lines long and refers to the construction of the temple by one *Dattasiṁha* and his son *Gōpasīṁha*. The temple, assignable like the inscription to c. A.D. 625-650, has a tree growing through its sanctum and has lost its enshrined divinity and doorway. Its rectangular plan and northern orientation, however, indicate a probable *Śākta* affiliation. (Garde reports that an image of *Mahīṣāsura-mardinī* in the *Mātā* temple in *Bichor* is said to have come from this site, as well as a *caturmukhaliṅga* moved to the village of *Barduni*.)

*Mākangañj*, shrine no. 2 (Figs. 58, 60b; Plates 293-294)

This east-facing shrine consisted of a *garbhagrha* and a *mukhamaṇḍapa* of which only portions of the north and south walls survive. Built of *ashlars*, the shrine has *bhadra* projections on three sides. The *vēḍibandha* stands above two massive foundation courses and is composed of *khura-kumbha*, *antarapaṭṭa*, and *kalaśa* framed by broad *paṭṭikās*, but with no crowning *kapōta*. The plain *kaṭi* is capped by a simple *paṭṭikā* and *kapōta*, above which is a prominent *kaṇṭha* and a thin slab of stone on which rest two courses of a primitive superstructure: this takes the form of two *kapōtapālī* courses faced by large *śūrasēnakas* over the *bhadras*, of which that on the north harbours a grotesque bearded *kīrttimukha*, flanked by a pair of antelopes or *vyālas*, a lion's head in the level above (Plate 294); the west shows *tulāpīṭha* and chequer pattern; the south shows stepped diamond pattern, with lions on the corners of the backing pent-roof *Phāṁsanā*. Surviving corner units of the superstructure show paired *kapōtapālī*



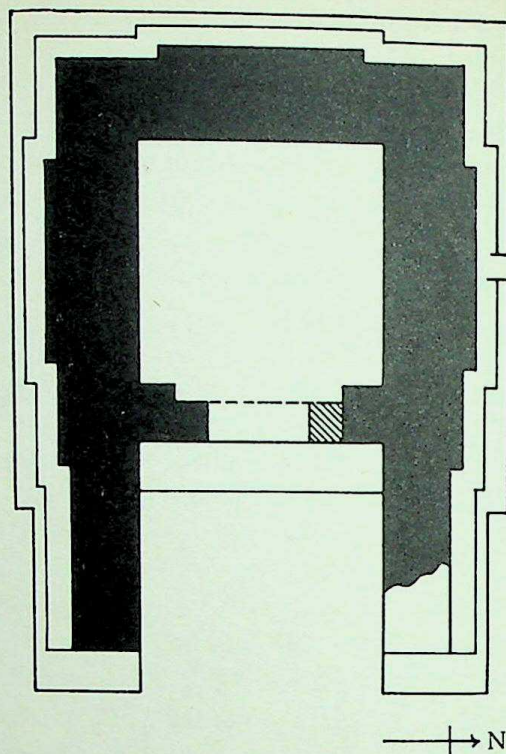
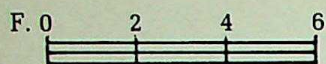


Fig. 58. Mākangañj. Temple no. 2, plan.  
(Courtesy: contributor.)

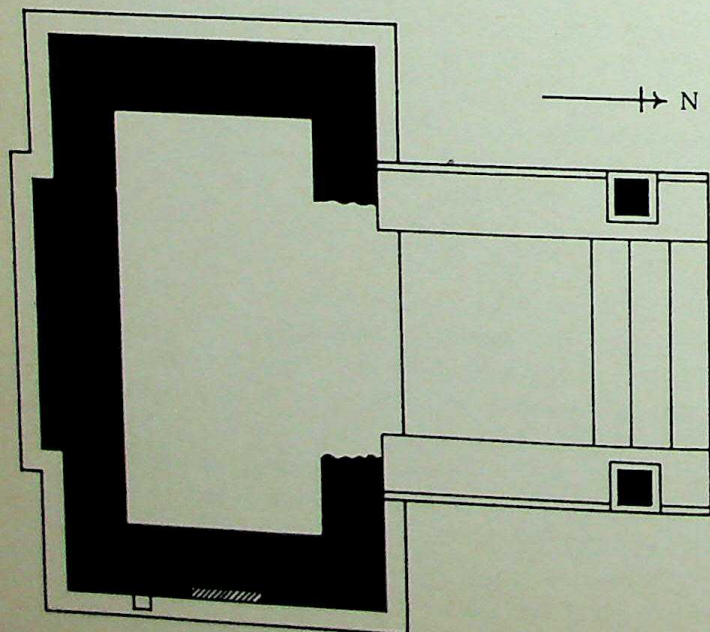


Fig. 59. Mākangañj. Temple no. 1, plan. (Courtesy: contributor.)



cornices, faced with a large half-candraśālā resting on a square pillaret (ornamented with plain paired darpaṇa-patterns), separated from the cornice-layers of the madhyalatā by a recess.

Because of its poor preservation, the exact form of the superstructure remains unclear; while it may have had a squat type of piled Phāṁsanā, there are sufficient indications to suggest a primitive Nāgara superstructure, as perhaps that at Akhōdar in Surāṣṭra. The unincised candraśālās are of a type found on early shrines in Gujarat, not Central India, but the kīrttimukha-masks are of Mālava type, and these shrines suggest a local stylistic amalgam rather than an extension of Surāṣṭra norms.

*Candrabhāgā (Jhalrapatan), Śītalēśvara temple (Figs. 60c, 61-62; Plates 295-300)*

The Śītalēśvara temple, situated on the south bank of the Candrabhāgā stream a short distance outside the city walls of the town of Jhalrapatan, can be dated to A.D. 689/90 by reference to a foundation inscription now in the Government Museum, Jhalawar. While the inscription was not at the site when Cunningham first heard of its existence in the 19th century, most circumstantial evidence supports his association of the inscription with this temple.

Consisting on plan of a mūlaprāsāda, prāgrīva, and mukhamaṇḍapa of a single aisle, the temple was "completed" in the ninth or tenth century by the addition of pillars forming an elegant raṅgamaṇḍapa extending the original mukhālinda.

In the organization of its walls, the mūlaprāsāda seems to reflect no-longer surviving wooden prototypes, crossed in original if uncomfortable ways with a developing tradition of stone construction. Bold projecting bhadras show clustered pilasters, suggesting catuṣkīs, enclosing subsidiary sanctums. Karṇas are separated from bhadras by

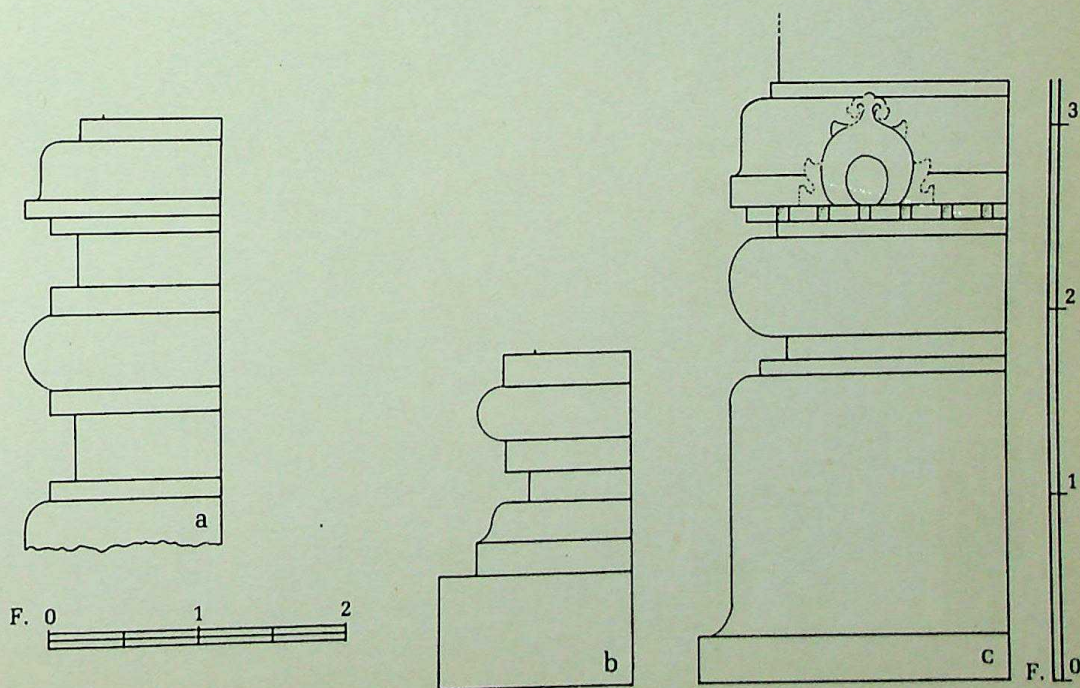


Fig. 60. Vedibandhas:

a. Mākangañj, temple no. 1; b. Mākangañj temple no. 2; c. Candrabhāgā, Śītalēśvara Mahādēva temple, mūlaprāsāda. (Courtesy: contributor.)



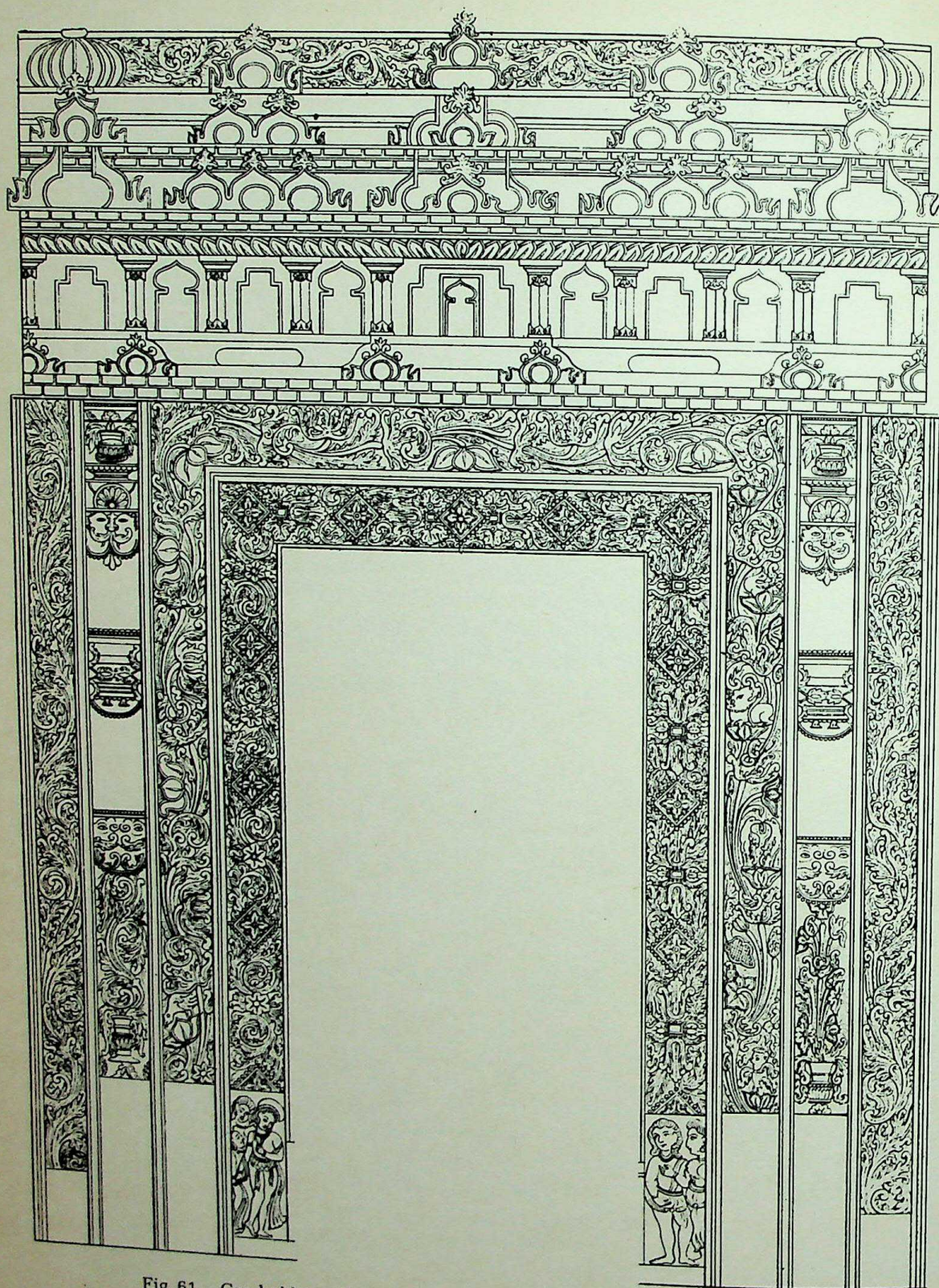


Fig. 61. Candrabhāgā (Jhalrapatan). Śitalēśvara Mahādēva temple, garbhagrha doorframe. (After Tod.)



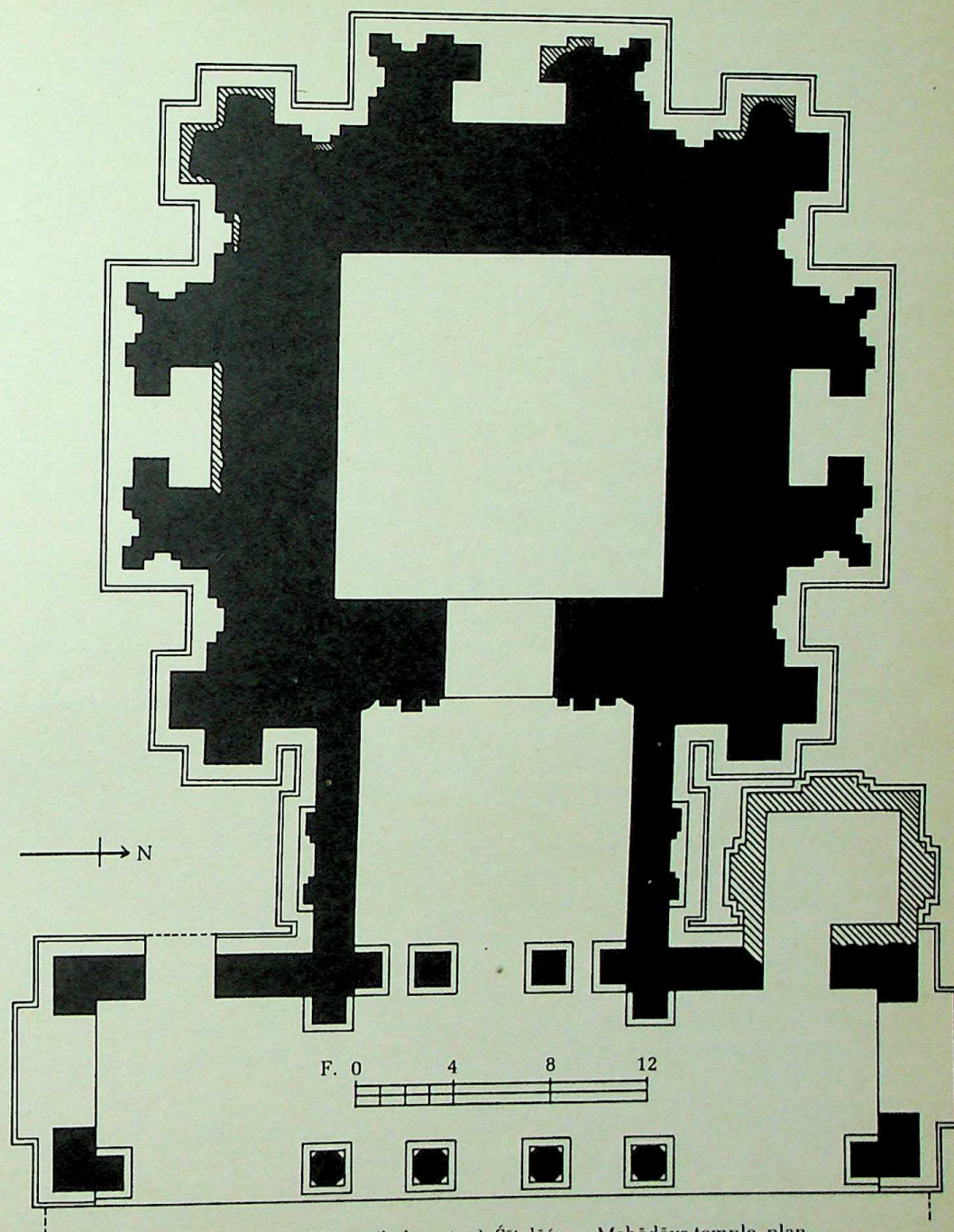


Fig. 62. Candrabhāgā (Jhalrapatan). Śitalēśvara Mahādēva temple, plan.  
(Courtesy: contributor.)



thin quarter-pilasters, and are formed by two, broad, attached pillars set at right-angles to each other, a configuration unique in the stone tradition and that strongly suggests the support of large (wooden) beams. The ceiling of the garbhagrha in fact has a pattern of heavy beams, an early form of stone construction found also in some of the Maitraka shrines in Surāṣṭra.

The prāgrīva has plain, masonry, kapilī walls, each adorned on the outside with a niche with udgama; the mukhālinda, originally the entrance-aisle to the temple, is enclosed on the west by a masonry wall with doorways to allow circumambulation to the north and south of the prāgrīva (these now lead into a later small shrine on the north and into the pujārī's shed on the south). The raṅgamaṇḍapa is a tenth-century addition. On the north and south faces of the mukhamaṇḍapa, vēdībāndha mouldings consist of khura-kumbha, large ornamented tulāsaṅgraha, and kapōtapālī; these currently support piers that frame a window-like opening into the alinda. On the main shrine, kalaśa replaces tulāsaṅgraha on the karnas and is replaced by a broad, ornamented paṭṭa on the bhadras.

The temple's elegantly ornamented Rucaka pillars and pilasters have ghaṭapallava bases, with vertical kalpavallī bands that connect them to boldly expressive kīrttimukha blocks; above are lotus- or figure-filled ardhadarpaṇas, a broad octagonal section ornamented with kīrttimukhas and pearl-chains (or lotus-filled ardhadarpaṇas), an upper ghaṭapallava, and roll-brackets that have kīrttimukhas or other ornamentation on their faces. Some of these features — the vertical kalpavallī in particular — are more common in the next century, but most features seem comparable, though not identical, to ornament on the seventh-century temples at Mahuā in Central India.

The present garbhagrha doorway has two inner śākhās that were added at a much later period; four śākhās of the original doorway remain, consisting of an inner ratnaśākhā, patraśākhā, ornamented stambhaśākhā, and an outer patraśākhā that takes a "T"-shape in surrounding the overdoor. At the base of the inner patraśākhās stand figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, a dwarf attendant sheltering each with an umbrella and a female attendant standing behind. The stambhaśākhās support a kapōtapālī-cornice with two levels of tulāpīṭha below; the kapōta-eave shows three pairs of candraśālās. Above is a vēdikā with "key-hole" and rectilinear niches between the pillarets, a cippikā with patra-ornament, and two cornices (tulāpīṭha below) with candraśālās that are linked along each cornice and arranged to suggest udgama pediments (these are crowned by āmalakas in the bāhyaśākhā at either end, suggesting śṛṅgas).

The doorway of this temple is made up of bold paṭṭas, equal in breadth, with deep recesses between — a feature of the seventh century — and the architectural representations on the overdoor seem an appropriate evolution from those first represented on the upper cross-bar of the Nagarī tōraṇa. Elegant in its rendering but uncertain in its formulation, the temple has both antecedents and descendents only in details, not as an overall conception.

*Chittaudgaḍh, Kumbhaśyāma temple, older pillars in gūḍhamaṇḍapa (Plates 301-302)*

The bold Rucaka pillars set toward the front of the Kumbhaśyāma temple show large pratihāras or apsaras (often recut) at their bases, framed by thin pilasters (showing incised darpaṇa design) that are crowned by a makara-tōraṇa with pearl pattern, a single clasp at the centre, and a central lotus-bud drop. Above is a tall section of relatively open vine or floral pattern, a narrow band of puṣpas, a roundel with floriated kīrttimukha masks, a very slight suggestion of octagonal necking, and an upper



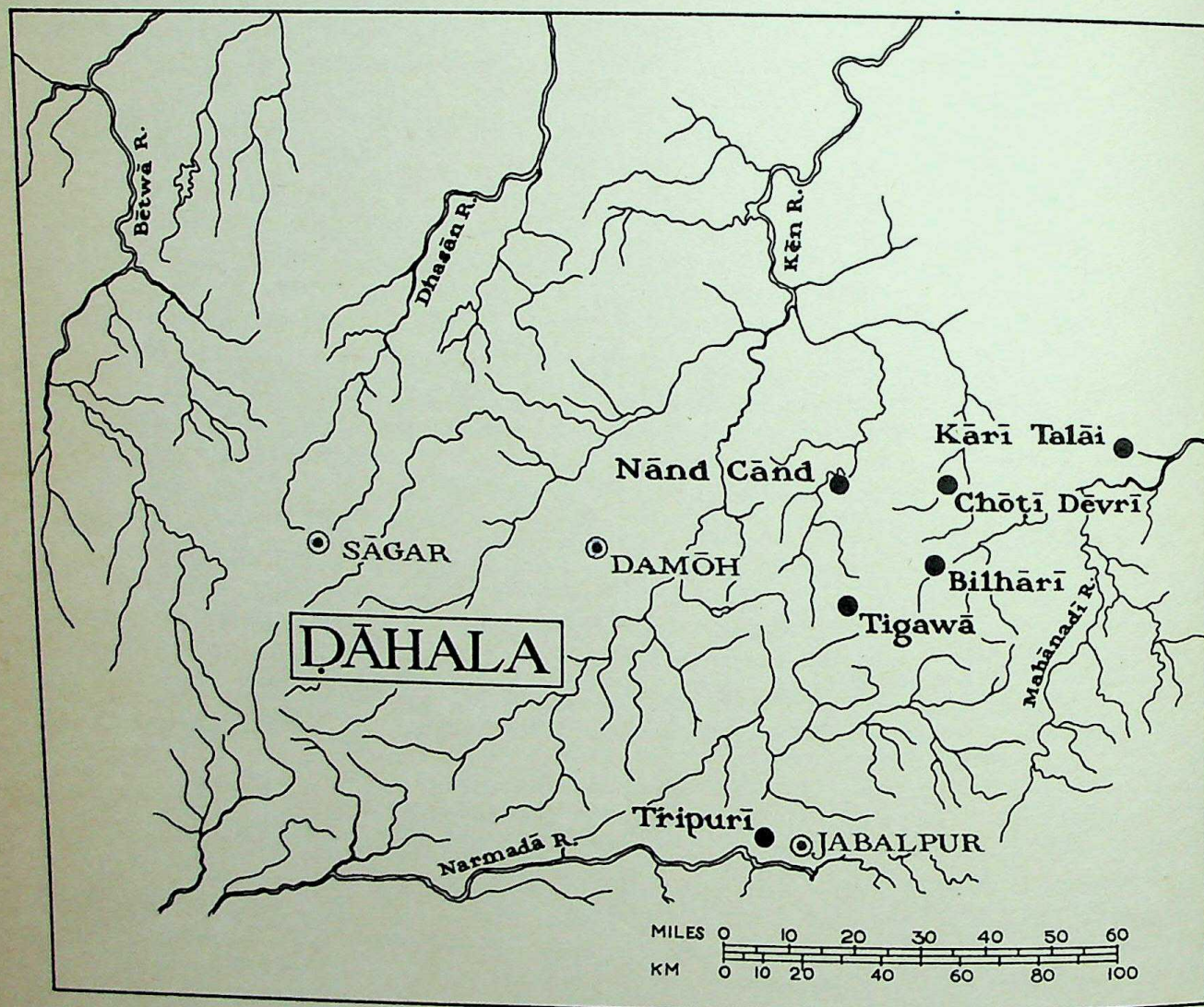
ghaṭapallava with a dangling pearl-chain loop enclosing a half lotus. Some pillars show a ghaṭapallava base, an architectural cornice represented above (ornamented with small candraśālās), a band of open foliage with makara-tōraṇa above, a second cornice-pattern, a block with kirttimukha pattern, and a narrow puṣpa band. The bases and upper fluted bharaṇī-blocks for these pillars are later restorations, and the prati-hāra figures are in some cases partly recut. All ornament on these pillars is kept carefully contained as a surface for the monolithic square shaft. An antecedent for this style to an extent can be found in remains at Mandasor and Nagari; some parallel for the open foliage can be found on the Dhamēkh stūpa at Sārnāth and in fragments of the seventh century from the capital of the Maṇḍor Pratihāras near Jodhpur.

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Dāhala: Pratihāras, maṇḍapikā sites



Varieties of North Indian style: Style of Daśārṇadēśa, phases 2 and 3, c. mid-eighth to early tenth century A.D.

## Pratīhāra Period: Maṇḍapikā Shrines

### Historical Introduction

Central India late in the eighth century was a territory bordered by feuding powers, in particular the Pratīhāras in the west, Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Deccan, and the Pālas in the east, yet a region still ruled primarily by local princes, as in previous centuries, who were either independent or only casually affiliated as feudatories to the various powers who crossed their territories. Yaśōvarma of Kanauj had held Gōpādri as a fortified border region in the second quarter of the eighth century, and his immediate successors used Gwalior as a centre of regional importance. Late in the eighth century, Pratīhāra princes from Western India may have crossed Mālava in their confrontations with Pāla and Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes and may well have occupied parts of the region in the half century before their empire was established, with a base for expanded power in North India at Kanauj, which was seized by Pratīhāra forces and became their capital early in the ninth century A.D.

Vatsarāja Pratīhāra undoubtedly crossed parts of Mālava in his attack on the forces of Gauḍa, but was driven back to forts in Rajasthan by the attack of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva some time between A.D. 786 and 793. Vatsarāja's successor, Nāgabhaṭa II, defeated Cakrāyudha of Kanauj, vanquished the Lord of Vaṅga, and seized the hill forts of the kings of Ānarta, Mālava, Matsya, Kirāta, Turuṣka, and Vatsa according to the Gwalior praśasti of his grandson Bhōja I. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III, feeling pressure from Pratīhāra conquests, again raided North India (c. A.D. 802) early in the ninth century, retaking Mālava according to the Sañjān plates, but soon retired. Only after his departure could Nāgabhaṭa II establish his firm hold on Kanauj and move to contain the Pālas in the east. Security in Central India, however, had to have remained a high priority, given Rāṣṭrakūṭa presence to the south, and the Jaina *Prabhāvakacarita* gives a description of a splendid Pratīhāra court at Gwalior.

Pratīhāra rule in the ninth century in North and Central India gave a stability and breadth of hegemony under which regional styles of Nāgara architecture could interact and a new, more unified, style emerge. Local conceptions for maṇḍapikā shrines, however, continued in Central India in this period, interacting with the central style.

### Architectural Features

Maṇḍapikā pavilion-shrines with simple slab superstructures continued to be built in



this period, characterized by a thin-walled construction, sometimes with discrete pieces of stone for the pillars and the in-fill slabs that make up the kaṭi (Kuchdōn) but increasingly with broad slabs over which were carved both pilasters and recesses. In some instances, four pillars in the corners of the sanctum support a vēdī superstructure; in others, the slab walls of these tiny shrines support directly the maṇḍōvara mouldings and upper superstructure (Baḍōh).

Early maṇḍapikā shrines had often shown a slight bhadra projection, with tulā-ends replacing kalaśa in the vēdibandha and a niche placed either in the recess between a central pair of pilasters (Mahuā) or with a projecting balcony (Gyāraspur); in this period, however, tula-ends disappear in the vēdibandha, and, increasingly, small maṇḍapikā shrines are built on a straight mānasūtra, but with Nāgara towers superimposed above. Kuchdōn, near Dēvgaḍh, the earliest such shrine (c. third quarter of the eighth century) clearly shows in the arrangement of its walls, with pratiratha pilasters pushed close to bhadra pilasters but separated from the karṇas by recesses, in imitation of a Nāgara groundplan, the interaction of maṇḍapikā shrines with Nāgara tradition. Four corner pillars in the sanctum support an upper vēdī, over which a small, sarvatōbhadra, Nāgara shrine has been placed as a second storey.

At Kuchdōn, in the third quarter of the eighth century, maṇḍōvara mouldings consisted of a kapōtapālī at the top of the jaṅghā, a vallī-ornamented antarapaṭṭa, and a slightly concave chādyā. A projecting daṇḍacchādyā acts as awning for the temple's mukhamaṇḍapa and appears for the first time as awning for bhadra niches. Maṇḍapikā shrines late in the eighth century (as at Baṭēsārā) top the jaṅghā with a thin kapōtapālī and antarapaṭṭa and then show a broad, straight-edged daṇḍacchādyā (with saw-tooth ornament on the edge) sheltering the shrine, above which is a broad antarapaṭṭa with ardhapadma and merlon design supporting a monolithic slab (on which a triratha Nāgara śikhara sometimes is imposed). By the early ninth century, curved khura-cchādyā in some maṇḍapikā temples (Padhāvalī) replaces the straight-edged daṇḍacchādyā (as it does also over bhadra niches in Nāgara temples in the Pratīhāra tradition); some others (Baḍōh) reintroduce a small vēdikā into the maṇḍōvara.

A predilection for simple Rucaka pilasters with darpaṇa pattern can be seen in these small shrines well into the ninth century; simple roll-brackets, however, are replaced by ones with leaf-drops and ardhapadma, while other shrines use ghaṭa-pallava pilasters essentially taken from the main Nāgara tradition. This interaction with Nāgara conventions also can be seen in udgama and bhadra-niche forms, decorative patterns, and of course the superimposed śikhara. The maṇḍapikā type persists, however, appearing side by side and sharing idiomatic inflexions with Nāgara shrines, at sites in Central India well into the ninth century. Such coexistence implies the local importance of the type, well beyond the inception and evolution of Nāgara forms.

The Kuchdōn temple stands on a jagatī platform and was surrounded by a compound wall, of which some fragments for the kapiśīrṣa remain. Some of the Baṭēsārā shrines stand on a curved bhiṭṭa course above the foundation slab. Some Padhāvalī shrines sit on a low mañca, with simple khura, kumbha, ornamental antarapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī. (At least one Baḍōh shrine — tiny as it is — stands on a complex mañca, resembling that of the much larger ninth-century Gaḍarmal temple at the same site.)

While these small shrines continue to be built for local purposes, reflecting local tradition, they also incorporate aspects of the dominant Nāgara style. In some instances, Nāgara temples in the region also borrow constructional aspects of these shrines — thin slab walls, for example, or pillars in the corners of the sanctum. Fragments of the surrounding ambulatory wall of the uppermost Nāgara temple at Narēsar



and the ambulatory wall to the Jaina temple no. 12 at Dēvgaḍh (late-eighth century A.D.) suggest that perforated maṇḍapikā walls were not an uncommon form of enclosure, in fact, for Nāgara shrines in this period and region.

The inscription at Mahuā had suggested that the maṇḍapikā shrine there had been built for the "increase of the religious merit" of the patron's parents, and it seems likely that such small shrines continued to be built in this region primarily as memorial shrines. Even small temples at Kadwāhā in the tenth century — fully in Nāgara form but with thin walls and with checker-pattern jāla filling the recesses between the pilasters on the pratirathas and the masonry kaṇas and bhadras — suggest a continuation of this local tradition.

*Kuchdōn, Kuraiyā Bīr* (Figs. 63-64; Plates 303-308)

This east-facing Śiva temple (Plate 303) is situated along a streamlet about two miles east of the Gupta temple at Dēvgaḍh. The temple consists of a square tri-aṅga garbhagṛha and a mukhamanḍapa of a single bay (Fig. 63). The jaṅghā shows a maṇḍapikā type of post-and-plank construction made of separate stones (Plate 305); its roof, however, supports a small sarvatōbhadrā structure with a Latina śikhara (Plate 308).

The vēḍibandha stands on a plain foundation course and shows khura, kumbha, kalaśa, kapōtapālī, and vasantapaṭṭikā carved with haṁsa, kinnara-mithuna, and grāsamukhas emitting patravallī (Fig. 64).

The jaṅghā (Plates 305-306) rising on the vasantapaṭṭikā shows a deep niche on each bhadrā flanked by a pair of Rucaka pilasters. Another pair of similar but slightly broader pilasters built against those of the bhadrā form the pratirathas. The kaṇas show pilasters identical with those of the pratirathas, separated from the latter by a salilāntara relieved by patravallī (as on the maṇḍapikā shrine at Mahuā). The deep bhadrā niche on the west harbours seated Kārttikēya (Plate 306); the other two bhadrā niches are empty (because the image-slabs have been removed, revealing the interior of the sanctum, these now appear to be windows). These bhadrā niches are capped by a heavy daṇḍacchādyā and a broad udgama. The Rucaka pilasters of the jaṅghā have ghaṭapallava on the lower and upper parts, linked by vertical panels of patravallī, and are crowned by palmette brackets.

The jaṅghā is topped by kapōtapālī, a rūpakaṇṭha carved with padmalatā and, on one side, a pair of haṁsas and a slightly curved chādyā (Plate 303). Above the chādyā occurs a broad, plain kaṇṭha capped by another chādyā, representing the interior dimensions of the sanctum below.

The upper chādyā acts as a base for a small shrine with a triratha, tribhūma, Nāgara śikhara (Plate 308). The jaṅghā has openings on four sides, all of which are closed by latticed windows. A short prāgrīva, with a pair of circular pillars that support a short śukanāsikā, is attached on each side.

The sanctum's doorframe is composed of five śākhās (Plate 307): patra-, nāga- (resembling the bark of the date palm), rūpa- (with gandharvas, apsaras, and vidyādharas), stambha-, and bevelled patravallī. Garuḍa is represented as lalāṭabimba holding the tail-ends of nāgas, flanked by flying mālādharas. The pēdyās show river-goddesses with attendants. The interior of the garbhagṛha, with its thin walls and with four corner pillars that support the superstructure, provides another link with the maṇḍapikā tradition.

The mukhamanḍapa is a single bay, its roof resting on two pillars and on two ornate Rucaka pilasters that bear figures of the Śaiva pratihāras, Mahākāla and Nandī, on their lower half. The fluted, octagonal pillars bear designs of chain-and-bell



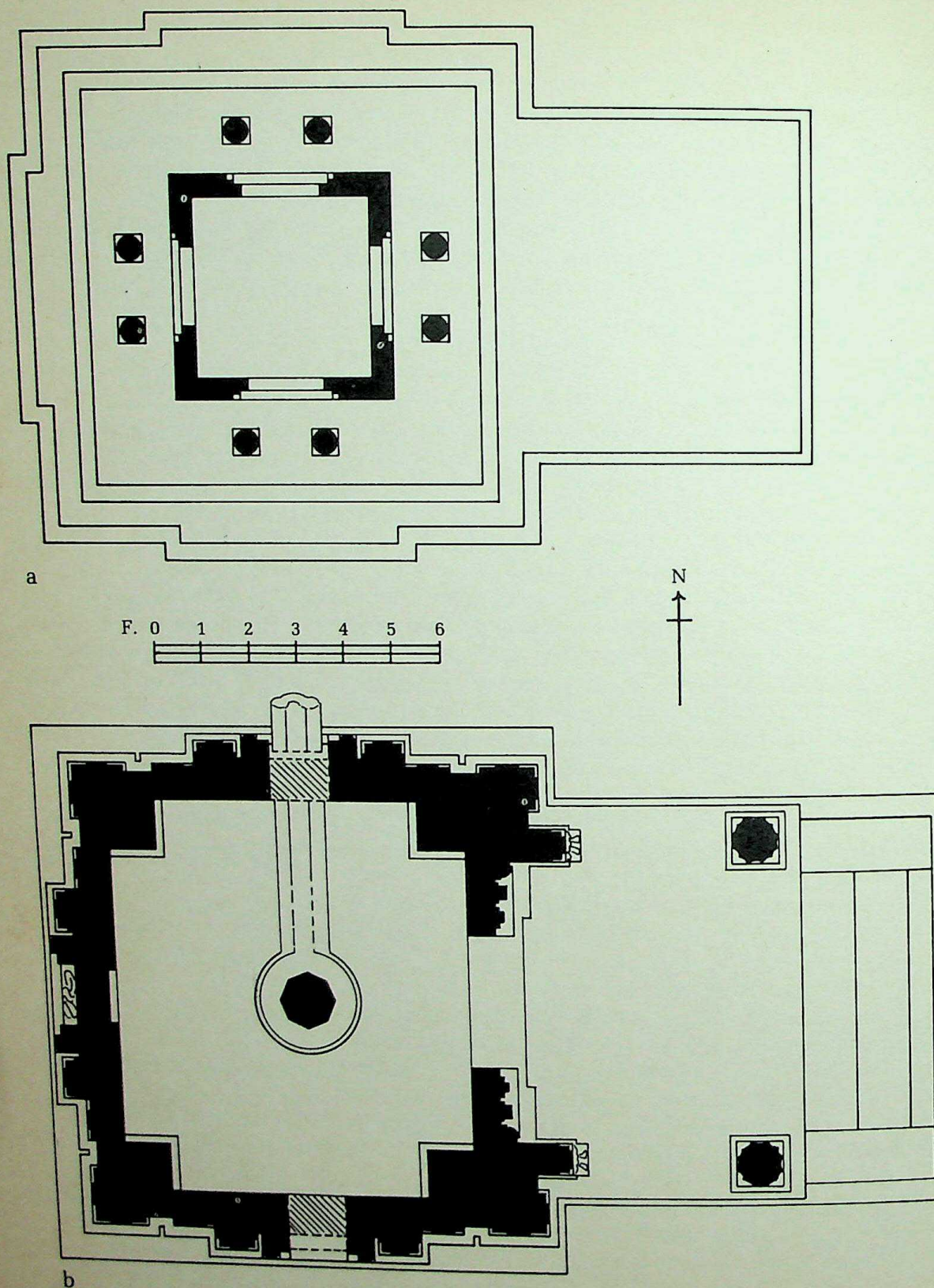


Fig. 63. Kuchdôn. Kuraiyâ Bir temple:  
a. plan of upper storey; b. plan of lower storey. (After Meister.)



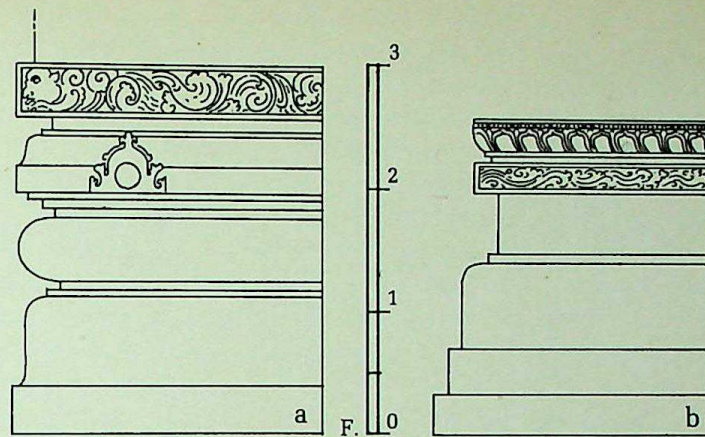


Fig. 64. Kuchdōn. Kuraiyā Bīr temple, vēdibandhas: a. prāsāda;  
b. prāgrīva.

suspended from vandanamālikā; ghaṭapallava is used at base and top, supporting palmette brackets.

The temple apparently stood on a jagatī, now buried; some fragments of kapiśīrṣa, possibly from a compound wall also survive.

The upper shrine with a Nāgara śikhara here is a sort of imposition, with little organic relation to the shrine below, but the temple acts as a significant link between earlier “muṇḍamāla” maṇḍapikā shrines and later ones, further affected by the Nāgara tradition. It can be assigned, stylistically, to the third quarter of the eighth century A.D.

#### *Baṭṭesarā, Baṭṭeśvara Mahādēva complex, temple no. 19 (Plate 310)*

This subshrine is situated in close proximity south of temple no. 3, west of the main Baṭṭeśvara Mahādēva temple at Baṭṭesarā. It has no rēkhā-śikhara, and is maṇḍapikā in form. It resembles temples nos. 14 and 15 in style and design, but it possesses some distinguishing features. Its vēdībāndha replaces kalaśa moulding with a plain, broad antarapaṭṭa, its daṇḍacchādyā and crowning paṭṭikā are thick, and the intervening kaṇṭha is plain. The kaṭi displays a Sūrya image on the west. One piece of stone, with broad patravallī and a Rucaka pilaster, has been inserted from some other shrine. The temple may be assigned to c. A.D. 775-800.

#### *Baṭṭesarā, northeast group (temples, nos. 8-10, 14-17) (Plates 309, 311-312, 314-316)*

Three small Śaiva shrines are situated in a row to the north and east of the tank (Plate 312). Two are practically twins, repeating on a smaller scale the plan of the western subshrine of the Baṭṭeśvara Mahādēva temple. The third temple (Plate 309) has a well-preserved dvibhūma śikhara; its jaṅghā is composed of Rucaka pilasters on the corners, lightly incised with paired ardhapadmas, supporting a cross lintel. The plain slab set between has a central niche with plain Rucaka pillarets with roll brackets and an udgama pediment. The śukanāsa shows a bust of Śiva.

All three temples show Gaṇeśa (S), Kārttikēya (W), and Pārvatī (N) in bhadra niches. All have trīśākha doorways with a garuḍa as lalāṭabimba and river-goddesses with chatradhārīṇīs on the pēdyās.

All three temples may be assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century.

Four temples form a group situated on a slope of an elevated terrace to the north of the previous group (Plates 311, 314-316), three of which resemble each other in style



and design (no. 16 will be discussed in a later chapter). These share the use of monolithic vēḍibandha, maṇḍapikā type of jaṅghā, conspicuous eave, and a simple varaṇḍikā with nos. 11-13. Temple no. 17 may be a Vaiṣṇava shrine; the others are devoted to Śaiva worship. The two east-facing shrines (nos. 14-15) display figures of Gaṇeśa (S), Sūrya (W), and Pārvatī (N) in the central niches of the kaṭi (Plates 311, 315). The doorways are all triśākha, decorated with patravallī, mithunas, and bevelled patravallī. No traces of any mukhamaṇḍapa survive.

The vēḍibandha mouldings of these shrines invariably include kapōtapālī; decorative and figural carving is in deep relief; the udgamas' jāla is slightly less well integrated than on the previous group of shrines, and pilasters display palmette śīrṣas, suggesting a slightly earlier date, perhaps c. the first quarter of the ninth century.

The vēḍibandhas of two of the temples stand on a bhiṭṭa with cyma-recta curvature above a foundation slab. Temple no. 17 (Plate 316) displays two niches on each wall, with Gaṇeśa and Vārāhī on the south, and only Kārttikēya and Sūrya preserved on east and north.

*Baṭeśarā, northern group (temples, nos. 11-13) (Fig. 65; Plate 313)*

These three Śiva temples are situated in a row about 80 ft. north of the tank at Baṭeśarā; all are square, preceded by a single-bay mukhamaṇḍapa, and face west. The shrines are characterised by low vēḍibandha, maṇḍapikā type of jaṅghā, a conspicuous daṇḍacchādyā, and a simple varaṇḍikā composed of an ornamented kaṇṭha topped by a plain paṭṭikā; two shrines preserve caturbhūma tri-aṅga rēkhā-śikharas.

The vēḍibandha mouldings are made from monolithic slabs rising above a bhiṭṭa; they consist of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and paṭṭikā. The third temple replaces kalaśa by an antarapaṭṭa.

The jaṅghā places pilasters under both the karna and pratiratha parts of the śikhara; a sculptured niche is framed under the madhyalātā. The recessed planes of the jaṅghā are ornamented by patravallī. The pilasters are crudely ornamented; those of the northernmost shrine show ghaṭapallava at base and top with a vertical band of patravallī. Niches on this temple show Gaṇeśa (S), Kārttikēya (E), and Pārvatī (N); the other two shrines substitute Sūrya for Kārttikēya. On their simple triśākha doorways, only the central gaṇaśākha is carved.

The flattened mouldings, lack of relief, and stereotyped treatment of the śikhara indicate a date for these temples in the first or second quarter of the ninth century A.D.

*Padhāvalī, maṇḍapikā shrines (Plate 317)*

The neighbouring sites of Baṭeśarā and Padhāvalī contain a large number of small maṇḍapikā shrines in various states of preservation. Several to the east of Padhāvalī village show slight variations from those at Baṭeśarā already discussed. Typical of these, the temple in Plate 317 shows a shrine built on a low jagatī of khura-kumbha, antarapaṭṭa ornamented with perforated ardhapadma, and kapōtapālī; vēḍibandha mouldings are on a straight mānasūtra, made from a single slab of stone for each wall. The kaṭi is made of corner slabs — having two Rucaka pilasters with drop-leaf brackets and a recess between with patravallī — and a central slab with patravallī to either side and a niche supported by a projecting padma-platform, with Rucaka pillarets, plain roll-brackets, cornice, and udgama pediment. These bhadra niches contain images of Dēvi (N), Sūrya (E), and Gaṇeśa (S). The top of the wall shows a single kapōtapālī and a recess supporting a heavy curved chādyā. The broad kaṇṭha above shows perforated



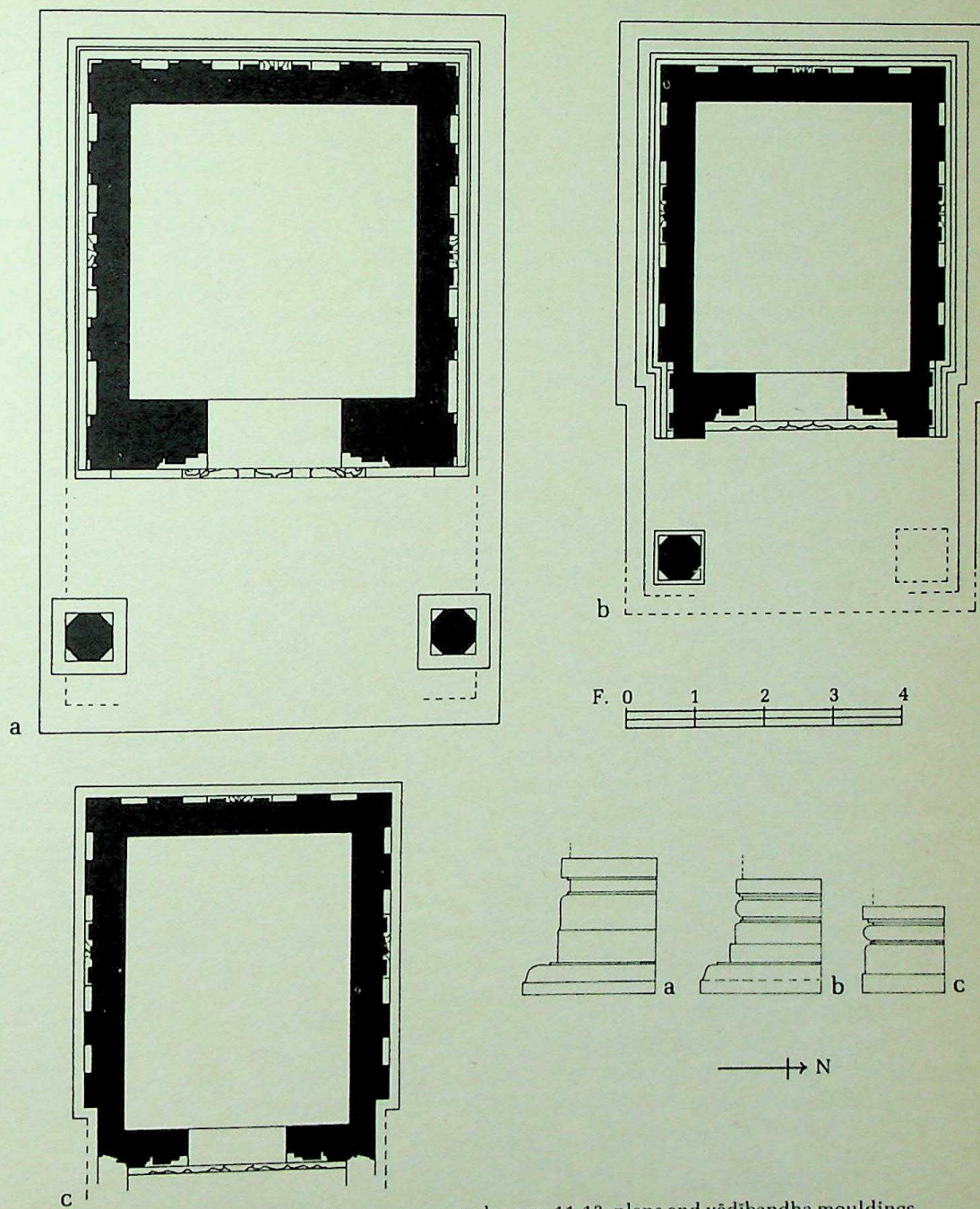


Fig. 65. Baṭṣarā. Northern group, temples nos. 11-13, plans and vēḍibandha mouldings.



triangular ardhapadma-pattern; above is a heavy, unmoulded slab as roof with no śikhara above.

The interior shows a saw-tooth awning-pattern on the upper cross-lintel and has a plain lotus relief on the ceiling.

Jāla and other ornaments suggest a date early in the ninth century A.D.

*Paṭhārī, Satmaḍhiā group, seven maṇḍapikā shrines (Figs. 66-68; Plates 319-320)*

This cluster of seven deserted maṇḍapikā shrines is found in a shrub forest about one mile east of Paṭhārī. Each made of a few flat slabs, these shrines stand on one or two plain foundation courses and have the usual vēḍibandha of khura-kumbha, narrow kalaśa, and kapōtapālī. On each bhadra, the kaṭi shows a sculptured niche crowned by udgama and flanked by a pair of Rucaka pilasters that are plain, save for darpaṇa design with full padma and sometimes an added ardhapadma. The pilasters have heavy roll brackets which carry khuracchādyā. Above the khuracchādyā, a kaṇṭha is adorned by triangular ardhapadmas and crowned by a moulded roof-slab. Most of these shrines are Śaiva and display friezes of Gaṇēśa, Sūrya, Kārttikēya, and Pārvaṭī in the bhadra niches. Temple no. 2 also is preceded by a prāgrīva supported on a pair of Rucaka pillars.

Temple no. 6, the most elaborately ornamented shrine of the group, stands on a jagatī composed of khura-kumbha, antarapaṭṭa embellished by vēḍikā, and a floor-level slab ornamented with a drop design of padma-shaped flowers. Jagatī carries usual vēḍibandha mouldings adorned with niches set below the bhadra niches of the kaṭi. This is the only triratha shrine in the group with sculptured niches also on the kārṇas, crowned by tall udgamas. The kaṭi has ghaṇṭamālā at the top and is crowned by kapōtapālī, kaṇṭha with ardhapadma, and a straight-edged awning with saw-tooth trim, above which is another ornate kaṇṭha and a moulded roof-slab.

*Baḍōh, maṇḍapikā temple southeast of the Daśāvatāra group (Plate 318)*

This small shrine is typical of elaborated maṇḍapikā shrines of the ninth century. Between the Rucaka pilasters on the corners is chequer-pattern rather than patravallī. The pilasters have ghaṭapallava at the base and top, a grāsamukha band, and vertical patravallī. Between the drop-leaf brackets appears a narrow band of the same saw-tooth canopy-pattern found inside the previous shrine. Double tulāsaṅgrahas appear under the crowning kapōtapālī; a short vēḍikā supports a second kapōtapālī, broad kaṇṭha decorated with ardhapadma, and a moulded slab acting as roof.

The central niches, set against patravallī, still use plain Rucaka pillarets with plain roll-brackets but have double udgamas as pediment. The kaṭi lies on a straight mānasūtra but the vēḍibandha steps out under the bhadra niche.

Vēḍibandha mouldings sit above a moulded maṅca consisting of short khura-kumbha, antarapaṭṭa with triangular ardhapadma, saw-tooth band, curved padma moulding with drop-leaves, narrow recess, and grāsapaṭṭī. This platform, as well as other decorative details, resemble those of the Gaḍarmal temple at Baḍōh datable to c. A.D. 825-850.

*Kadwāhā, Caṇḍāl Maṭha temple (Plate 321)*

Probably the most recent temple to follow maṇḍapikā formulas is this odd Phāmsanā-roofed shrine at Kadwāhā dating late in the ninth century. Its walls and mouldings are simple slabs, the wall articulated as a series of pillars with ghaṭapallava tops and bases; the pilaster ornament has been left unfinished. Bhadra niches have thin,



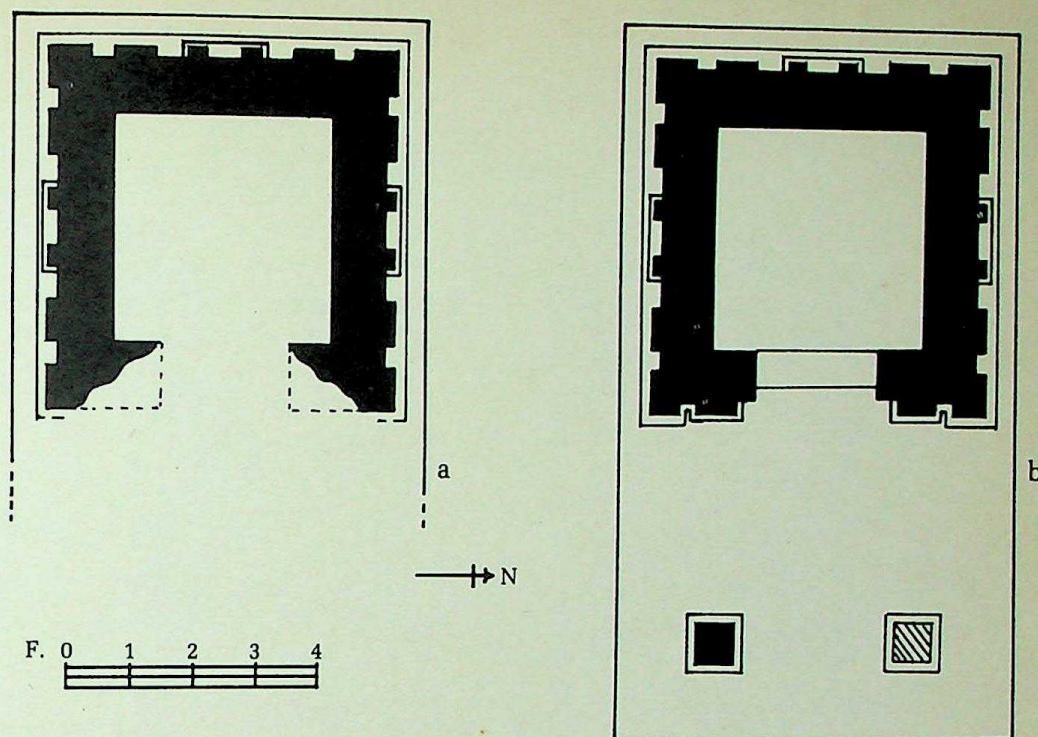


Fig. 66. Paṭhārī. Satmaḍhiā group: a. temple no. 1, plan; b. temple no. 2, plan.

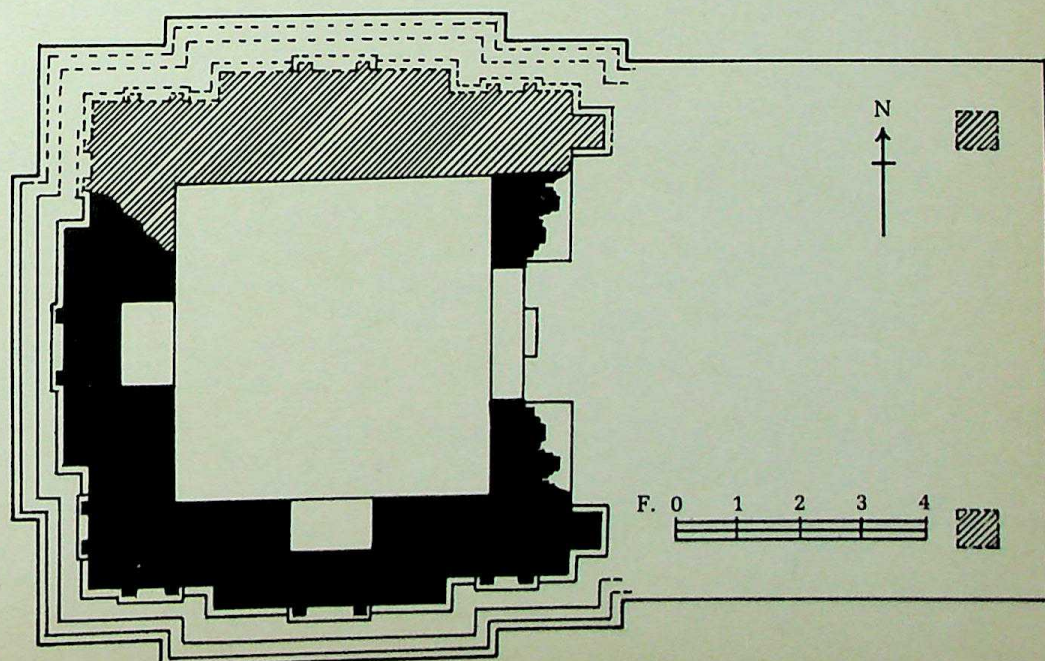


Fig. 67. Paṭhārī. Satmaḍhiā group, temple no. 7, plan.



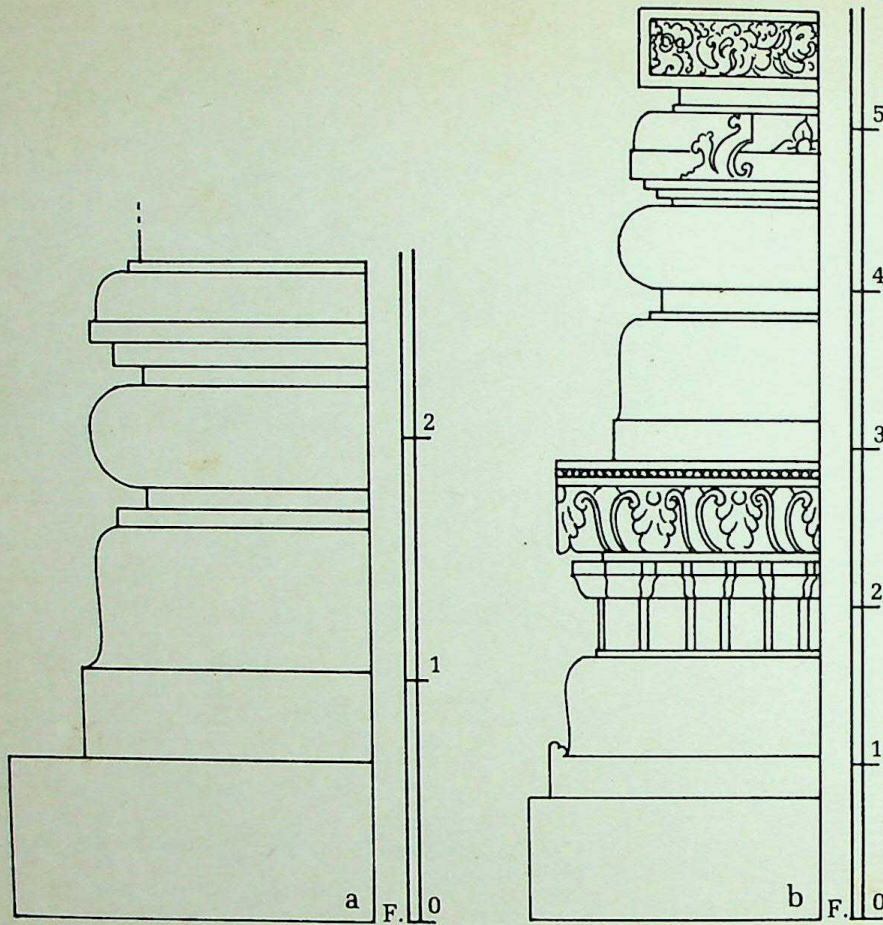


Fig. 68. Pathārī. Satmaḍhiā group, vēdibandhas: a. temple no. 1;  
b. temple no. 2; c. temple no. 3.

circular pillars, elegantly carved udgamas, and house images of Gaṇēśa (S), Sūrya (W), and Dēvī (N). The wall is capped by a slightly curved, ribbed khuracchādyā with saw-tooth edge. The levels of the Phāmsanā consist of broad plain necking and khuracchādyā adorned with candraśālikās. A plain ghaṇṭā caps the superstructure. A simple porch extends the ribbed khuracchādyā as awning and the first bhūmi as a sort of clerestory. The vēdibandha above sits on a simple mañca.

Krishna Deva &  
Michael W. Meister

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Varieties of North Indian style: Ḍāhala style, phase 1, c. late eighth–early ninth century A.D.

## Kalacuris of Tripurī: Maṇḍapikā Shrines

### Historical Introduction

Three generations of early Kalacuri kings ruled from Māhiṣmatī in the third century A.D., beginning the use of a “Kalacuri Era,” but the main line of Kalacuris, who ruled from Tripurī, near Jabalpur, came to power only in the eighth century A.D.

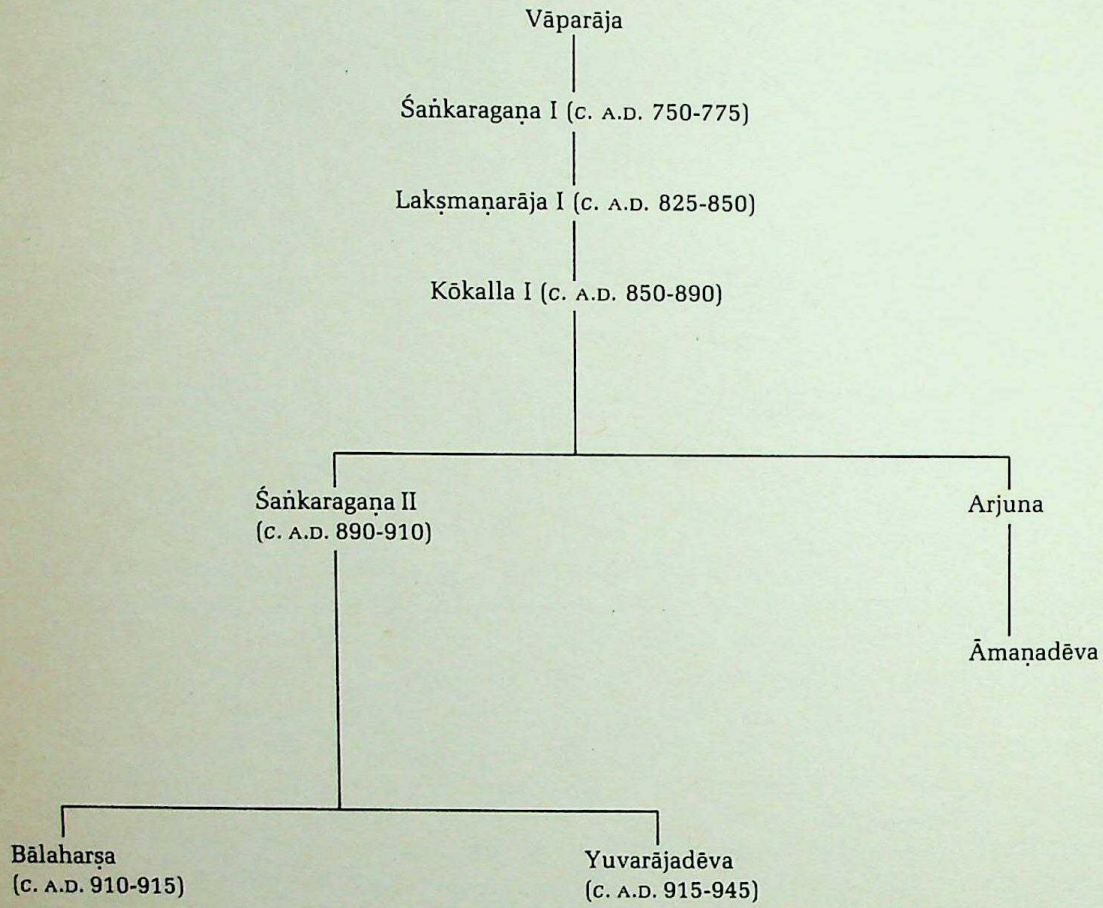
The Kalacuris, who came to be associated with the Haihayas of the epic and purāṇic traditions, originally settled in the Avantī-Māndhātā region of Mālava. Three rulers — Kṛṣṇarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa, and Buddharāja — ruled from Māhiṣmatī and issued land-grants dated in an unspecified era now called the Kalacuri Era, beginning in A.D. 248/9. These land-grants suggest Kalacuri jurisdiction over parts of Gujarat, the Koṅkaṇa, and present-day Maharashtra (including Vidarbha). The coins of Kṛṣṇarāja are found in these and contiguous regions and continued in circulation for at least two centuries. A land-grant of Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated A.D. 597, from Abhōnā, Nasik District, records that it was issued from the “victorious camp” at Ujjayinī. One of the land-grants of Buddharāja from Vaḍnēr, Nasik District, was issued from a camp at Vidiśā. Two remaining land-grants of the early Kalacuris come from Baroda District. Buddharāja, the last early Kalacuri ruler, was defeated in c. A.D. 601 by the Western Calukya king, Maṅgalēśa; his successor, Pulakēśi II, annexed Mahārāṣṭra, the Koṅkaṇa, and Gurjarātra. Kalacuri power shrank to a small portion of present Gujarat, and within a few decades faded away. Kṛṣṇarāja is mentioned as devoted to Paśupati; Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja are called “paramamāhēśvara.”

The Kalacuris reappeared only in the eighth century, ruling in part of Ḍāhala. One Śaṅkaragaṇa is known from two undated stone inscriptions found at Sāgar and Chōṭī Dēvrī assignable palaeographically to the mid-eighth century. The Sāgar inscription, engraved on a sculpted slab, refers to Śaṅkaragaṇa as “paramabhaṭṭāraka-māhārājādhirāja-paramēśvara.”

From the findspots of the two epigraphs of Śaṅkaragaṇa, his territorial jurisdiction appears to have extended over a major part of Ḍāhala with its capital at Tripurī (modern Tewar).

Nothing is known about Śaṅkaragaṇa's successors until we come to Lakṣmaṇarāja whose Kārītalāi stone inscription, dated A.D. 842, refers to him as a subordinate ally of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of the Deccan. Lakṣmaṇarāja was followed by Kōkalla (their relationship is not known) who raised the Kalacuri family to imperial status. He clashed with the Pratihāra, Mihira Bhōja, defeated the Turuṣkas in Rajasthan, plundered east Bengal, and, in the latter part of his reign, vanquished Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II



**Genealogical Table: Kalacuris of Tripurī**



(his son-in-law). Kōkalla married a Candēlla princess and had 18 sons. The eldest, Śaṅkaragaṇa II (carrying titles of Mugdhatuṅga, Prasiddhadhavalā, and Raṇavigraha) succeeded him; his other sons administered various maṇḍalas of Ḍāhala.

Śaṅkaragaṇa II fought the Sōmavamsī king of Kōsala and annexed Pālī in Bilaspur District. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II sought Śaṅkaragaṇa's help in repelling an invasion by the eastern Calukya king Vijayāditya III, but their combined armies were defeated. Śaṅkaragaṇa II married his daughter Lakṣmī to Jagattuṅga, son of Kṛṣṇa II. Lakṣmī gave birth to Indra III, who succeeded Kṛṣṇa II on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne and took a Kalacuri princess as his queen.

Śaṅkaragaṇa II was succeeded by his elder son Bālaharṣa, who was himself followed by his younger brother, Yuvarājadēva I, Kēyūravarṣa.

### Architectural Features

Latina Nāgara temples built under Kalacuri patronage will be discussed in a later volume; the tradition of small maṇḍapikā shrines found in Daśārnadēśa, however, also extended into Ḍāhala, and small temples of that sort were built there from the late eighth to the early tenth century A.D. Only fragments of these survive, showing that these tiny shrines also were built of large slabs fitted together, ornamented on the exterior with pilasters, small niches (framed by Rucaka pillars and crowned by udgamas), and with typical Kalacuri patterning of perforated diamonds used in the recesses between.

#### *Bilhārī, temple remains (not illustrated)*

Bilhārī, situated nine miles west of Murwara, is an ancient site with remains dating from the eighth to the 11th centuries. There is a large tank known as Lakṣmaṇasāgar, a smaller tank, and two ruined temples known as the Viṣṇu-Varāha and Kāmakandalā. A large thriving village occupies the site and its houses utilise numerous old architectural pieces. From inscriptional evidence, it is clear that Bilhārī had a large Śiva temple and maṭha, built during the first half of the tenth century by queen Nōhalā for the use of an important sect of Śaiva ascetics known as the Mattamayūras, but typical architectural pieces pertaining to the kaṭis of two shrines of the eighth century A.D. show that the site was also important centuries earlier. One fragment depicts a niche with Gaṇēśa surmounted by an udgama; another displays Umā doing penance while seated in utkuṭikāsana on a full lotus (the two Rucaka pilasters that flank her are carved with ghaṭapallava and ardhapadma and suggest a maṇḍapikā shrine).

#### *Chōṭī Dēvrī, temple remains (not illustrated)*

Situated on the left bank of the river Kēn, about ten miles east of Nānd Cānd, Chōṭī Dēvrī is a village in a thick forest which is strewn with ruins of 30 to 40 shrines, sculptures, carved pillars, and doorframes that stylistically resemble those of Nānd Cānd. A maṇḍapikā shrine assignable to the late eighth century still stands at the site, though in a tottering condition. It has a simple, bold vēdibandha, supporting a kaṭi carved with bhadra niches, crowned by udgamas, flanked by pilasters, and has a flat roof. The bhadra niches show Gaṇēśa (S) and Kārttikēya (W); that on the north is missing. The shrine has a triśākha doorway bearing crude carvings of usual decorative designs and figures including a garuḍa as lalāṭabimbā and Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the pēdyās. All its components were made of large slabs, of which hardly a dozen were required to complete the structure.



The site has also yielded a pillar bearing a Śaiva inscription of the reign of Śaṅkaragaṇa, ascribable to the mid-eighth century, and three figures (a seated couple, hands in añjali, and a standing archer below). These figures are akin to those on the slab bearing the only other preserved inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa now deposited in the Sāgar University Museum. The Sāgar inscription also possibly hailed from Chōṭī Dēvrī or its environs.

*Kārītālāī, temple remains (Plate 322)*

Kārītālāī has yielded a copper-plate inscription of the Uccakalpa Mahārāja, Jayanātha, a feudatory of the Imperial Guptas, dated A.D. 494/5, a number of Kalacuri inscriptions including one of the reign of Lakṣmaṇarāja I dated A.D. 842, and another inscription of the time of Lakṣmaṇarāja II (c. A.D. 945-970) that refers to the foundation of a Varāha temple. Two kaṭi-stones from the karnas of an ornate ninth-century temple, showing small niches with Dikpāla figures (Plate 322), also survive, flanked by perforated diamond pattern. The site has yielded abundant Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, and Jaina sculptures of the tenth and 11th centuries.

*Nānd Cānd, temple remains (Plates 323, 325, 327)*

An exquisite group of Saptamātrkās from this site dates to the early sixth century and must have been worshipped in a shrine, of which only two pillar-fragments (with octagonal shaft and fluted ghaṭapallava-capital) have survived. Cunningham reported a ruined temple of Mṛtaṅgēśvara enshrining a 6 ft. Śivaliṅga, a lofty tōraṇa flanked by two colossal statues, and about two dozen small shrines, mostly ruined, containing Śivaliṅgas and images of Mātrkās, Gaṇēśa, Śiva, Hara-Gaurī, and Viṣṇu. The tōraṇa together with its flanking colossal statues are now lost and the shrines have collapsed; most of the sculptures and architectural remains have been fixed all around the outer walls of the restored Mṛtaṅgēśvara temple (Plate 323). The site has an almost complete set of standing Mātrkās assignable to c. A.D. 700 (Plate 327). Other sculptures and architectural fragments date to the eighth and ninth centuries; these mostly pertain to modest-sized maṇḍapikā shrines where a single slab served as kaṭi (Plate 325).

*Tigawā, temple remains (Plates 324, 326)*

The antiquity of this site goes back to the fifth century, to which its famous Gupta temple belongs. A doorway about a century later stands to the northeast of the Gupta temple, acting as an entrance to a modern Narasiṃha shrine that utilises a Gupta image of Narasiṃha as Mūlanāyaka and many older architectural pieces including an eighth-century doorway as entrance for its sanctum. The site is strewn with the remains of c. 36 tiny shrines and a heterogeneous collection of fragments from the seventh to ninth centuries. Most were of a flat-roofed maṇḍapikā type; a few had simple Latina śikharas similar to those at Bāndhōgaḍh.

Two interesting architectural fragments of eighth-century shrines from Tigawā are illustrated here. One shows the lintel of a triśākha doorway (Plate 324) carved with patravallī on all the śākhās and with a winged garuḍa as lalāṭabimba; the other shows the ornate kaṭi of a maṇḍapikā shrine (Plate 326) adorned with three niches crowned by udgamas, with typical perforated diamond-pattern between.



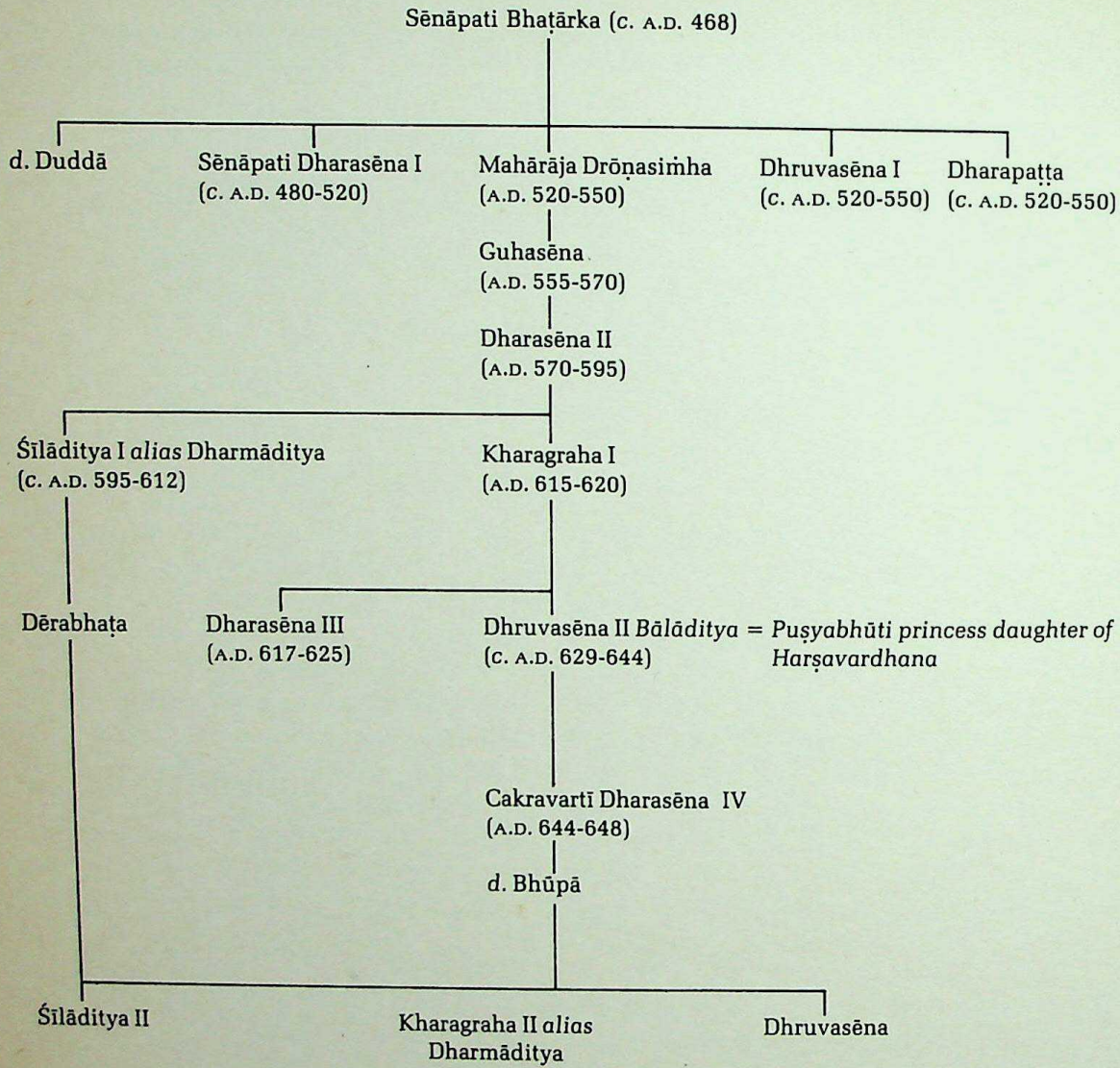
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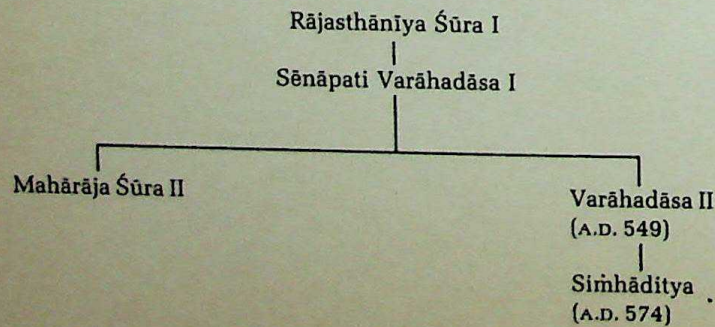


# Genealogical Table: Maitrakas of Valabhī and Gārulakas of Western Surāṣṭra

## I. Maitrakas



## II. Gārulakas





Varieties of North Indian style: Surāṣṭra style, pre-Nāgara phase, c. late sixth to late seventh century A.D.

## Maitrakas of Valabhī and Gārulakas of Western Surāṣṭra

### Historical Introduction

The dynastic appellation "Maitraka" may derive from Mitra, one of the four disciples of Lakulīśa (c. early second century A.D.). In the *Manu-Smṛti* (c. second-third century A.D.), Maitraka is used to imply a caste, the Vrātya-Vaiśyas, and in the *Vaijayantikōśa* (c. late 11th century A.D.), a priestly community conducting rituals in the Buddhist caityas. Whatever their origin, by the latter half of the fifth century A.D. the Maitrakas had established themselves as rulers at the city of Valabhī, near the eastern coast of Surāṣṭra.

Sēnāpati "Bhaṭaka" (Bhaṭārka), the first Maitraka dynast, seems to have been a Gupta general stationed in Surāṣṭra. He is said to have secured his principedom from a formidable opponent, conjectured to be Pūrṇadatta (A.D. 453), the Gupta governor at Girinagara (Junāgaḍh) under Skandagupta. H.G. Shastri has suggested that the date by which Bhaṭārka founded an independent principedom was c. A.D. 468, soon after the death of Skandagupta. J.A. Paramar, on the other hand, argues that a copper-plate charter of Guhasēna, bearing sovereign titles and dated Śaka 380/A.D. 458, is genuine and places him before Dharasēna, assuming that Bhaṭārka's rule began as early as c. A.D. 425. Such a conclusion would still need confirmation by further evidence.

Bhaṭārka's eldest son, Sēnāpati Dharasēna I, was followed by his three brothers, Drōṇasimha, Dhruvasēna I, and Dharapaṭṭa. Drōṇasimha is said to have received the title "mahārāja" from a Gupta emperor (probably Budhagupta or Vainyagupta), signifying the elevation of the Maitrakas to monarchical status; the earliest of Drōṇasimha's charters uses the Gupta Era and is dated A.D. 502. The Maitraka kings continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas for some time, calling themselves "mahāsāmanta" and using a title, "pañcamahāśabda," conventionally held by prominent vassal chieftains in ancient India.

Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I, who succeeded Drōṇasimha, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Maukhari Īśānavarmā, whose power increased in northern India as that of Yaśōdharmā-Viṣṇuvardhana declined. Between his campaigns of A.D. 534-536, however, Dhruvasēna stabilized his position. He was the only Maitraka monarch to follow the cult of Viṣṇu, calling himself Parama-Bhāgavata. He gave donations to Brahmins







and to Buddhist monastic settlements; according to Jaina tradition, the *Paryuṣaṇa-kalpa* was publicly read for the first time in his assembly in v.N. 980 or 993 to console him after the death of his son.

Dhruvasēna's brother Dharapaṭṭa, the youngest son of Sēnāpati Bhaṭārka, was old when enthroned and his rule was relatively short. He was the only Maitraka king to call himself "Parama-Āditya-bhakta," suggesting Sun worship as his personal faith.

The rise of the Maitrakas as an eminent power begins from the reign of Guhasēna (c. A.D. 555-570), son of Dharapaṭṭa, by whose time the power of the Guptas had considerably declined. While the Later Guptas and the Maukharis struggled for imperial status in North India, the Maitrakas asserted their independence in Western India. Guhasēna's successor, Dharasēna II, extended his power to Lāṭa (southern Gujarat). Dharasēna's elder son, Śīlāditya, ruled in the Sahya region of northeastern Mahārāṣṭra. Although Guhasēna was called Parama-Māhēśvara, his charter of A.D. 567 also addresses him as Paramōpāsaka, suggesting his leanings toward Buddhism.

Dharasēna II (A.D. 570-595) had to guard his kingdom against three powerful monarchs: the Maukhari Avantivarmā, the Later Gupta Mahāsēnagupta, and Prabhākaravardhana of Sthānēśvara, who had extended his power as far as Lāṭa.

Dharasēna's son Śīlāditya (c. A.D. 595-612) extended Maitraka power to western Mālava, although the Kalacuri ruler, Buddhārāja (who had been defeated by Calukya Maṅgalēśa in c. A.D. 600) shifted his political base further to the north clearly at the expense of Maitraka power, proceeding as far as Ānandapura (northern Gujarat) in A.D. 610. Śīlāditya was generous in bequeathing grants of land to Brahmins and Buddhist establishments, and one charter each to a Śiva and a Sūrya temple survive. His *alias* Dharmāditya signifies his high repute as a just, religiously oriented monarch, Hsüan Tsang praises him, and the *Arya-maṅjuśrī-mūlakalpa* (c. eighth century A.D.) calls him Dharmarāja. He founded a Buddhist vihāra in Vaṃśakaṭa and a second one near his palace in Valabhī.

Śīlāditya's son Dērabhaṭa was put in charge of the Maitrakas' Sahya possessions and his brother, Kharagraha I, began his rule from Valabhī in c. A.D. 615. In A.D. 616 he is said to have camped in Ujjayinī, probably during the conflict between Harṣavardhana of Sthānēśvara and Pulakēśi II of Vātāpī. He seems first to have taken sides with Pulakēśi, but soon after was forced to accept the suzerainty of Harṣa.

Śīlāditya I's successor, Dharasēna III (A.D. 617-625), was the elder son of Kharagraha. According to the *Ārya-maṅjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, he was notorious as a womanizer and was assassinated by his guard. He was succeeded by Dhruvasēna II *alias* Bālāditya (c. A.D. 625-643). At the beginning of his career, Dhruvasēna was defeated by Harṣa and was given protection by the Gūjara king Praśāntarāga Dadda of Nāndipura. However, he also became Harṣa's son-in-law, and attended the sixth fifth-yearly Buddhist conference held by him at Prayāga. Although he was a Śaivite ("Parama-Māhēśvara") like Harṣa, he organized Buddhist assemblies and gave generous donations.

Dhruvasēna's son, Dharasēna IV, assumed imperial titles including that of the "cakravarti," and under him Maitraka power extended to the whole of present-day Gujarat, Mālava, and the Sahya region of Mahārāṣṭra. Until A.D. 648, his inscriptions allude respectfully to Harṣavardhana as "Ajjaka" ("maternal grandfather").

Dharasēna had no son and was succeeded by Dhruvasēna III, the younger son of Dērabhaṭa, of the collateral branch then governing Vindhya-Sahyadēśa. Degradation of the glory of the Maitraka dynasty starts from his reign. He was succeeded by Kharagraha II *alias* Dharmāditya, the elder brother of Dhruvasēna, who ruled only for five years. He was succeeded by his nephew, Śīlāditya III, son of Śīlāditya II.



## Gārulakas

The Gārulaka chieftains, vassals of the Maitrakas, ruled in western Surāṣṭra; their capital possibly was Phaṁka-prasravaṇa (which, if read as Ḍhaṁka-prasravaṇa, could be Jhinhuri-jhar near Ḍhāṅk). Alternatively, it might have been at Gōp. Two charters of their rule survive.

The Gārulaka dynasty apparently began with Śūra, a “rājasthānīya” (brother-in-law?) of Sēnāpati Bhaṭārka. He was given the Bhaṭārka-vihāra at Valabhī. The Gārulaka Chieftains were called “Parama-bhāgavata,” and “Gārulaka” seems to be a variant of “Gāruḍaka,” from Garuḍa, Viṣṇu’s mount. Śūra’s son, Sēnāpati Varāhadāsa I, was succeeded by his son, Śūra II. Śūra’s brother, Varāhadāsa II, the next chief, granted land to a Buddhist nunnery in Valabhī in A.D. 549; the land itself was located in a town that had been a gift from the Maitraka sovereign, Dhruvasēna, I, to the Gārulaka ruler.

Varāhadāsa, who had conquered Dvārkā, had assumed the title “Dvārakādhipati” and founded many temples. His successor, Simhāditya, bequeathed land to a Brahmin in A.D. 574. No other information on this dynasty is available, though Simhāditya’s rule may have continued after A.D. 574, and Gārulaka rule may have continued as late as the end of the seventh century A.D.

With the exception of Kaṣār and Prabhāsa, temples of the Maitraka period fall in areas which incidentally had been within the domain of the Gārulakas. Only near the middle of the eighth century do the Saindhavas appear as rulers in the same territory. Though many of the early buildings in western Surāṣṭra may have been creations under the direct patronage of the Gārulakas, not the Maitrakas, this has little stylistic implication; the Kaṣār temple, located in Valabhī territory, for example, shares the same style as that found in Gārulaka territory. If lower western Surāṣṭra is accepted as having been under Gārulaka, not direct Maitraka rule, Varāhadāsa’s claim, in A.D. 549, that he had founded many temples would suggest that we might reconsider the date of the stylistically earliest structures in western Surāṣṭra previously placed between c. A.D. 575-650. However, none of these buildings bear inscriptions nor is the chronology of parallel developments in Central India and Kaṣṇāṭadēśa quite certain; most of the Surāṣṭra buildings are quite austere, weatherworn, and the chronological discussion presented here must therefore remain somewhat tentative.

Śaivism was the predominant religion of the population in this period, a very large number of the extant temples of the Maitraka period were dedicated to Śiva, and Gujarat in fact had even earlier Śaivite establishments; the celebrated temple of Sōmānātha at Prabhāsa probably was founded at the beginning of the Christian Era by Sōma Śarmā, a Śaivite patriarch who flourished before Lakulīśa. Lakulīśa (c. first half of the second century A.D.), the patriarch of Pāśupata Śaivism, was born at Kāyāvarōhaṇa or Kāyāvatāra (Kārvaṇ, near Vaḍōdarā) in southern Gujarat. Some of the Kṣatrapa kings (c. second-fourth centuries A.D.) seem to have been worshippers of Rudra and Mahāsēna (Skanda) and the fourth-fifth century A.D. rock-cut caves at Maṇḍōr, on the Hiranya river near Prabhāsa, seem Śaivite.

Of 16 Maitraka monarchs, 13 were called “Parama-Māhēśvara” in their copper-plate charters, and their seals bear the figure of Nandi. Of the very large number of copper-plate charters issued by the Maitraka kings, however, only one was directly granted to a Śiva temple; it was issued by Śilāditya-Dharmāditya in A.D. 609 to a Śiva temple founded by Harinātha in a village called Vaṭapadra in Surāṣṭra. A copper-plate inscription of Dhruvasēna II refers to Bhartriśvara-taṭāka in the Kōṇaka-pathaka of Khēṭaka-āhāra, which implies the existence of a Śaivite temple. In modern shrines in Valabhī, at least six ancient liṅgas and Nandis brought from the old ruins of the city



exist; one liṅga is 6 ft. 3 in. high; the corresponding Nandi measures 6 by 4 ft. From these, it can be inferred that several Śaiva temples of Maitraka times or even earlier existed in Valabhī.

Śakti worship was also fairly prevalent in Gujarat in Maitraka times. At the beginning of the sixth century, Drōṇasimha gave grants to temples of Kōṭṭammahikā (Mahi-śamardini) and Pāṇḍurāryā (Kṣēmāryā or Ambikā-Kṣēmaṅkarī) in Trisaṅgamaka village situated in Hastavapura-āhāraṇī that were renewed by Dhruvasēna-Bālāditya in A.D. 639 and the *Padmapurāṇa* (c. seventh-eighth century A.D.) refers to Śvabhradēśa (probably the area between the Sābarmatī and Mahī rivers) as the tīrtha of Pāṇḍurāryā. (The worship of Kṣēmaṅkarī and the building of her temples continued until the early 11th century in Gujarat and the adjoining tracts of Rajasthan.) A copper-plate grant of Dhruvasēna II refers to "Dēvī-kṣētra" in Vaṭapallikā-sthalī in Surāṣṭra, implying the existence of a goddess temple there in the early seventh century; a charter by Dhruvasēna III refers to a temple of Śaṅkarikā at Siravāṭanaka-sthalī in Surāṣṭra.

One of Śilāditya III's charters (A.D. 675) mentions a "mātrsthāna-kṣētra" in Madasara-sthalī, and a much worn set of Saptamātrkās at Bilēśvara, Mātrkā temples at Śrinagar, Bōricā, and Pātā, and mātrkā figures of the seventh and eighth centuries from northern Gujarat attest also to the popularity of the Saptamātrkās.

Evidence for Bhāgavata (Vaiṣṇava) worship in Gujarat is available from the late fourth or early fifth century A.D. A few early heads of Vāsudēva are available from several sites; the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta (A.D. 455) records that the local governor had built a temple to Cakrabhṛt (Viṣṇu) in the Girinagara environs. Only one Maitraka ruler, Dhruvasēna I, called himself "Parama-Bhāgavata," but the Gārulaka vassal chieftains also used the same epithet. No grant to a Bhāgavata temple has yet come to light from this period, but images of Kēśiniśūdana in Valabhī, Viṣṇu in Gōp (sixth century), Balarāma and Viṣṇu in Dhāṅk, Viśvarūpa from Kaṭhalāl, Viṣṇu from Ghumli (seventh century), and the survival of a Daśāvatāra temple at Kadvār and Vaiṣṇava temples in the Sōnkansārī group at Ghumli and Piṇḍārā (both of the seventh century A.D.) attest to the flourishing state of the Bhāgavata cult. (Although the oldest surviving parts of the famous Dvārakādhīśa temple at Dvārakā date from the 12th century, one of the preceding structures may have belonged to the Maitraka period.)

The cult of Āditya, the Sun god, also was represented in the Maitraka period. Only one Maitraka king, Dharapaṭṭa, called himself "Parama-Āditya-bhakta," but temples sacred to Sūrya were built in a number of places in Maitraka times. A temple to the Sun in Bhadrēṇiyaka is recorded by a grant of Śilāditya I in A.D. 611. Another grant refers to a vāpī connected to a Sun temple at Vaṭapadra in Surāṣṭra. Sun temples at Kindarkhēḍā, Pasnāvaḍā, etc. and images from Māṅgrōl and other sites attest to the Sun cult in early Maitraka times. A temple of the Sun ("Bakulāditya") also existed at Mōḍhērā, probably at the same place as the present medieval temple, founded in the late sixth or early seventh century A.D. Mōḍhērā had earned the name "Bhagvadgrāma" from the seventh century onward because of its famous temple.

Buddhism in Gujarat begins several centuries prior to the beginning of Maitraka rule. A number of caves, stūpas, and monastic remains in Surāṣṭra and northern Gujarat, plus literary and inscriptional references, attest to the importance of Buddhism from the first century B.C. through the Kṣatrapa and subsequent periods.

Hsüan Tsang refers to the founding of a Mahāvihāra near Valabhī by Arhat Acala in which lived Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati, disciple of Ārya Asaṅga (founder of the Yōgācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism) and Ācārya Bhadanta Guṇamati, disciple of



Asaṅga's younger brother, the famous dialectician and epistemologist Vasubandhu.

In the vicinity of Valabhī, Bhadanta Buddhādāsa founded a vihāra which, in early Maitraka times, received a donation of a village from Dhruvasēna I in A.D. 536. Close to this vihāra, Ācārya Sthiramati founded a vihāra known in Maitraka times as Bappāpādīya-vihāra, to which Dharasēna II gave two villages in A.D. 588 and Śīlāditya III one village in A.D. 662.

Several new vihāras were built close to these ancient foundations in Maitraka times. Foremost among these were the Bhaṭārka-vihāra (probably founded by Sēnāpati Bhaṭārka himself) and the Duddā-vihāra founded by Duddā, the niece of Dharasēna I, to which Dharasēna gave a grant in A.D. 534 and Guhasēna gave grants in A.D. 559 and 564, Śīlāditya I in A.D. 605, Dhruvasēna III between A.D. 650 and 655, and Śīlāditya III between A.D. 666 and 685.

A venerable lady, Mimmā, founded the Ābhyantarikā-vihāra, close to the Bhaṭārka-vihāra, to which Guhasēna gave a grant in A.D. 567 and Śīlāditya III in A.D. 675. The tradesman Kakka Māṅkila founded a vihāra situated in the Duddā-vihāra maṇḍala to which Dharasēna II granted a village in A.D. 589; another citizen, Gōhaka, had a vihāra built to which Dhruvasēna II granted a village in A.D. 629. Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta of Kakkurāṇaka established a vihāra near Sthiramati's vihāra, to which Śīlāditya III granted villages in A.D. 662 and 675.

These establishments were meant for the monks, but a group of vihāras for nuns eventually also came into existence. Śīlāditya-Dharmāditya granted villages to the Yakṣasūra-vihāra in A.D. 606 and 609. Within its precincts, a second vihāra was founded by Pūrṇabhaṭṭā (a relation of the chieftain Kakkuka) to which Dhruvasēna-Bālāditya granted a village in A.D. 638. A tradesman, Ajita, also founded a vihāra, to which the Gārulaka chieftain Varāhadāsa II granted a village in A.D. 549.

A bhikṣu-vihāra was founded in Vamśakaṭa by Śīlāditya-Dharmāditya himself. To this he gave two separate grants of villages, one in A.D. 604. (Hsüan Tsang records that this Śīlāditya also built a vihāra near his palace in Valabhī.)

Another vihāra, founded by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa in Yōdhāvaka, a village not far from Valabhī, to which Dharasēna gave the village in A.D. 644, was specifically meant for Mahāyāna Buddhists. Skandabhaṭa is said to have excavated a reservoir for the vihāra. In late Maitraka times, the immigrant Saindhava chieftain, Ahivarmā II, gave a grant to a Buddhist nunnery at Kubēranagara in c. A.D. 723.

The Buddhist vihāras near Valabhī became centres of great learning to which students came, as to the great university at Nālandā in Magadha. Only Arab invasions destroyed this great Buddhist university, along with the city of Valabhī, in A.D. 788. Buddhism started declining in Gujarat from the later part of the seventh century, however, and no grant to a Buddhist monastery survives from any of the last four Maitraka kings. Both Brahmanism and Jainism gained strength in this period, though both also suffered from the devastating Arab invasions.

Jainism may have flourished in Surāṣṭra from as early as the third century B.C.; the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanēmi, Kṛṣṇa's distant cousin, was associated with Mt. Urjayanta (Girnar) in Surāṣṭra; Jaina caves were excavated in Junāgaḍh in the second century A.D.; and a century before the dawning of the Maitraka dynasty, a synod for the redaction of the Jaina āgamas had been convoked in Valabhī under Ārya Nāgārjuna (c. mid-fourth century A.D.). A second Valabhī synod was presided over by Dēvarddhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa in c. A.D. 503/516 in the time of the Maitraka monarch Drōṇasimha I.

The Maitraka period produced several Jaina celebrities and important religious works were written in this region. Jaina pontiffs, however, did not accept grants from



any person, and no grants pertaining to Jaina temples within the Maitraka kingdom have come to light. The Jaina caves at Ḍhāṅk belong to the early Maitraka period and may be dated to the latter half of the sixth century A.D.; a colophone of the *Viśeṣ-Āvaśyaka-bhāṣya* dated A.D. 610 proclaims its dedication in a Jaina temple in Valabhī; medieval Jaina notices refer to the transfer of Jina images to safer places at the time of the sack of Valabhī in A.D. 788. Among extant temples of the Maitraka period, no Jaina temple is traceable.

### Architectural Features

Buildings of the Maitraka period mostly are structural temples. A small group of Jaina cave-temples is available at Ḍhāṅk; one Śaiva monastic building survives at Khimēśvara, a small, unpretentious kuṇḍa at Bhāṇasarā, and two vāpīs at Ḍhāṅk.

Temples are either nirandhāra or sāndhāra; the garbhagrha is a plain cubical cell. Jagatī is a rare feature (Gōp, Sōnkansārī no. 1, Ghumli). Sāndhāra buildings are laid either on a square plan (Gōp, Bilēśvara, Khimēśvara no. 2) or more frequently on a rectangular plan; the exterior walls form an ambulatory around the garbhagrha and also extend to surround a hall in front of it. In a few instances, the rectangle is broken into squares of unequal size, the smaller square encompassing the garbhagrha (Baḷē, Bhāṇasarā no. 1, etc.). Saptamātrkā shrines are small, rectangular, and generally without a porch (Bōricā, Pātā); that at Khimēśvara, however, has a sort of gūḍhamāṇḍapa. With the exception of the Khimēśvara example, which has a Valabhī roof, all are muṇḍamāla (flat-roofed) and face north. Temples of Sūrya and Śiva face east, though a few instances of Śiva temples that face west are known.

The pīṭha as well as jagatī (present at Gōp) is moulded, sometimes carrying dentil decoration in the upper part; types are somewhat reminiscent of Deccani cave-parallels of the sixth and seventh century A.D. Gōp shows some connections with Central India. The technical terminology in use in the Maitraka period is not known, but characteristic mouldings of this period can, in part, be adequately described by adopting terms from Drāviḍa usage.

The exterior walls of sāndhāra temples customarily are plain. Small jālas rarely are inserted (Khimēśvara no. 1, Pasnāvaḍā Sūrya temple). Niches (occasionally bha-drāvalōkanas, as at Sōnkansārī no. 1) do not project. Pilasters either on the exterior (Bilēśvara) or on the inside of the garbhagrha (Khimēśvara nos. 1 and 2) are rare.

The wall is topped by a paṭṭikā, often bearing rafter-ends, rarely petals; sometimes a second paṭṭikā occurs, a kapōta, or a cyma (generally without padma carving).

The maṇḍapa usually contains a central four Rucaka pillars with corresponding engaged columns; in smaller halls there are two columns or sometimes only pilasters. With few exceptions, these are without carving. The moulded bases and capitals are usually left uncarved; the doorframe of the garbhagrha, with few exceptions, is unadorned. The few instances of carved śākhās show padma, puṣpa or mālā, ratna, and stambha. The exterior front wall of the maṇḍapa is generally blank; only Khimēśvara no. 5 has niches flanking the doorway. Only the Kadvār temple maṇḍapa-interior and the Khimēśvara no. 5 (exterior, front) have niches; Khimēśvara temple no. 6 has large sūrasēnas flanking the garbha-door. The two vāpīs in Ḍhāṅk also have ornamented niches on the walls.

A few sāndhāra temples have a mukhamāṇḍapa, of which the dwarf pillars and the pilasters are usually plain.

The prāsāda's superstructure either takes a pre-Nāgara (Vimāna) or Kūṭa



(Phāṁsanā) form; a single instance of Valabhī (Khimēśvara temple no. 6) is known. The pre-Nāgara type shows bhūmis with gavākṣas on the faces of tiers that generally progressively contract in width, the number of gavākṣa-dormers decreasing. The bhūmis (talas) may or may not have karṇakūṭas. The uppermost bhūmi is usually topped by a skandha or vēdī-slab crowned by āmalaka or āmalasāraka, cūlā, or sometimes both forms in successive order. Between the talas, a short demarcating kaṇṭha usually intervenes; this carries a thin paṭṭikā, sometimes showing dentils.

The Kūṭa (Phāṁsanā) form is composed by piling tiers (bhūmis) of progressively diminishing width. The tiers either represent pent-roof, kapōta (roll-eave), or kapōta-pālikā (cyma-cornice). Though kapōta continues in Drāviḍa architecture, and is found on early Gupta temples, it is replaced in Nāgara architecture almost entirely by kapōta-pālikā. The tiers may, but often do not, show a row of gavākṣas. The Phāṁsanā, or Kūṭa form also is crowned by an āmalaka, āmalasāraka, or a cūlā (which not infrequently is combined with āmalaka).

The maṇḍapa is usually flat. In a few cases, a superstructure is provided, following the form of the prāsāda-superstructure, but one or two tiers less, organically connected with it, with no śukanāsa. Where some semblance of a śukanāsa is present (Bilēśvara, Ghumli, Sōnkansārī no. 1), it is shallow, as in early Kālīṅga temples.

There are no carved ceilings in the interior. Instead, a very primitive method of covering, following timber fashion, is employed, alternating thick, long joists and slabs. These log-like joists slope downward from the central nave to cover the side aisles and from the garbhagṛha to cover an enclosed ambulatory path.

Some interesting experimental superstructural forms survive in Surāṣṭra in this period that are nowhere else preserved in North India, but the style on the whole is so severe, its décor so limited, that these temples hardly can compare with the great contemporaneous creations in Kālīṅga, Karṇāṭa, and Damiḷadēśa.

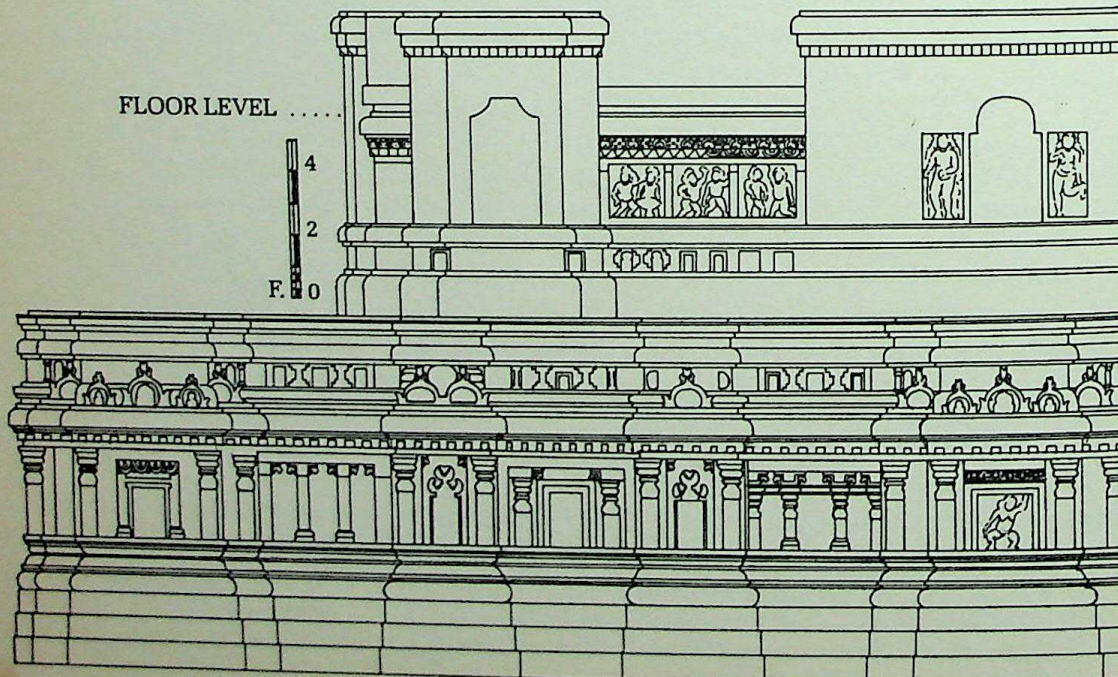


Fig. 69. Gōp. Old temple, jagatī and pīṭha. (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)



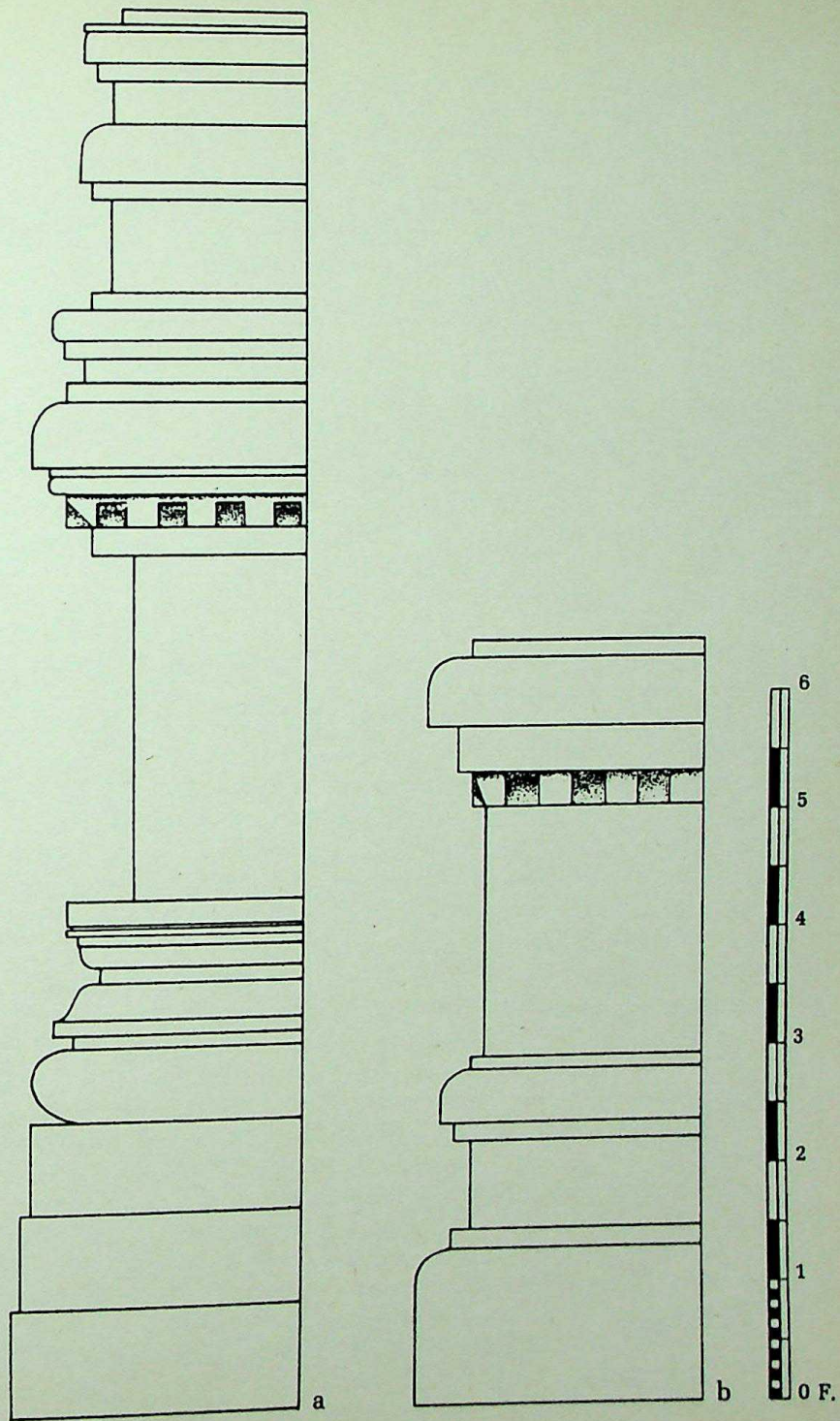
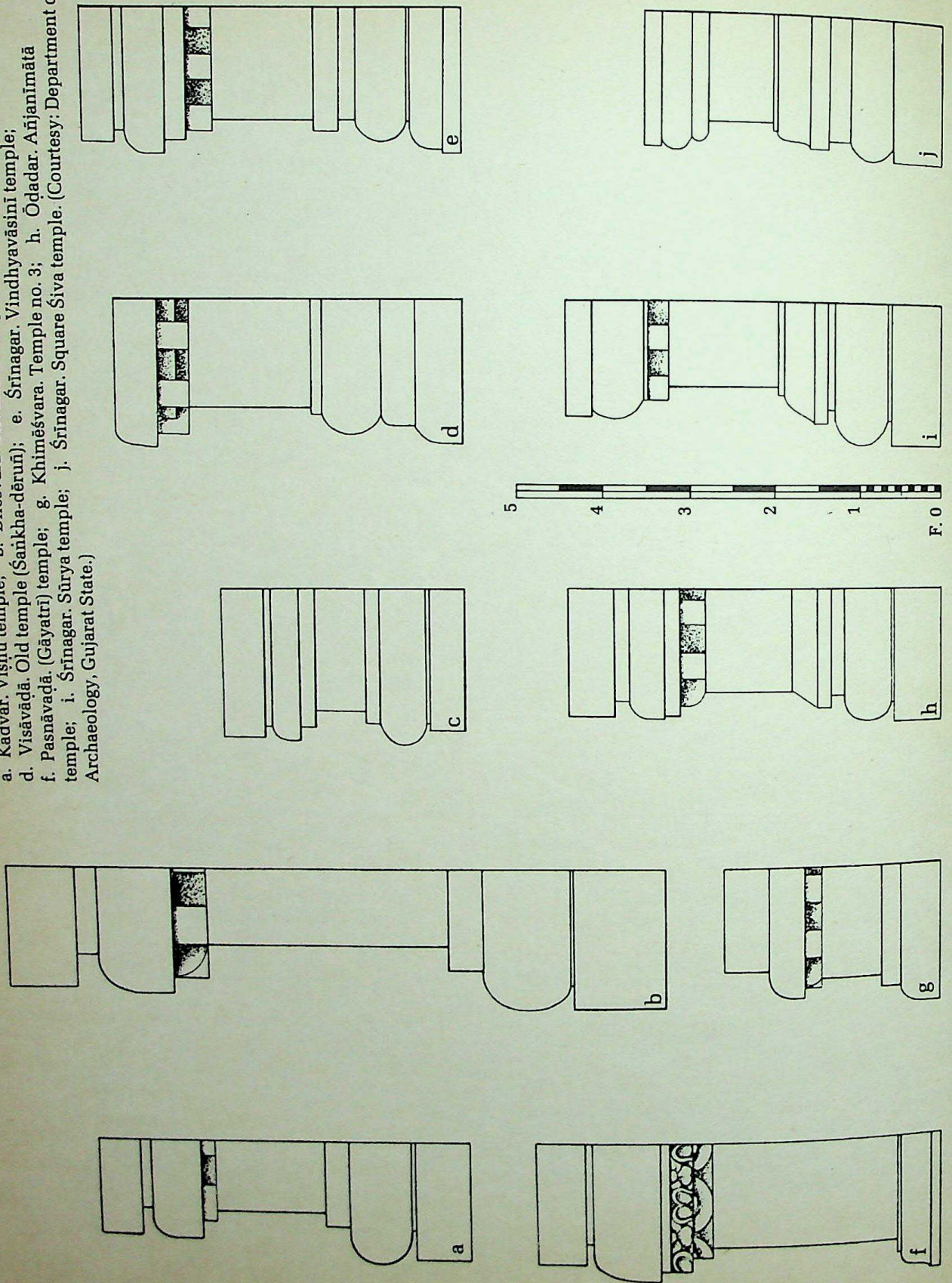


Fig. 70. Gōp. Old temple, mouldings: a. jagatī; b. pīṭha. (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)



Fig. 71. **Maitraka temple pīṭhas:**  
 a. Kadvár. Viṣṇu temple; b. Bilēśvara. Bilvanātha temple; c. Bhāṇasārā. Temple no. 1;  
 d. Visāvāḍā. Old temple (Śaṅkha-dēruñ); e. Śrīnagar. Vindhyavāsīnī temple;  
 f. Pasnāvāḍā. (Gāyatrī) temple; g. Khimēśvara. Temple no. 3; h. Ōḍadar. Añjanīmātā  
 temple; i. Śrīnagar. Sūrya temple; j. Śrīnagar. Square Śiva temple. (Courtesy: Department of  
 Archaeology, Gujarat State.)





Gōp, old temple (Figs. 69-70, 75; Plates 328-333)

"Jhiṇā-vārī Gōp" is an old village situated c. nine miles northeast of Bhāṇvaḍ and four miles east of the present village of Gōp. The old Gōp could possibly have been the hitherto unidentified Phamka-prasravaṇa, capital of the Gārulakas, though the reading may rather be Dhaṅka-prasravaṇa, Dhāṅk being an ancient town that equally can advance a claim as the Gārulaka capital. (The conquest by Varāhadāsa II of Dvārakā could have been effected from either Gōp or Dhāṅk.)

The square sāndhāra temple at Gōp stands on a moulded, much ruined jagatī 11 ft. 7 in. high and 63 ft. 4 in. square. On the east is an extension for a flight of steps together with a low platform (Fig. 75). The outer ambulatory is about 6 ft. 7 in. wide, the sāndhāra temple about 41.5 ft. square. The outer walls had collapsed exposing the interior garbhagṛha (Plate 328).

The jagatī shows projecting bays, larger at karna and bhadra, with broad recesses between (Figs. 69-70). Its mouldings show triple bhiṭṭa, kumuda, kapōtapālikā (without an intervening antarapaṭṭa), ūrdhva-padma (reversed cippikā), and auxiliary karṇa or kampa mouldings. The kandhara (kaṇṭha) shows niches and pilasters that seem to simulate cross sections of a garbhagṛha and mukhamāṇḍapa on the bays and antarāla and maṇḍapa in the recesses. The prastara above the kandhara is followed by varaṇḍikā (prahāra) with hall or door cross-sections in the kaṇṭha-recess. There were figure-sculptures in the kandhara-niches, most of which are lost or badly eroded (a few seem to be gaṇa-figures).

The form of the jagatī (Fig. 69) is somewhat reminiscent of the "Gupta" temple at Dēvgaḍh (c. A.D. 525) in Central India, but the kandhara pilasters with laṣuna and the prastara's kapōta derive from Vākāṭaka rather than Gupta prototypes.

The pīṭha of the temple itself is also moulded (Fig. 70b; Plate 330). Bhadras and karṇas had deep khattaka-niches, their images mostly lost except for a worn figure of Viṣṇu on the northern extremity of the southern side, two pratihāra figures (with differing jaṭāmukutaṣ) flanking an empty niche on the west (in which Śiva would have stood), and a figure of Sūrya on the north karṇa of the west wall. The tops of these niches extended up onto the wall proper. The kandhara-friezes show frolicking gaṇa (pramatha) figures (Plate 331) somewhat reminiscent of bhūta figures found in similar situations on the Calukya caves (c. A.D. 578-610) and the Upper Śivālaya temple (c. A.D. 625) in Bādāmi. Stylistically, however, they look more like debased versions of Vākāṭaka gaṇas. A couple of figures may represent Skanda (Plate 331).

The wall (c. 2-2.5 ft. thick) left a wide pradakṣiṇāpatha around the garbhagṛha, the walls of which are stark, rising c. 17 ft. Near the upper extremity are large holes for beams, with smaller holes between for joists (Plate 328), signifying the presence of a probably wooden roof covering the ambulatory.

At the upper extremity of the walls, a pair of thin paṭṭikās and a kaṇṭha with simulated rafters' ends occur. The superstructure above consists of two large pent-roof-tiers with strongly projecting gavākṣa-dormers, two on each face of the lower and one on each face of the upper tier; a kaṇṭha with dentils separates the tiers.

The ample mukhapattīs of the lower gavākṣas show rosettes and crescent-and-star decoration; inside the gāḍhas were originally small grāsamukhas (not preserved in all cases). The gāḍhas on the upper tier contained seated divinities, of which only Gaṇēśa (W) and Umā (perhaps Skanda-mātā?) (N; Plate 332) are still in position. Crowning the superstructure and separated from the second tier by a grīvā is a faceted cūlā in a form hinted at by temple-models on the lintels of doorframes in Deccani caves.



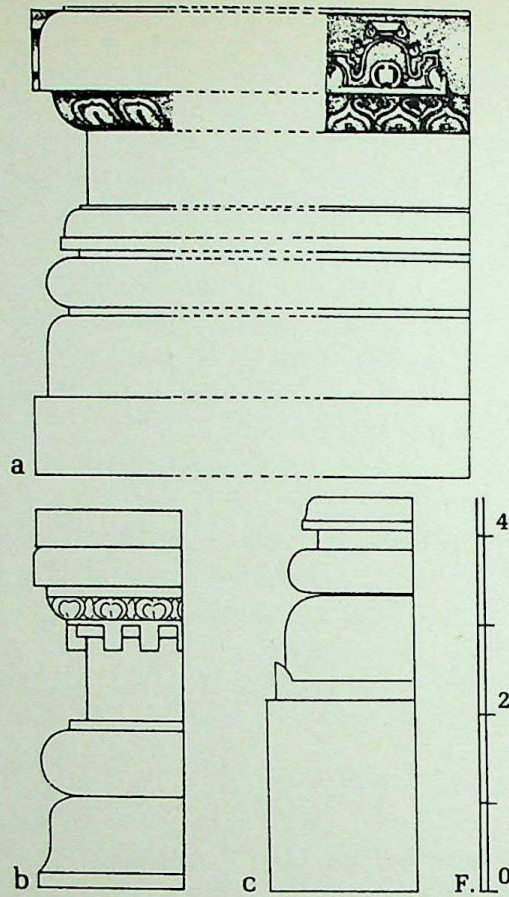


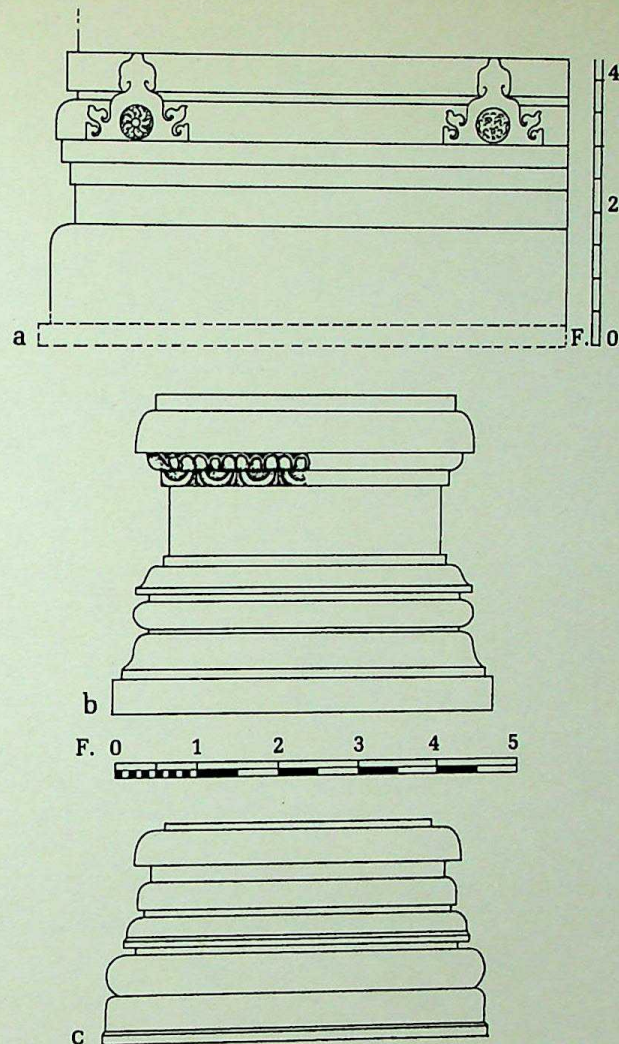
Fig. 72. Pīthas and vēdibandhas:

- a. Ghumli. Sōnkansārī temple no. 1, exterior wall, vēdibandha;
  - b. Junī Dhrēvaḍ. Kālikāmātā temple, pītha;
  - c. Jhamrā. Sun temple, garbhagrha (inner cell), vēdibandha.
- (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)

The nature of the garbhagrha doorframe cannot be ascertained. A paṭṭikā and a kapōta with three gavākṣas (alpanāsīs) are still in position. Inside the garbhagrha, images of Viṣṇu and Skanda survive, which, though cult images, did not originally belong to this temple. Access to the temple was by means of a large low platform on the east, the front of which had a mattavāraṇa-enclosure with seats for devotees. The rear of the platform had a stairway with opposed flights of steps meeting at a common landing, from which a second stair led to the top of the jagatī. This stairway has disappeared, but the mouldings that survive (Plate 329) are similar to those of the jagatī (Fig. 69). Small moonstones leading to the steps and two larger ones leading to the mattavāraṇa-platform were discovered during clearance (Fig. 75).

The dedication of this temple poses no problem. While gaṇa figures can be present in a Bhāgavata context, the presence of Gaṇēśa, Umā, and Śaivite pratihāras attending the important back niche of the pītha, as well as the existence of a liṅga now lying some distance east of the temple, would seem securely to make the temple Śaiva. (An earlier wrong identification of the Sūrya image in the northwest corner as Rāma led to the conjecture that the daśāvatāras along with Viṣṇu filled these 11 niches.)



Fig. 73. **Pithas:**

- a. Ḍērvāv. Old temple (Courtesy: Vora); b. Khimēśvara. Temple no. 1, Nandī-pīṭhikā;  
c. Khimēśvara. Temple no. 3, Nandī-pīṭhikā. (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)

Estimates of Gōp's date have ranged from the fifth to the seventh century (Sankalia; Barrett). Nanavati and Dhaky had first suggested the last quarter of the sixth century, but recent work on the chronology of Vākātaka caves by Spink would suggest that the Vākātaka and Maurya-Kalacuri features at Gōp (particularly gaṇa, laśuna, and cūlikā forms) would warrant a date for the Gōp temple between c. A.D. 525-550. The claim of Gārulaka Varāhadāsa II in A.D. 549 that he had built many temples ("anēka-dēvakula") cannot be overlooked; the Gōp temple, in particular, vis-à-vis many other buildings of the Maitraka period in Surāṣṭra, impresses one in its scale and general pretensions as a royal foundation.

A slab in the temple's cella bears a few as yet undeciphered letters in ornamental Brahmī script not later than A.D. 600 (Plate 333), but their bearing on the temple is not clear.



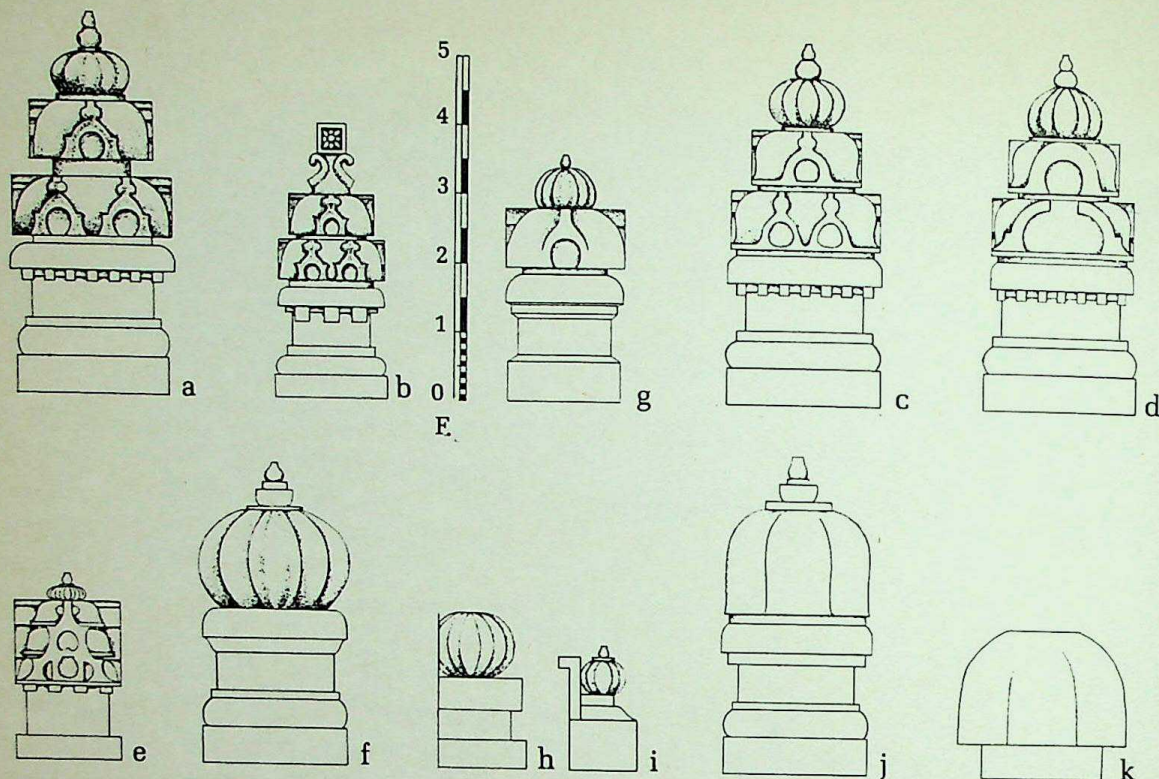


Fig. 74. **Karnakūṭas and mūlakūṭa:**

a. Bilēśvara. Bilvanātha, vimāna, first tala; b. Khimēśvara. Temple no. 1; c. Bilēśvara. Bilvanātha, vimāna, second tala; d. Bilēśvara. Bilvanātha, vimāna, third tala; e. Ghumli. Sōnkansārī temple no. 1, first tala; f. Bilēśvara. Bilvanātha, vimāna, fourth tala; g. Bhāṇasarā. Temple no. 3, first tala; h. Piṇḍārā. Old temple, second tala; i. Bhāṇasarā. Temple no. 1, first tala; j. Bilēśvara. Bilvanātha, fifth tala; k. Bhāṇasarā. Temple no. 5, superstructure, mūlakūṭa. (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)

#### Kadvār, Daśāvatāra temple (Fig. 71a; Plates 334-339)

The so-called Varāha temple at Kadvār, a sea-side village located some seven miles southeast of Prabhāsa, probably was a Daśāvatāra temple, as suggested by the rectangular plan of its mūlaprāsāda.

The prāsāda is sāndhāra, with a square gūḍhamaṇḍapa and an unusual mukhamaṇḍapa (Plate 334); the featureless outer wall is provided only with ventilating holes for the pradakṣiṇāpatha.

The jagatī is short and featureless (Plate 336); the pīṭha is not elaborate (Fig. 71a; Plate 336) though all its mouldings were also used at Gōp. The pradakṣiṇā is covered by a two-tiered Phāṁsanā-roof with gavākṣa-dormers partly covered up by restorers (Plate 335). The superstructure of the garbhagṛha is lost.

The simple entrance on the east preserves one Rucaka pillar with a plain shaft and a bold grāsamukha at the top (Plate 335). The space between this pillar and the avalōkanaka of the mukhamaṇḍapa is filled by heavy Puṣpakhaṇḍa jālaka (Plates 335, 338). Dwarf square pillars around the mukhamaṇḍapa rest on a short, unadorned, archaic vḍikā (Plate 336). Slabs set between these pillars are relieved by square perforations with large pearled rondels surrounding full-blown lotuses (Plate 339). In the kaṇṭha above the lintel of the mukhamaṇḍapa are dentils, as at Gōp, which must have run all along the temple, though now concealed under heavy plaster. A few fragments of the



original *daṇḍacchādyā* are still intact (Plate 335). The *gavākṣa* over the entrance (Plate 335) may have held an image of the tutelary deity.

The interior of the hall shows four, plain, *Rucaka* pillars; added props have been inserted between the pillars on the north and south (Plate 337). At the centre of the north and south walls are empty *khattaka*-niches topped by a three-level *Phāṃsanā* with *śūrasēna* on the front (Plate 337). The pilasters at the entrance show *kumāra*-capitals.

The method of interior roofing, missing at *Gōp*, is quite clear here, in both the *mukhamaṇḍapa* and *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. Stone beams and joists were used in place of timber, covered over by stone slabs; over the aisles, these slope toward the outer wall (Plate 337).

The *garbhagrha* has a partially decorated doorframe showing an inner *ratnaśākhā* with slender figures of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* at the bottom, a plain *stambhaśākhā* with rounded and strongly curved *laṣunaka* topped by plain *tāṭikā* and *bharaṇa*, a completely plain *śākhā*, a quarter round *padmaśākhā*, and an uncarved *bāhyaśākhā*. The *uttaraṅga* bears five *kūṭākāra*-niches sheltering *Āditya* (*Sūrya*), *Virañci*, *Viṣṇu*, *Śaṅkara*, and *Candra*; *Viṣṇu* appears at the *lalāṭa*, with *Gaṇēśa* above him in the centre of the *saubhāgyapaṭṭa*.

The *garbhagrha* walls are featureless. Inside the *garbhagrha*, near the northern wall, is an original image of *Varāha*, still under worship; it now is enframed by a *parikara* of the 11th century A.D. Fragments of an older *parikara*, of early *Maitraka* times, showing *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu* on its jambs, are cemented to the *mukhamaṇḍapa* pillars but were intended for a larger image than the surviving *Varāha*.

The form of the temple's *Phāṃsanā*-tiers, the size and form of the decorative dormers, the *Varāha* and the *kumāra* figures, *jāla* patterns, *pīṭha*, and doorway decoration would warrant a date for this temple a few decades later than *Gōp*, c. A.D. 575-600.

*Bilēśvara, Bilvanātha temple* (Figs. 71b, 74a, c-d, f, j, 76; Plates 340-345)

The hamlet of *Bilēśvara* is located 16 miles northeast of *Porbandar* on a plateau within the *Baraḍā* hills; the temple is placed near the west bank of the *Bilvagaṅgā* river, which flows through a deep gorge.

The temple is *sāndhāra*, almost-square, with a wide *pradakṣiṇā* around the *garbhagrha*, its walls relieved by pilasters having composite shafts (Fig. 76). The exterior wall is punctuated by engaged *Mīśraka* pillars (Fig. 76; Plates 342, 344) which have *āmalakas* set below the block of their roll-capitals. The east façade now shows a pair of balconied rooms provided in the 17th century (Plate 340).

The *pīṭha* exactly resembles that at *Kadvār* (Fig. 71a-b), but with proportions one and a half times that of the *Varāha* temple. The architrave of the wall is topped by a row of dentils and a *kapōta* (Plate 344). The wall above might be ancient to the *paṭṭikā* course, but the final 2 ft. seems the work of later renovators.

There is no regular *maṇḍapa*, but the *garbhagrha*, pulled toward the west, leaves some room for assembly at its front. The ambulatory is covered by timber construction. The *garbhagrha* contains a huge, amorphous, partly mutilated "svayambhū" *liṅga* supported on the living rock. The main doorways are now covered over by tiles.

The *garbhagrha* is 22 ft. high inside; it supports a lofty superstructure of six *talas* that carry *gavākṣa*-dormers on their faces in the order of 7, 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1. Each *tala* is supported by *kaṇṭha-paṭṭī*, a course of dentils, and a minor *kapōta*. A larger variety of *karṇakūṭas* is used here than elsewhere in *Surāṣṭra*: those for the first three *talas* reflect a usual "vimāna" or "kūṭa" form (Fig. 74a, c, d; Plates 341-342); the fourth *tala* replaces



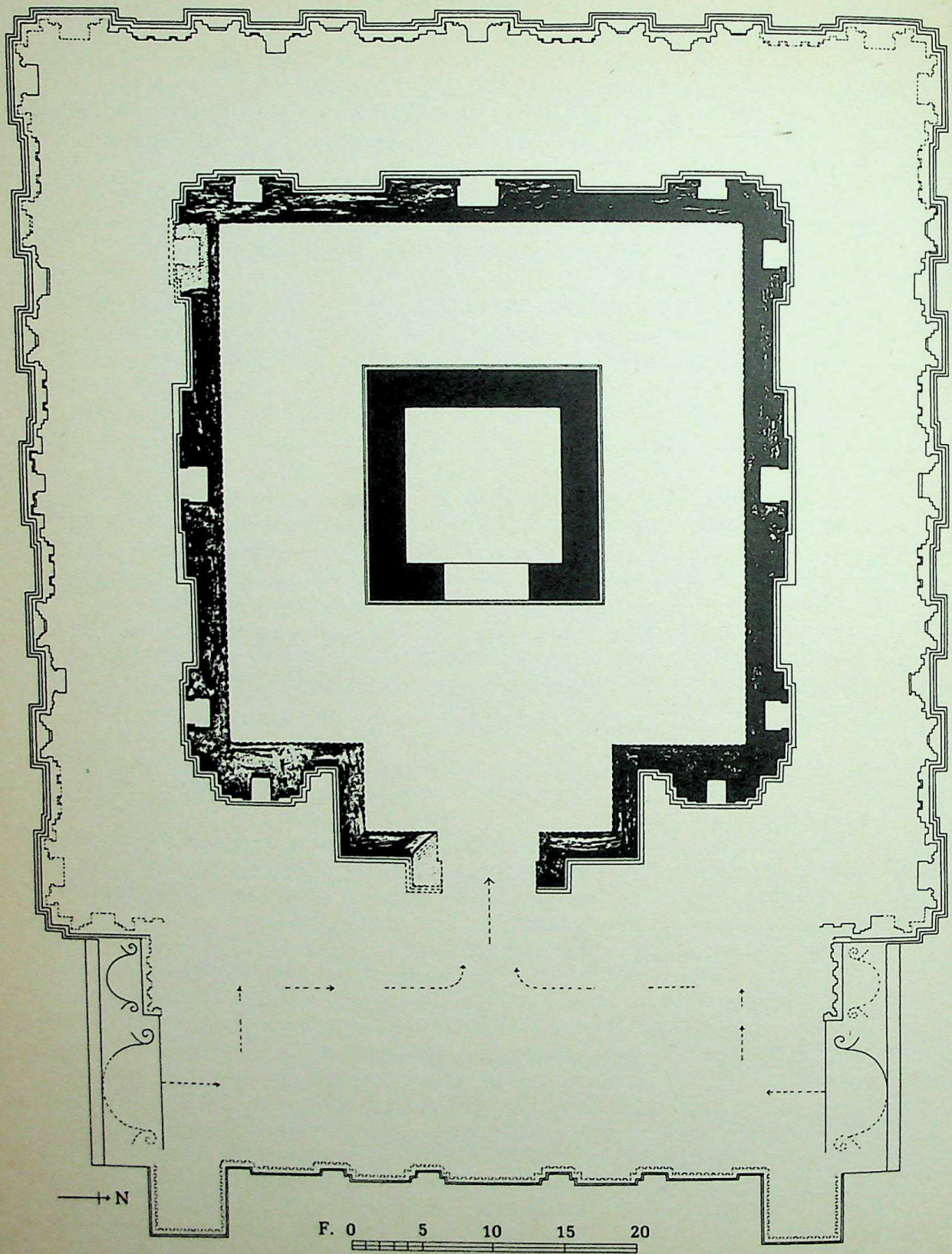


Fig. 75. Gōp. Old temple, plan. (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)



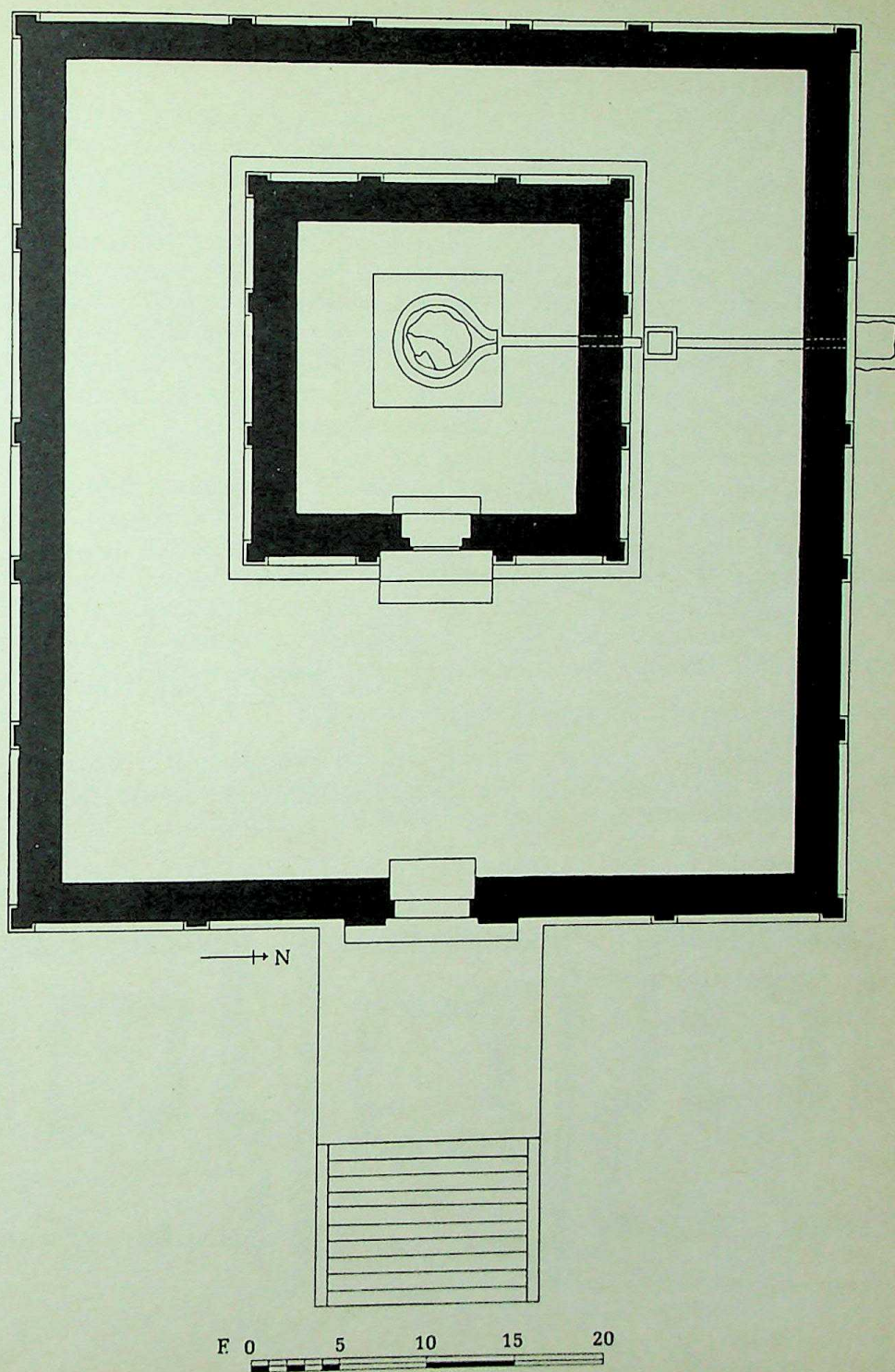


Fig. 76. Bilēśvara. Bilvanātha temple, plan. (After Cousens.)



the kūṭa-rooflets with octagonal Drāviḍa-like “śikhara” (Fig. 74f); the circular kūṭas of the fifth tala are crowned by āmalakas (Fig. 74j); the last tier has four ghaṇṭās or cūlikās on the corners and a central āmalasārikā surmounted by a kalaśa that may not be original.

The front of the superstructure has a slightly projecting śukanāsa (Plates 341, 345); the rectangular panel at the front shows a pair of miniature pilasters (Plate 345) that are reminiscent of Maurya cave-pillars. The large gavākṣa above is flanked by vṛttasphuṭitas crowned by bold āmalakas (Plate 345).

This impressive building relates to a whole group of pre-Nāgara temples in Surāṣṭra, its superstructure distinctively different from that of the Gōp temple. An earlier analogue in a different style might be the shrine-models carved on the doorframe of the “Gupta” temple at Dēvgaḍh (c. A.D. 525). The clearly demarcated storeys, independent karnakūṭas and gavākṣas that show no suggestion of integration into jāla or karnāṇḍakas, and the heaviness of the āmalaka itself suggest that the temple represents, if not a stage in the mainstream of Nāgara formal development, at least one of the experiments that preceded the emergence of Nāgara form.

Is the temple of the Gārulaka period, and could Varāhadāsa II have been its builder, in view of its large dimensions and height? Some factors do suggest so early a date, but others go against it. The form of the pīṭha is the same as that at Kadvār, the form of the octagonal cupolas on the fourth tala (Fig. 74f) rather resembles the śikhara of the Lower Śivālaya at Bādāmi (c. A.D. 610-642), and though Kadvār and Bilēśvara seem almost contemporary, parallels sensed with other architectural styles might hint at a date no earlier than the end of the sixth or early in the seventh century A.D.

Khimēśvara, temple no. 1 (Figs. 73b, 74b, 78a; Plate 346)

The Khimēśvara group of temples, standing desolate near the sea shore a couple of miles southwest of Kuchaḍī village (ten miles west-northwest of Porbandar), could almost be called the Mahābalipuram of Surāṣṭra. Its buildings present three major

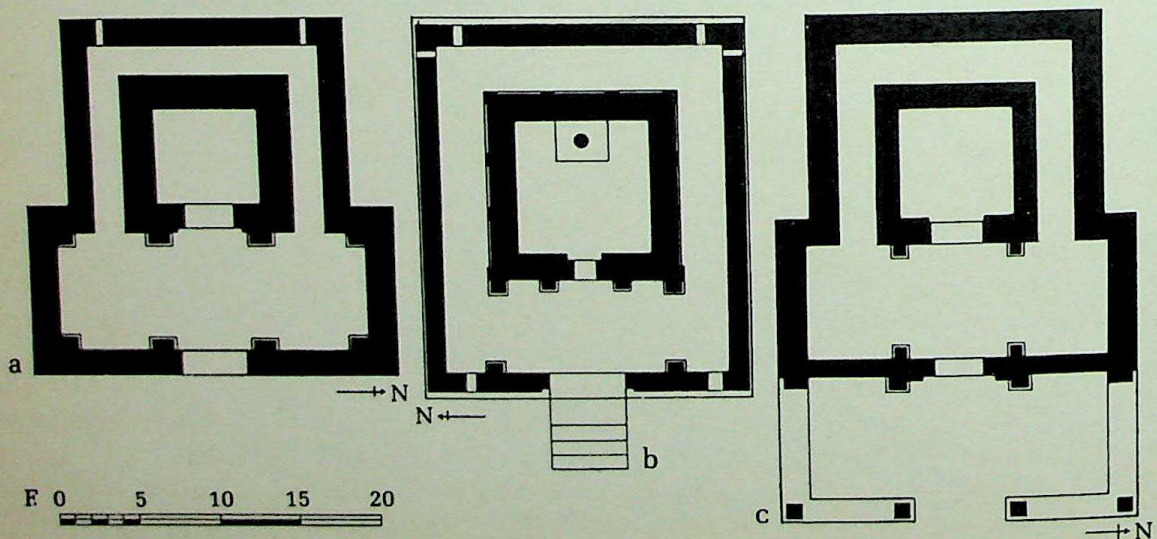


Fig. 77. Maitraka temple plans:

a. Bhāṇasarā. Temple no. 5; b. Khimēśvara. Temple no. 2; c. Baḷēj. Pīṭhaḍmātā temple.

(Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)



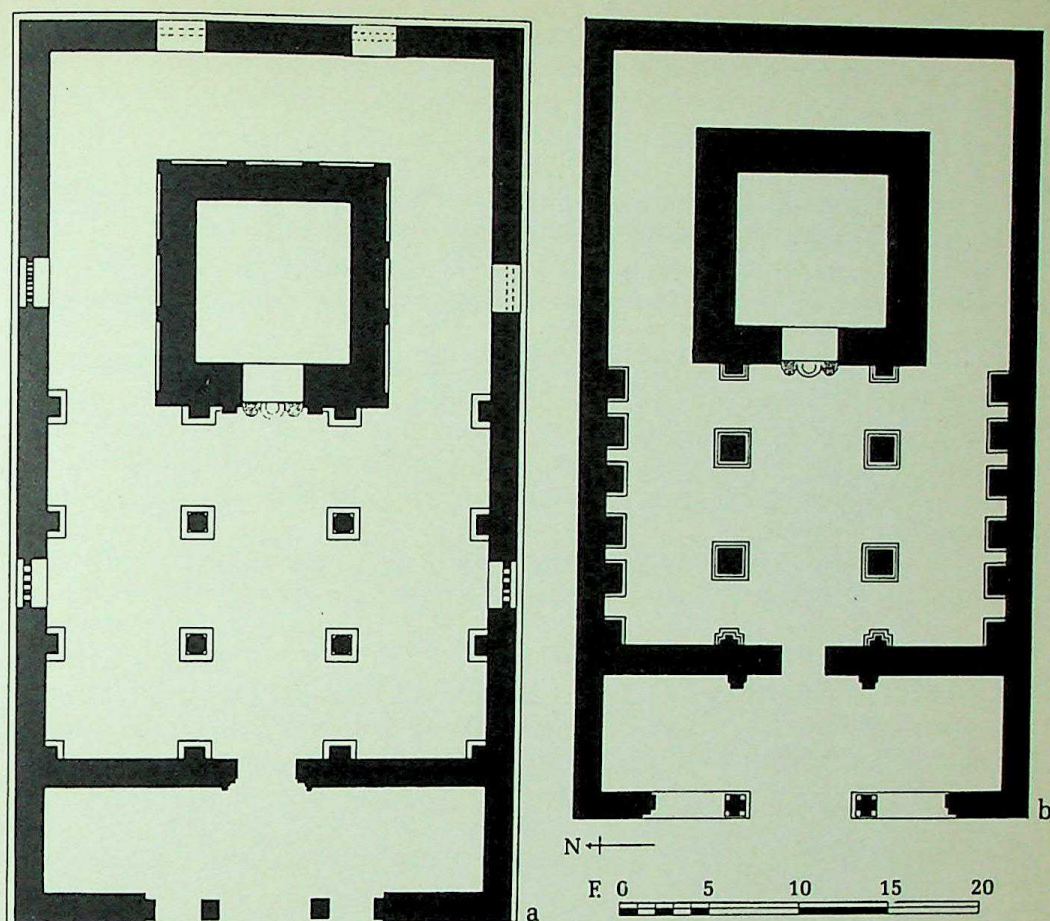


Fig. 78. a. Khimēśvara. Temple no. 1, plan; b. Śrīnagar. Vindhyavāsini temple, plan. (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)

superstructural forms: Vimāna, Kūṭa (in at least two varieties), and Valabhī. There are pratōlis to the east and west of the compound, but the prākāra is much ruined. A maṭha, contemporaneous with the earliest temple-structures, lends additional interest to the ensemble.

The principal building of the Khimēśvara group is temple no. 1, the Khimēśvara Mahādēva temple (named after a Jēthvā prince of Porbandar of the 17th century). The west-facing Khimēśvara temple is sāndhāra, with a rectangular plan (Fig. 78a), the gūḍhamaṇḍapa undifferentiated from the pradakṣiṇāpatha. Even the mukhamaṇḍapa is coterminous, separated from the gūḍhamaṇḍapa by a wall and doorway.

The adhiṣṭhāna is featureless and recently renovated. The plain walls have ventilating holes filled with perforated jālas, two each on the north and south of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa and garbhagrha and two on the east wall in the pradakṣiṇā (Fig. 78a). Among the original jālas that remain, one on the south wall has a pair of crudely made eight-pointed stars with a floral motif in the centre; those in the north wall show kuṅjarākṣa pattern. At the top of the wall are the normal dentils and a paṭṭikā. Above this is a low parapet formed by a paṭṭikā, kaṇṭha, and kapōtapālikā with some of the ancient praṇālas surviving.



The pillars at the front of the mukhamaṇḍapa have a sūrasēna at the parapet level above; karṇakūṭas (the roofs now lost) stand at the corners. (There possibly also were similar karṇakūṭas at the rear end of the temple.) The mukhamaṇḍapa pillars are Rucaka; those inside the gūḍhamaṇḍapa have square bases and octagonal shafts. The pillars seem stunted, being only 7.5 ft. high.

The garbhagrha doorframe is plain save for worn figures at the top. The udumbara shows a circular projecting mandāraka flanked by vigorous grāsamukhas.

The garbhagrha's antarabhitti is punctuated by engaged columns showing a base, a square-to-octagonal shaft, and an upper āmalaka. The liṅga inside the sanctum may be old.

The catustala vimānākāra superstructure of the garbhagrha has grooved gavākṣas set in sequence on each storey (Plate 346). Full-blown lotuses fill the gāḍha-cavities on the south. Karṇakūṭas with śikhā-finials (Fig. 74b) occur on three talas (Plate 346). As usual, dentils, kaṇṭha, paṭṭikā, and kapōta also occur. The final tala is formed by a very shapely kapōta; a short grīvā then supports a handsome, bulbous, and strongly fluted āmalaka (Plate 346).

The temple stylistically should date very close to the Bilēśvara temple. A moulded Nandi-pīṭhikā in front of the temple is original (Fig. 73b).

Khimēśvara, temple no. 2 (Figs. 73c, 77b; Plate 347)

Temple no. 2 stands to the north of temple no. 1 and faces west. It is sāndhāra, almost square in plan (Fig. 77b). The temple essentially replicates the form of temple no. 1. The superstructure is catustala. The antarabhitti of the garbhagrha shows pilasters; engaged columns flank the garbhagrha doorway and appear also on the opposite wall. An ancient pīṭhikā for a liṅga sits inside the garbhagrha; the moulded Nandi-pīṭhikā now in front of temple no. 3 (Fig. 73c) originally may have come from this temple.

Bhāṇasarā, temple no. 5 (Figs. 74k, 77a; Plate 348)

Bhāṇasarā is a hamlet about three miles to the east of Baḷēj. A group of six temples in various states of preservation and representing two phases of architectural development encircle a simple stepped kuṇḍa. Temple no. 5 stands to the northeast of the kuṇḍa. It is west-facing, sāndhāra, with a mūlaprāsāda, narrow ambulatory with a sloping roof, flat-roofed rectangular gūḍhamaṇḍapa set transversely (Fig. 77a; Plate 348), and a tritala superstructure. The pīṭha has few mouldings and the wall is featureless except for a dentil course and kapōta at the top. The superstructure over the inner cells is raised up with the help of a small vimāna-vēdikā. The grhapinḍī is tall. The first tala has three gavākṣas and karṇakūṭas; the second tala has kapōta with two gavākṣas and no karṇakūṭas; the third skandha-like tala has a single gavākṣa. A short grīvā supports an octagonal Drāviḍa-like "Viṣṇucchanda śikhara" (Fig. 74k; Plate 348), an exceedingly rare feature in North India (such a feature occurs also on aediculae at the base of the pratilātās of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala).

The ambulatory, 1 ft. 10 in. wide, is covered by a large sūrpacchādyā roof. The inner walls of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa show shallow Rucaka pilasters.

Bhāṇasarā, temple no. 2 (Plate 349)

Standing west of the kuṇḍa, temple no. 2 is east-facing and has a new porch. The lowermost bhitti is buried; the pīṭha has kumuda, kandhara, and kapōtapālikā. The walls have the usual dentils and kapōta at the top (Plate 349).

The talas of the superstructure have large gavākṣas, with karṇakūṭas only on the



lowermost tala. The gāḍhas are filled with large lotuses. The crowning member of the superstructure is lost. This temple was possibly the earliest in the group.

*Bhāṇasarā, temple no. 6 (Plate 350)*

This much ruined temple faces east and stands to the northwest of the kuṇḍa. It resembles no. 1 in form, with a very small pīṭha and large dentils at the top of the wall (Plate 350). Only the lowermost tala of the superstructure remains; it had large karna-kūṭas and very large gavākṣa-dormers.

*Kaṣār, old temple (Plates 351-352)*

This east-facing prāsāda is rectangular, with a narrower maṇḍapa attached. The building rises over a plain upapīṭha; the plain walls are topped by the customary dentil, paṭṭikā, and kapōta courses. The superstructure must originally have been catustala; the uppermost tala and crowning members are missing (Plate 351). Karna-kūṭas stood on three talas. Gavākṣas range from four on each side of the first tala to one on the fourth.

The lower two talas of the prāsāda continue as part of the superstructure of the maṇḍapa, with kūṭas in front (Plate 351). The upper tala becomes a large "mahānāsi" suggesting a barrel-vaulted śukanāsa (Plate 352).

Both inner and outer doorways are narrow and featureless.

This entire class of temples with archaic vimānākāra superstructures dates no later than the early decades of the seventh century, if not earlier.

*Ghumli, Sōnkansārī, temple no. 1 (Figs. 72a, 74e; Plates 353-360)*

On the hill to the southwest of Ghumli is a group of temples mostly of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Temple no. 1 is the northernmost of three, large, east-facing buildings. Gōp, Bilēśvara, and this are the largest of extant early shrines in Surāṣṭra. It is sāndhāra (Plate 353), laid out on a rectangular plan (almost 56 ft. in length), and had a mukhamaṇḍapa, of which only the foundation is discernible. The exterior wall is largely ruined and the maṇḍapa's pillars, roof, and the ambulatory-roof have disappeared.

The northwest corner of the building and the west edge rest on a rocky slope, and an upapīṭha that follows the ground's gradient has therefore been provided (Plate 356). Pīṭha or adhiṣṭhāna otherwise is absent, the outer wall rising directly from the ground, but the vēḍibandha-mouldings of the wall have been treated as if they were an adhiṣṭhāna (Fig. 72a; Plate 353). The Ūrdhvapadma (reversed cippikā) at the top of the wall is ornamented with lotus-petals (Plate 357); the kapōta shows gavākṣas at intervals (these, unlike other examples in the style, are enriched with side-loops and śikhā-finials).

There were four windows to light the ambulatory passage, two on the east and one each on north and south; the walls of the garbhagrha, ambulatory, and hall have similar offset pilasters. The maṇḍapa-walls had windows on north and south with two more on the east wall flanking the doorway. Three decorated khattaka-niches are centered on the south, west, and north exterior walls. The west niche shows a tōraṇa (Plate 359); the śūrasēna above has padma and vandanamālīkā below. The southern niche (Plate 360) has no surviving pediment; the cavity is framed by miniature śākhās; on the kapōta below the niche, a gavākṣa flanked by split gavākṣa shows a grāsamukha in the central medallion. The northern niche (Plate 358) has a fine makara-tōraṇa and a large śūrasēna above containing a figure of Vaiśravaṇa, with padmapaṭṭī, gagārapaṭṭī,



and an exquisite grāsapaṭṭi below. This is the earliest known example of grāsapaṭṭi in this position. On the kapōta below, a lavishly ornamented śūrasēna bears a figure, possibly Kubēra (Plate 358).

The corners of the exterior walling were crowned by large kūṭas (Plate 353). The square garbhagṛha inside, surrounded by an ample pradakṣiṇā, has plain walls except for vandanamālikā and padma below its elegantly shaped kapōta (Plate 354). The pañcatāla superstructure is excellently proportioned. Each upper tala shows a kaṇṭha, dentil course, minor kapōta, and major kapōta with gavākṣa-nāsīs (5, 4, 3, 2, and 1). The śikhās of the gavākṣas are square, shovel-shaped, as at Bilēśvara. Each tala has vimānakāra karṇakūṭas; those of the fifth tala replace dentils by vandanamālikā. The kūṭas, instead of having alpanāsīs on each kapōta, show śūrasēna-pattern.

A broad, shallow āmalasāraka crowns the superstructure. At the front of the superstructure is a shallow śukanāsa (Plate 355) with a lower panel crowned by a śūrasēna.

The temple possesses more ornament than earlier structures of the same class; the ornament is more detailed, richer, and of an advanced type. While typologically the building continues to follow the older pre-Nāgara form, stylistically there are clear advances.

The date of this temple is therefore not quite easy. It may be coeval with the earliest Nāgara temples in Surāṣṭra and thus show an overlap between the two forms. If so, the date of this temple cannot be much earlier than c. A.D. 650-675.

*Miyāṇī, old temple no. 1 (Plate 361)*

This old temple ushers in a new trend in the use of karṇakūṭas in that an āmalaka is placed directly over a miniature entablature without a series of cornices. Such kūṭas were used structurally at Nacnā and Bhumarā in Central India in the late fifth century but are new in Surāṣṭra, seemingly more a result of a process of condensation than of imitation of earlier forms.

The superstructure otherwise resembles Bhāṇasarā no. 1 (Plate 349). Miniature pilasters, however, appear in the kaṇṭha.

The temple seems about a generation earlier than the Sōnkansārī building discussed above.

*Pinḍārā, old temple (Fig. 74h; Plate 362)*

The same type of karṇakūṭas are also notable at Pinḍārā in an even more compressed form (Plate 362). The temple's tall kaṇṭha has mini-pilasters articulated with the gavākṣas above. The pañcatāla vimāna still has discrete gavākṣas in the order of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 (the last tier lost). There was probably a porch in front of the temple; the garbhagṛha doorway is frameless.

*Dhrēvaḍ, Kālikāmātā temple (Fig. 72b; Plates 363-366)*

The Pinḍārā style of karṇakūṭas are noticeable also at old Dhrēvaḍ (Junī Dhrēvaḍ). Its pīṭha introduces "kumbha" moulding in lieu of bhiṭṭa, a harbinger of a later convention (Fig. 72b). The ūrdhwapadma above the dentils in the pīṭha carries lotus-petal decoration, as at Sōnkansārī.

The prāsāda is nirandhāra; the wall has ūrdhwapadma at the top carved similarly to that in the pīṭha, but the paṭṭikā below it bears ghaṇṭāmālā.

The pañcatāla superstructure has succeeding gavākṣas (5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, the last flanked by split gavākṣas). The gavākṣas of the second tala show inset lotus-flowers;



the third tala at places has grāsamukha; the fourth tala has pilasters (Plate 366). Each tala has kūṭa platforms with āmalakas.

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa is twice as large as the garbhagrha; it has rectangular bhadrā-windows flanked by Rucaka pilasters and crowned by large gavākṣas.

Both Piṇḍārā and Dhrevāḍ indicate a condensation of forms transitional toward the formulation of Latina in Surāṣṭra. Neither seems to date before the third quarter of the seventh century A.D.

#### Śrīnagar, Sūrya temple (Fig. 71i)

This east-facing shrine is a large, rectangular, sāndhāra structure c. 50 ft. long and 26 ft. wide; the garbhagrha is c. 15 ft. square. The ambulatory and hall have disappeared. Kapōtapālikā above kumuda and a heavy vṛtta cippikā below the upper paṭṭikā are new features. Dentils are there above the kandhara, as in all instances of this early class.

The catustala superstructure has karṇakūṭas with ball-shaped, ribbed āmalakas. The gavākṣas (3,2,1, the final tier left plain) are very large. The crowning member is a fluted cūlikā.

The garbhagrha doorsill has indented half-diamonds and standing figures, an unusual decoration. An ardha-candra (moonstone) is set before the threshold. The temple was carefully renovated before 1947, when a porch was added.

#### Śrīnagar, Vindhyavāsini temple (Figs. 71e, 78b)

To the west of the village stands this west-facing Śiva temple. It is slightly smaller than the preceding temple. The pīṭha replaces a jagatī-plinth by a primitive jādyakumbha and inverted cyma recta.

The temple is sāndhāra, with a square garbhagrha. The maṇḍapa has four, plain, Rucaka pillars and six pilasters on the northern and southern walls (Fig. 78b). The lateral walls extend also to include a mukhamaṇḍapa as in the case of Khimēśvara no. 1. New is the udumbara with projecting grāsamukha and mandāraka. The ambulatory walls and the superstructure have been reconstructed following the original pattern. The elements of the superstructure are almost the same as those of the Sun temple. Both Śrīnagar temples were probably contemporary with Miyāṇī temple no. 1.

#### Baḷēj, Pīṭhaḍmātā temple (Fig. 77c; Plates 368-369, 394)

Baḷēj, famous for its late Jaina temple of Pārśvanātha, is about 26 miles southeast of Porbandar. To the north of the Jaina temple stands a group of three old temples, of which this is the best preserved.

The temple consists of a sāndhāra mūlaprāsāda with narrow pradakṣiṇā, gūḍhamaṇḍapa, and mukhamaṇḍapa (Fig. 77c). The outer walls have no base-mouldings but have large dentils below the kapōtapālikā at the top (Plate 368). The fourth tier of the catustala superstructure is damaged. The three lower tiers are steep kapōtapālikās, without karṇakūṭas, with tall recesses between tiers. Gavākṣas are broadly placed (4, 3, 2, 1).

The rectangular gūḍhamaṇḍapa, transversely joined with the prāsāda, is astylar except for a pair of pilasters on the eastern wall (Fig. 77c). The garbhagrha also has pilasters flanking its plain doorway.

The mukhamaṇḍapa has Rucaka pillars (Plates 369, 394), one of them with paired floral medallions with a floral band between, in rude imitation of the Vākātaka pilasters at Ajaṇṭā.



### Visāvēḍā, old temple (Śaṅkha-dēruṇ) (Fig. 71d; Plate 370)

The old temple at Visāvēḍā, locally known as Śaṅkha-dēruṇ or “conch temple,” omits karṇakūṭas, narrows the kaṇṭha between tiers, and drops all auxiliary mouldings except the band of dentils. The tiers of this catustala vimāna are handsomely formed, the stepping of the tiers and the rhythm built by the diminishing gavākṣas very pleasing, and the temple’s excellent proportions produce an aesthetically clear and satisfying form.

An āmalasāraka, its upper half lost, crowns the superstructure. Only the pīṭha of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa remains. The pīṭha (Fig. 71d; Plate 370) is like Kadvār’s and the temple may date close to that building, perhaps not later than c. A.D. 625.

### Baḷēj, Kōṭhā temple (Plate 398)

To the south of the Pīṭhaḍmātā temple at Baḷēj stands what is today known as the kōṭhā (bastion) since it was used in late medieval times as a watchtower. It is larger than its neighbour shrine, with taller walls. It is nirandhāra, with only the lower course of the first tala remaining. The gūḍhamaṇḍapa has four large Rucaka pillars; the triśākhā doorframe is plain except for carving on the upper part that shows that the middle śākhā was intended to be mālāśākhā and the outer one, padmaśākhā (Plate 398).

### Miyāṇī, temple no. 2 (Plate 367)

To the right of temple no. 1, behind the modern Harṣadmātā temple, is a small cubical building with dentils at the top of the walls and tritāla superstructure with kapōta-tiers and rather sparsely placed gavākṣas. The recesses between tiers carry no dentils. The crowning āmalaka no longer survives.

### Dhrēvaḍ, Rājal-vējal mātā temple (not illustrated)

This temple at old Dhrēvaḍ is a little larger than Miyāṇī temple no. 2; like it, it is rectangular in plan. A double course of paṭṭis appear above the wall’s dentils and below the kapōta. Paṭṭa and kaṇṭha follow the eave and then the superstructural courses. Gavākṣas are sparsely placed, gāḍhas filled with full-blown, many-petalled lotuses. The crowning tier is pent-roof. There seems to have been no cūlikā, stūpī, or kalaśa.

### Dēgām, Cāmuṇḍāmātā temple (not illustrated)

Dēgām is a small village situated four miles north of Porbandar on the Khambhālīā road. This square, east-facing shrine has dentils at the top of the wall, a tall featureless kaṇṭha, and three tiers of superstructure with sparsely spaced gavākṣas. Karṇakūṭas of Piṇḍārā type survive for the lower two tiers. The two tiers beyond the third are modern additions, as are the crowning members. The gūḍhamaṇḍapa, with Rucaka pillars, has been completely overlaid by modern accretions.

### Chāyā (Porbandar), Dhiṅgēsvara (Plate 371)

About a mile south of Chāyā, a suburb of Porbandar, stands this temple, with plain Mañcabandha upapīṭha, cubical prāsāda with the usual dentils, kapōta, and a catustala superstructure with gavākṣas in an order of 4, 4, 2, 1. The small āmalaka with kalaśa does not appear to be ancient. The maṇḍapa is a late medieval addition.

### Ōḍadar, old temple (not illustrated)

Ōḍadar is situated seven miles southeast of Porbandar. Located on the eastern out-



skirts of the village, this temple has a plain cubical cella, its walls capped by customary dentils and kapōta. The kapōta-tiers of the catustala superstructure have no gavākṣas; the temple is capped by an āmalasāraka.

*Ōḍadar, Gōrakhmaṭha temple no. 4 (not illustrated)*

East of the last temple is a group of six old temples ranging from the seventh to the ninth century A.D. Temple no. 4 is smaller than the preceding temple, but otherwise is identical in type.

*Kindarkhēḍā, Cāmuṇḍāmātā temple (Plate 372)*

This temple has no dentils or wall-kapōta. The kapōtas of its catustala superstructure have no gavākṣas; it is capped by an āmalasāraka. The wide porch has paired pillars on either side; Rucaka dwarf-pillars sit on a simple slab and dado. The front of the maṇḍapa's pent-roof is stepped, with a niche containing a disfigured image. The temple faces east.

*Jhamrā, Sun temple (Fig. 72c)*

Jhamrā is c. 16 miles southeast of Porbandar. This temple stands northwest of the village and faces east. It is sāndhāra, with a distylar maṇḍapa, open in front. The ambulatory walls have collapsed. Pillars are plain Rucaka type.

The square garbhagṛha shows the first instance of proper vēdibandha mouldings in Surāṣṭra (Fig. 72c); the kaṭi is plain except for dentils, ūrdhva-padma, and kapōta. The catustala kūṭākāra superstructure has kapōtapālikā (not kapōta)-tiers decorated with gavākṣas in a 4, 2, 2, 1 order. The crowning āmalasāraka and cūlikā are ancient.

From this temple on, superstructures replace kapōta by kapōtapālikā, sometimes intermixed with minor kapōta, sometimes terminating in vṛttapaṭṭikā.

*Pasnāvaḍā, Sūrya temple (Plate 373)*

Pasnāvaḍā is about ten miles southeast of Prabhāsa; this temple stands in the heart of the village. Nirandhāra, with no base and plain walls, the temple has paṭṭi, ūrdhva-padma, and kapōta at the top of its wall. The four-stage kūṭākāra superstructure is composed of kapōtapālikā-tiers (diminishing in height) alternating with kapōtas. The topmost elements seem added. On the surface is a madhyalatā, the earliest and boldest of a type that for a while became popular. It seems likely that it was derived from the formal scheme of Latina Nāgara architecture.

A larger gūḍhamaṇḍapa, with small grilled windows flanking its entrance, is attached on the east. One of the jālas is made up of a large haṁsa figure. The pillars inside, which divide the hall into unequal rectangles, are both Rucaka and Mīśraka.

*Bōricā, Sūrya and Śiva temples (Plates 374, 399)*

Bōricā, a village c. seven miles north of Porbandar, had two sāndhāra temples, of which only the cella and the foundation for a hall and mukhamaṇḍapa remains of a Sūrya temple; the cella and superstructure of the Śiva temple (Plate 374) are reasonably well preserved but the rest of the building is gone.

The plain walls of the cella are crowned by a catustala spire, its kapōtapālikā-tiers strongly flexured; only the topmost tier has centrally placed gavākṣas, crowned by an early type of āmalasāraka (Plate 374).

The triśākha doorframe is partially carved; the bāhyaśākhā has lotus-petals, next is mālāśākhā, and the antaraśākhā is left plain (Plate 399).



**Pariādhāra, twin temples (Plates 375, 377)**

At the hamlet Pariādhāra in the Baraḍā Hills are two temples, one facing east, the other west. Both are small square buildings; neither had a porch or an enclosed ambulatory. The wall-tops are plain; both have pañcatāla superstructures composed of kapōtapālīkās with steep profiles. The overall shape is unpleasant. Only the upper skandha shows a central gavākṣa (Plates 375, 377); both temples are crowned by heavy āmalasārakas (Plate 375). The slightly smaller west-facing shrine has lotus-petals carved on the outer śākhā of its dviśākhā doorframe.

**Khimēśvara, temple no. 7 (not illustrated)**

The walls of this square cella are topped by minor kapōta. The catustala superstructure has kapōtapālīkā-tiers that diminish in height. The short grīvā is crowned, curiously, not by an āmalaka, but by a small fifth tier bearing cardinal gavākṣas and a crowning kalaśa.

The open mukhamāṇḍapa has low walls and half pillars on the sides and two full free-standing pillars in front, all Rucaka with the usual roll-capitals. The cella door is plain.

**Bhāṇvaḍ, Chēlēśvara (Plate 376)**

This cubical shrine, with no surviving porch, has a kapōta at the top of the wall and a tritala superstructure with kapōtapālī-tiers alternating with minor kapōtas; only the top pair show cardinally disposed gavākṣas. The crowning slab, candrikā, and kalaśa are probably of a later date.

**Pātā, Sūrya temple (Plates 378-380, 400)**

This small village, 33 miles southeast of Porbandar, along the coast on the way to Mādhavpur, preserves a group of four old temples, of which the Sun temple is the most important. It faces east. Its upapīṭha is featureless. The mūlaprāsāda is joined to a larger square gūḍhamāṇḍapa with kakṣāsana at the front. The prāsāda's plain walls are topped by a kapōta; of the original six or seven kapōtapālīkā-tiers of its superstructure, three survive, the remainder are recent. The triśākhā doorframe of the garbhagṛha shows ratna-, padma-, and a plain bāhyaśākhā (Plate 400). The pēdyāpiṇḍa at the bottom of the doorframe shows figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, rare in Surāṣṭra. The māṇḍapa has four, central, Rucaka pillars (Plate 379); the surrounding aisles show heavy, obliquely set joists supporting roof-slabs (Plate 380), as at Kadvār. The bhadrā-points of the hall have rectangular windows with simple grilles of a primitive Gōnētra class (Plate 380).

The semi-open front of the māṇḍapa shows unadorned vēdikā, kakṣāsana, and plain, Rucaka, dwarf pillars (Plate 378). The sloping roofs of the aisles form a prominent penthouse-roof. The central catuṣkī has a short raised platform. The exterior of the roof shows a large gavākṣa (mahānāsī) above the entrance (Plate 378). The lotus-carved vēdī in front of the temple may not be so old as the temple but helps confirm its dedication to the Sun.

**Kindarkhēḍā, Sun temple (Plates 381-383)**

This sāndhāra temple with its gūḍhamāṇḍapa is oblong, with a semi-open mukhamāṇḍapa on the east enclosed by plain, Rucaka, dwarf pillars resting over an unmoulded dado (Plate 381). The plain cube of the garbhagṛha is surmounted by a stunted catustala superstructure (Plate 382). The kapōtapālī-tiers of this kūṭa-spire are crowned by an



āmalasāraka, now damaged and without a finial. The ambulatory is covered by slanting joists supporting roof-slabs; the exterior is plain except for blind grilles on north and south (Plate 383). These show lotuses, half and full, within beaded circles, four-petalled flowers filling the interstices.

Inside are four, plain, Rucaka pillars. The maṇḍapa has an oblong Phāṁsanā pent-roof (Plate 381). The temple probably dates to the middle of the seventh century A.D.

*Ghumli, Sōnkansārī, temple no. 8 (Plate 384)*

In the west-facing group of temples at Sōnkansārī, this nirandhāra temple has an oblong bichambered plan; both pīṭha and wall are shared by the prāsāda and its astylar gūḍhamaṇḍapa (Plate 384). The pīṭha rests on a bhiṭṭa (jagatī) and has kumuda, kaṇṭha, and kapōta mouldings. The prāsāda wall is topped by vandanamālikā band, plain padma, kapōta, kaṇṭha, and starts the ṣaḍatala or probably once saptatala superstructure, its tiers separated by kaṇṭhas. The crowning āmalasāraka is missing.

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa has a four-tiered roof, the tiers only vaguely separated from each other. These abut the prāsāda's spire; the west front shows three gavākṣa-dormers, the upper one a mahānāsī.

The interior of the hall shows beautiful corbelling.

*Khāpaṭ, Cāmuṇḍāmātā temple (Plate 385)*

This temple's sāndhāra plan is much like that of the Sun temple at Kindarkhēḍā, though slightly broader. The temple has a featureless upapīṭha, maṇḍapa-windows without grilles, a mukhamaṇḍapa with heavy, primitive kakṣāsanās and two free-standing pillars, and two-tiered roofing over the ambulatory and hall with blocks intended to be carved with gavākṣa-dormers.

The superstructure alternates three steep kapōtapālīs with minor kapōtās (Plate 385). The upper portion is modern. On the interior are four Rucaka pillars with pilasters on the east and west. The temple is east-facing.

*Chāyā, Añjanīmātā temple (not illustrated)*

This temple is planned like Kindarkhēḍā and Khāpaṭ but lacks a mukhamaṇḍapa. The north and west walls have collapsed and the pillars inside are out of alignment. The square garbhagrha has a superstructure essentially like that at Kindarkhēḍā. The plain gūḍhamaṇḍapa doorway has a daṇḍacchāḍya.

*Bhāṇvaḍ, Indrēśvara (Plate 386)*

Some distance outside Bhāṇvaḍ, this temple has bhadra-projections that extend into the pañcatāla superstructure. Though the temple may date from the middle of the seventh century, the bhadra niches are much later. A small original āmalaka is crowned by a later āmalasāraka. The porch is also a later addition.

*Ōḍadar, Gōrakhmaṭha temple no. 5 (not illustrated)*

This is just a garbhagrha without a porch; six, large, square holes above the doorway, however, hint to its having had one. Above the plain paṭṭikā and kapōta rises a tritāla superstructure composed of large kapōtapālikās; the fact that they diminish in height gives the temple a sense of curvature. The superstructure is crowned by a bulbous āmalaka.



**Khimēśvara, temple no. 3 (Fig. 71g; Plate 387)**

The pīṭha of this temple has mouldings much like those of an early type of adhiṣṭhāna. Over the upper paṭṭi and kapōta of the square prāsāda is a handsome tritala superstructure of kapōtapālī-tiers crowned by a square phalaka and an āmalaka. The gūḍhamāṇḍapa is broader than the mūlaprāsāda. The early form of pīṭha, with dentils, and the āmalaka would warrant a date no later than c. A.D. 625.

**Khimēśvara, temple no. 6 (Plates 388-389)**

This rectangular north-facing shrine has a rectangular maṇḍapa. The back wall of the prāsāda has a large, bold sūrasēna, partially uncarved. Dentils, minor kapōta, and kaṇṭha at the top of the wall are crowned by a rectangular superstructure consisting of two components, a skandha-vēdī ("Sabhākāra śikhara") and a Valabhī roof with gavākṣas at the ends (Plate 388).

The gūḍhamāṇḍapa has doors on the north and east. The garbhagrha-door is flanked by large sūrasēnas (Plate 389).

Its northerly orientation, Valabhicchanda śikhara, and the mātṛkā figures outside suggests that the temple was dedicated to the Saptamātṛkās. This is the only building with Valabhī śikhara in western India. It seems no later than c. A.D. 625.

**Bōricā, Saptamātṛkā shrine (Plate 395)**

Near the Śiva temple already discussed stands this small, north-facing, rectangular shrine with no porch or superstructure. A set of Saptamātṛkā images survives within the shrine. The entry to the temple shows two ornamented Rucaka pillars, with vēdikā-screen between, and entries to either side. The pillars have been left uncarved (Plate 395).

**Savanī, old temple (not illustrated)**

Along the west bank of River Hiranyā, six or seven miles upstream from the Trivēṇī-saṅgam at Prabhāsa, stands an old east-facing temple that resembles temple no. 8 at Sōnkansārī. The tiers of the roof, however, appear fused. While the garbhagrha is square, the gūḍhamāṇḍapa is slightly broader and rectangular. The garbhagrha wall has engaged Rucaka columns.

**Ḍervāv, old temple (Fig. 73a; Plate 391)**

Only the slightly rectangular pīṭha of this temple survives; the building above is modern. The pīṭha, which seems late in the Maitraka-Gārulaka sequence, could date c. A.D. 675.

**Khimēśvara, temple no. 5 (Plate 392)**

This square shrine has a tritala superstructure with karṇakūṭas on the lower two tiers; the upper part seems restored. The façade of the maṇḍapa shows two prominent niches with tritala pediments having gavākṣa-ornament and crowned by heavy āmalakas. The parikarma includes tall, strongly flexioned laśuna. The temple may not be later than the mid-seventh century A.D.

**Ōḍadar, Añjanīmātā temple (Fig. 71h; Plates 390, 393)**

Temple no. 1 in the Gōrakhmaṭha group, the earliest and largest, originally was sāndhāra. The pīṭha (Fig. 71h) is of a type with rafter-ends, kapōta, and paṭṭa above. Two original pillars show grāsamukhas, Gaṇēśa, and other motifs in darpaṇa-



medallions. Other pillars, probably from this temple, lie around (Plate 393).

*Khimēśvara, maṭh* (not illustrated)

This north-facing building is formed by three conjoined rectangles (the central one perhaps open to the sky); the northern rectangle has two, projecting, square side-parlours perhaps used for storage. Externally the structure is plain, topped by a plain paṭṭikā and kapōta, and probably was a monastery for the Pāśupata pontiff in charge of the temples at the site.

*Ḍhāṅk, Jhilaṇī-vāpī (Jhilaṇī-vāv)* (Plates 401, 403-404)

Ḍhāṅk possesses two vāpīs, perhaps the oldest in Western India. The older is Jhilaṇī-vāv, two miles west of the town to the southwest of the Jaina caves. The well is formed by a narrow channel, with steps descending to the well proper. Two ornamental khattakas on the wall are interesting. The first (Plate 404) has a rectangular cavity with śākhā-frame; the parikara consists of two miniature pilasters with square laśuna above an uncarved paṭṭikā, ribbed ghaṭa and padma, paṭṭī with half-lotuses, and a second padma. The pediment simulates a kūṭa-roof showing, first, a kapōta with half-lotuses in candraśālā-like medallions, then an impressive two-tiered Phāṃsanā-roof (Plate 403); the gavākṣa-dormers strongly remind one of the Gōp temple. The second niche is crowned by an early type of śūrasēna (Plate 403).

The vāpī seems almost of the same date as the Gōp temple, and may be placed between c. A.D. 550-575.

*Ḍhāṅk, Mañjuśrī-vāpī* (Plates 402, 405-407)

Inside the Ḍhāṅk village is a second vāpī, "L"-shaped, also with niches on its walls. Just before a steep descent in the middle section of the step-wall, two khattakas (Plate 402) have parikarma-pilasters, plain but still somewhat like those in the Jhilaṇī-vāpī; the laśuna is strongly flexured, as on the Kusumā temple in Rajasthan (c. A.D. 636). Above is a śūrasēna with pilasters below the crowning gavākṣa (Plate 405).

On the first landing of the same vāpī is another, fully embellished khattaka. Its pilasters have pīṭhas; the madhyapaṭṭa was carved; and at the top are fluted laśuna, ghaṭa, and bharaṇa (Plate 407). The khattaka itself is framed by three plain śākhās (Plate 407).

A plain kapōta entablature is crowned by a four-tiered kūṭa with alternating gavākṣa-dormers (Plate 406). This khattaka seems later than the two at a lower level in the same vāpī. It may have been added c. A.D. 675; the earlier niches may be dated c. A.D. 625 by comparison with the laśuna and śūrasēna shapes at Kusumā, dated c. A.D. 636.

There are at least 20 other buildings of this period scattered over southwestern Surāṣṭra, but none contributes further information to our understanding of Surāṣṭra style.

M.P. Vora & M.A. Dhaky

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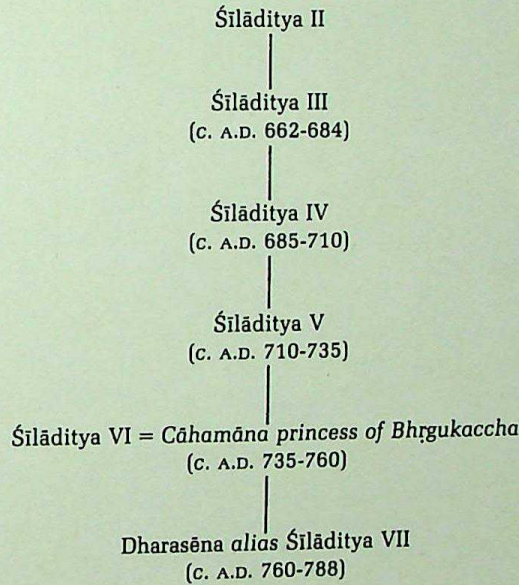
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Varieties of North Indian style: Surāṣṭra style, early Nāgara phase, c. late seventh to mid-eighth century A.D.

## Maitrakas of Valabhī

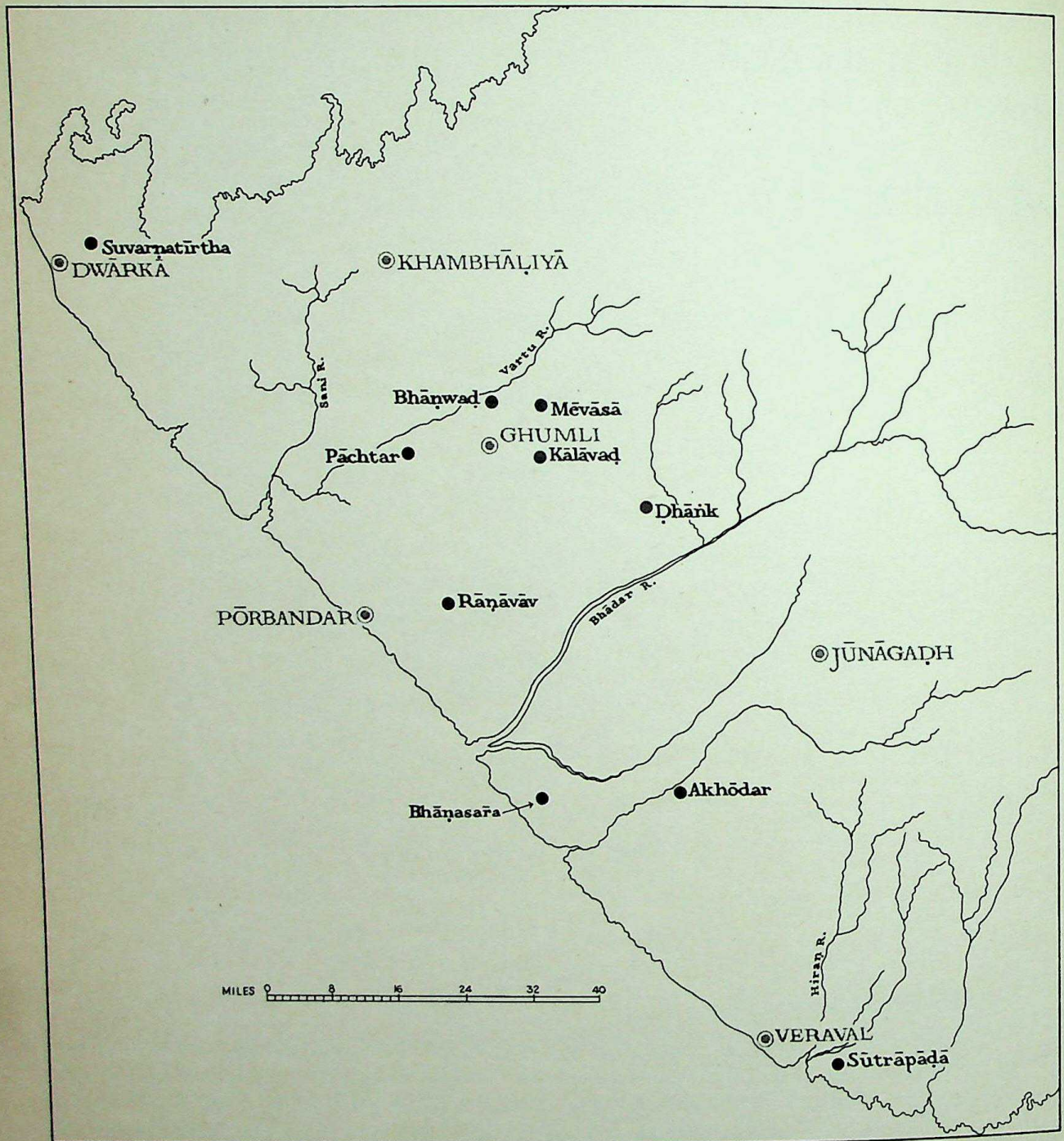
### Genealogical Table: Maitrakas of Valabhī



### Historical Introduction

Following the reign of Kharagraha II (c. A.D. 655-660), Śīlāditya II (who until then had been looking after the Vindhya-Sahya territory) ascended the Valabhī throne, merging the collateral Vindhya-Sahya branch with the main line of Valabhī. From this point on, all rulers of Valabhī adopted the name "Śīlāditya." Donations by Śīlāditya III to Buddhist viḥāras and land-grants to Brahmins of Valabhī, Khēṭaka, and Simhapura are known. The Bhṛgukaccha territory for a time was regained but soon passed into the hands of the Gūrjara king, Dadda, of Nāndipurī. Śīlāditya seems to have suffered a defeat at the hands of the Calukya prince, Dharāśraya Jayasīmha, of Nāgasārikā (Navasāri) (the Calukya record calls this Maitraka king Vajjaḍa or Vajraṭa i.e. Vajrabhaṭṭa). In A.D. 677, the Arab general Ismail is said to have attacked Ghōghā, a port-town of the





Surāstra: Maitrakas, early Nāgara sites



Valabhī kingdom. From this point on, the decline of Maitraka power had begun, though the dynasty did manage to survive for over a century.

The rules of Śīlāditya IV (c. A.D. 685-710) and his successor, Śīlāditya V (A.D. 710-735), were uneventful, though both monarchs issued copper-plate charters. The single event of some importance was the attack in A.D. 725/6 by Arab forces under Junaid, the governor of Sindh. After being defeated and chased by the Calukya armies of Nāgasārikā under Avani-janāśraya Pulakēśi and the allied Gūrjara prince of Nāndipurī, the Arab attackers passed by Valabhī and Śīlāditya V apparently joined the defending confederation of Indian princes.

From the charters of Śīlāditya VI (c. A.D. 735-760), it is clear that northern Gujarat still was in the possession of the Maitrakas at that time. In A.D. 758, the Muslim governor, Hasham of Sindh, sent Amarū and a naval fleet to attack Valabhī, but the attempt was unsuccessful.

Śīlāditya VII, like his predecessors, gave land-grants to Brahmins. If the narration in the *Udayasundarikathā* of poet Sōḍḍhala (c. second quarter of the 11th century A.D.) can be trusted, this monarch came in conflict with Dharmapāla of Bengal and defeated him. In A.D. 766, a second naval attack from Arabs under Abdul Malik succeeded in capturing Valabhī, but due to pestilence, which killed many of their army, the Muslims had to retreat. (According to late medieval Jaina prabandhas, the Arabs from Sindh had been invited by a Mārvāḍī tradesman, the millionaire Kāku (Kakkuka) of Valabhī, who had been persecuted by Śīlāditya.) Invading Arabs completely destroyed Valabhī in A.D. 788.

In this period, Brahmins and Brahminism were supported by Maitraka kings as generously as in earlier phases. The celebrated temple of Sōmanātha at Prabhāsa had become famous all over India. Buddhism, however, ceased to find patronage after the last quarter of the seventh century (its place perhaps partially taken by Jainism). Two great Jaina pontiffs flourished during this epoch: Jinadāsa gaṇi mahattara, who was active between c. A.D. 660-700 and wrote commentaries on the Śvētāmbara Jaina āgamas such as the *Nandisūtra*, the *Anuyōgadvārasūtra* and the *Niśīthasūtra*, and Gandhahasti Siddhasēna (active c. A.D. 725-760), who probably had his headquarters at Pāṭala and Mōḍhērā in north Gujarat and wrote an exhaustive and voluminous commentary in Sanskrit on the *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāti (c. fourth-fifth century A.D.). Medieval Jaina writers, from at least the early part of the 13th century, associate one of the Śīlāditya kings with the Jaina constructions on the hills of Śatruñjaya. Mt. Ujjayanta (Girnār), sacred to Jina Ariṣṭanēmi, continued to be a place of Jaina worship. On the Ambā śikhara, the Digambara Jinas constructed a temple to Yakṣī Ambikā some time between A.D. 750-755.

### Architectural Features

At some point in the seventh century, the Latina form of śikhara began to take its first recognizable shape in Surāṣṭra. Two rare examples that illustrate the regional process of formation are the north-facing temple no. 4 and west-facing temple no. 1 at Bhāṇasarā. Both buildings, based on local Phāmsanā traditions, provide dry and dull suggestions of Latina form, lacking in shapeliness and quality of decoration. They inherit their severity and crudeness from the traditions of the preceding 100 years of local pre-Nāgara architecture.

The temple in this phase, as in the preceding, is mono-celled, often nirandhāra and without porch (Ḍhāṅk), or sāndhāra (Sūtrāpāḍā, Akhōdar, and Pāchtar). Most



buildings are Latina, but a few Phāṁsanā structures continue to be built. Pīṭha is rarely seen. The garbhagrha remains a plain cube.

Unimportant as these buildings are aesthetically, their Latina śikhara, from the typological standpoint, together with the patterns of articulation they experiment with, have scientific interest. Each is an example of a distinctive formal variant and hence perhaps a separate guild tradition.

Phāṁsanā variants are less interesting than the Latina ones. The contribution of both to the future development of religious architecture in Gujarat is almost none.

None of these buildings is dated and little help comes from their scanty ornamentation; dates suggested here are based on parallels in Kalinga and Kārṇāṭa. Time-lag, however, is a factor in Surāṣṭra and the dates suggested can only be tentative.

*Bhāṇasarā, temples nos. 4 and 1 (Fig. 71c; Plates 408-409)*

These two proto-Latina temples are rare specimens, which demonstrate transitional stages that could have led to real Latina structure such as those met with in the rural areas of Surāṣṭra in the mid-Maitraka period.

Temple no. 4 stands east and south of the kuṇḍa at Bhāṇasarā. The tulāsaṅgraha band and kapōta above its plain walls, its superstructure in four tiers bearing flat gavākṣas in progressively diminishing numbers (5, 4, 3, 2), and the heavy fluted āmalaka are in the tradition of other temples of Phase I. In one respect, however, it differs from previous buildings: the karṇakūṭas, though having the spherical fluted āmalakas associated with the Gupta temple at Bhūmarā, have substantially lost their supporting bases which have been absorbed into the borders of each tier. This integration was a first clear step toward the formulation of karṇāṇḍakas as seen in a proper Nāgara temple's vēṇukōśa. In all other respects, this is a Phase I building.

Temple no. 1 (Plate 409), however, is substantially different. Only the west elevation of its superstructure is available; the top courses and crowning members are lost. The spacing between tiers is less than in earlier temples; karṇakūṭas are schematized and absorbed into the tiers (but, curiously, separated from them by a projecting L-shaped plank); āmalakas are small. A second definite advance toward the Nāgara śikhara formulation is the appearance of a rudimentary centralized jāla. The mukha-paṭṭī of the gavākṣas is thin, its relief shallow. There is no diminution in number of gavākṣas, each tier remaining the same; in their disposition, only, they are progressively constricted. Half gavākṣas here flank each side of the central gavākṣas.

The temple has a pīṭha with kumuda and kapōta mouldings (Fig. 71c).

*Sūtrāpādā, Sun temple (Fig. 79a; Plate 410)*

The sāndhāra temple of Sūrya at Sūtrāpādā marks a significant advance in the introduction of the Latina superstructure in Surāṣṭra. Its square plain, garbhagrha, plain Rucaka pillars and pilasters, and extremely severe, straight, exterior wall were also in vogue in the preceding phase. Its doorstill is a type commonly known from the last quarter of the eighth (Rōḍā) to the middle part of the tenth century A.D.; if this feature is not a later introduction, it is the earliest instance so far known.

The śikhara at Sūtrāpādā consists of four, strongly marked, well-articulated bhūmis topped by a phāṁsa-cornice. The karṇāṇḍakas are further drawn into each storey and the terminal gavākṣas of each tier are applied on the face of each aṇḍaka's basal cube. The double cornices of these cubes are carried through the horizontal striation of each level and the gavākṣas and half-gavākṣas are closely integrated to form a central tier of śūrasēnas; this harmonious train of trivali-śūrasēnas ends with a single



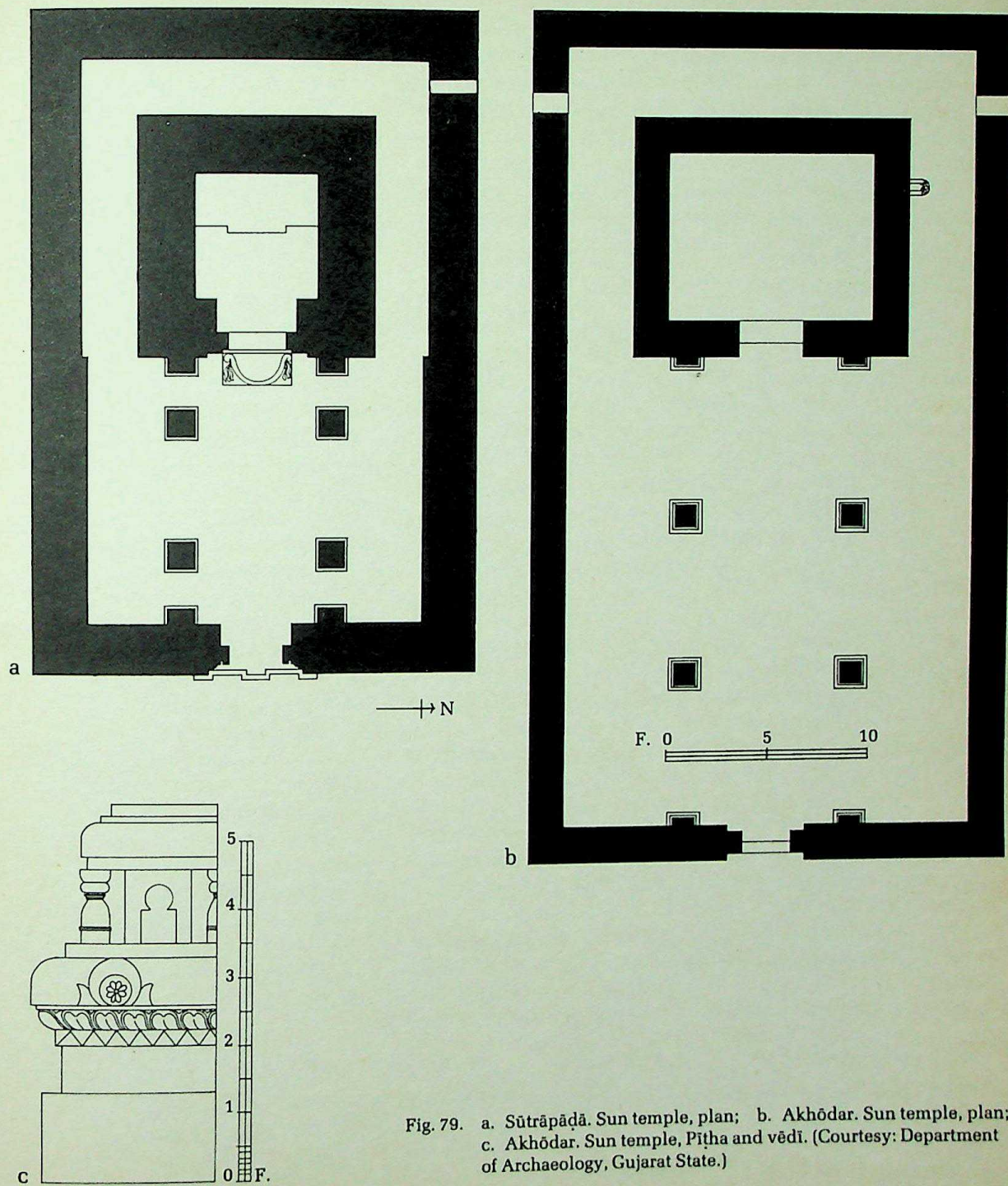


Fig. 79. a. Sūtrāpādā. Sun temple, plan; b. Akhōdar. Sun temple, plan; c. Akhōdar. Sun temple, Pīṭha and vēdi. (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)



ēkavali-śūrasēna (Plate 410). Between the outer vēṇukōśa band of karṇāṇḍakas and the inner śūrasēna band, a band of half gavākṣas set on paired cornices has been introduced, separated from the central and outer latās by shadow recesses. True Latina form has here emerged, its only deficiency, the lack of rēkhā (curvature); even with the accuracy and cogency of its articulation, this śikhara remains pyramidal and heavy.

The upper āmalaka (without an intervening grīvā as on subsequent examples) has above it original, odd, circular members, perhaps to represent a sort of ghaṇṭā; the kalaśa may not be original. Inside the garbhagrha are medieval images of Sūrya and his consort.

The hall in front and the surrounding ambulatory are roofed by phāṃsanā tiers with gavākṣas and half-gavākṣas organized to suggest a separate maṇḍapa-roof. As in later temples in Gujarat, however, these tiers are integrated directly with the śikhara.

*Akhōdar, Sūrya temple (Figs. 79b-c; Plates 411-412)*

This sāndhāra temple (Fig. 79b), a little larger than the Sūtrāpāḍā temple, has a prominent parapet above its plain outer walls. These end at the top with paṭṭikā, roll-moulding, and kapōta; the parapet is formed by a very large kapōta relieved by large gavākṣa-dormers (on the longer sides five, on the west three, and on the front two). The gāḍha of these gavākṣa-dormers shelter gandharva-heads, while, above the shoulders, heads of what seem to be dēvas (lower level) and dānavas (upper level; Plate 412), perhaps symbolizing the powers of light and dark, are carved.

The Latina śikhara of this temple (Plate 411) has some distinctive qualities of its own. First, it is raised upon a sort of adhiṣṭhāna, above which occurs a tall kaṇṭha (Fig. 79c) somewhat like that of Kōsala temples such as the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur. The caturbhūma-śikhara possesses rēkhā, thus fulfilling all the requirements of a Nāgara superstructure, but the details of the elevation are rather unusual: for instance, the lower two bhūmis show quite large gavākṣas on their faces (Plate 411); those on the upper bhūmis are half their size. Similarly, karṇāṇḍakas get progressively thinner towards the top. The pratilātā bands show āmalakas marking storeys only on the lower two bhūmis (Plate 411). A skandha, as at Sūtrāpāḍā, arrests the upward motion of the śikhara, and the āmalaka above has no grīvā. The ghaṇṭā above the āmalaka may be ancient; the kalaśa is doubtful.

On the east face of the śikhara is a large floating śūrasēnaka just below the skandha. Whether this is an apology for a śukanāsa is moot.

The śikhara somewhat reminds one of those of seventh-century temples at Bhubanēśvara or that of the Sirpur temple, though direct influence from their area can be ruled out. The general disposition of the śikhara favours a date in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. A date around A.D. 650-675 seems safer, however, keeping in mind the archaisms peculiar to this area because of its isolation from the main currents of Nāgara styles.

The stunted Rucaka pillars and interior doorframe are plain.

*Dhāṅk, Sūrya temple (Plates 413-415)*

This single-celled shrine has bhadra projections on plan for the first time in Surāṣṭra, each probably having a niche (Plate 415). The wall is terminated by paṭṭikā, plain but large cippikā, and a kapōta relieved by gavākṣa-dormers filled by full-blown flowers.

The śikhara (Plate 413) has a madhyalātā formed by large, interpenetrating, gavākṣas. The madhyalātā is flanked by an inner and outer vēṇukōśa, both progressively offset but without a demarcating depression between. The śikhara seemingly was



intended to be pañcabhūma; but the courses above the third bhūmi are lost. The gāḍhas of the appliquéd gavākṣas are filled with full-blown flowers, grāsamukhas, a plain architectural trefoil, or, in one case, a gandharvamukha (Plate 413). The base of the inner vēṇukōśa shows two pillarets and a niche; and the two vēṇukōśas are staggered, as at Akhōdar, with the bhūmi-āmalakas at different levels.

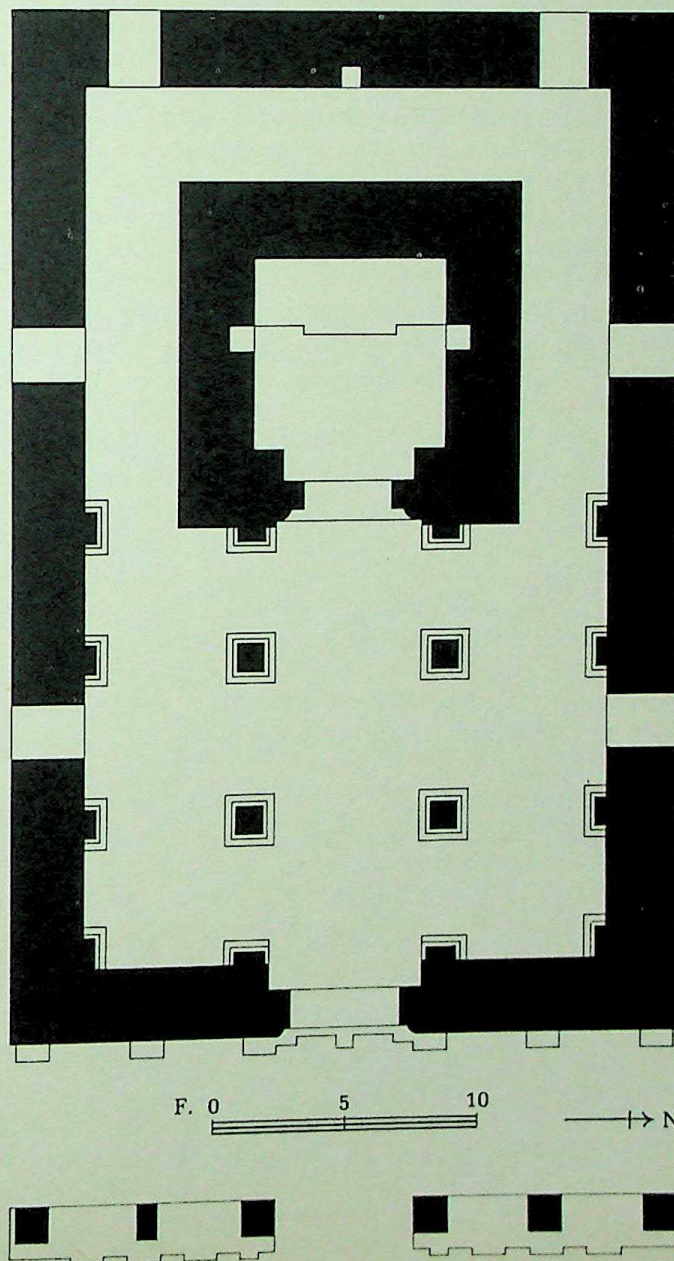


Fig. 80. Dvārakā. Suvarṇatīrtha, old temple, plan. (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)



The fronton of the temple is damaged, but there appears to have been a large gavākṣa-dormer over a shallow śukanāsa (Plate 415).

Kālāvaḍ, Kōṭēśvara temple (Fig. 81)

This archaistic temple has pīṭha mouldings that somewhat resemble those of the Mahākūṭēśvara temple at Mahākūṭa in Karṇāṭadēśa and an upper extension of its kaṭi with a profile that resembles the pīṭha found in Deccani cave temples, crowned by an āmalaka and a kalaśa-finial that touches the lower of two paṭṭikās at the top of the kaṭi (Fig. 81).

The Latina śikhara above the garbhagṛha has a primordial quality; its bhūmis heavily and haltingly progress toward the narrowing skandha; the madhyalatā is archaic, inarticulate, massive, as are the karṇa-gavākṣas along the vēṇukōśa. The cog-wheel member above the skandha is intermediate between āmalaka and āmalasāraka, and the crowning plain ghaṇṭā and kalaśa may be old. Altogether, the śikhara is an experimental and aberrant type.

Pāchtar, Sūrya temple (Plates 416-417)

This sāndhāra temple retains only its plain garbhagṛha and śikhara (Plate 416). This, as at Ḍhāṅk, has two vēṇukōśas, but instead of a madhyalatā, a vertical band of naṣṭāmalakas appears, placed curiously with the corner toward the viewer (Plate 417). The

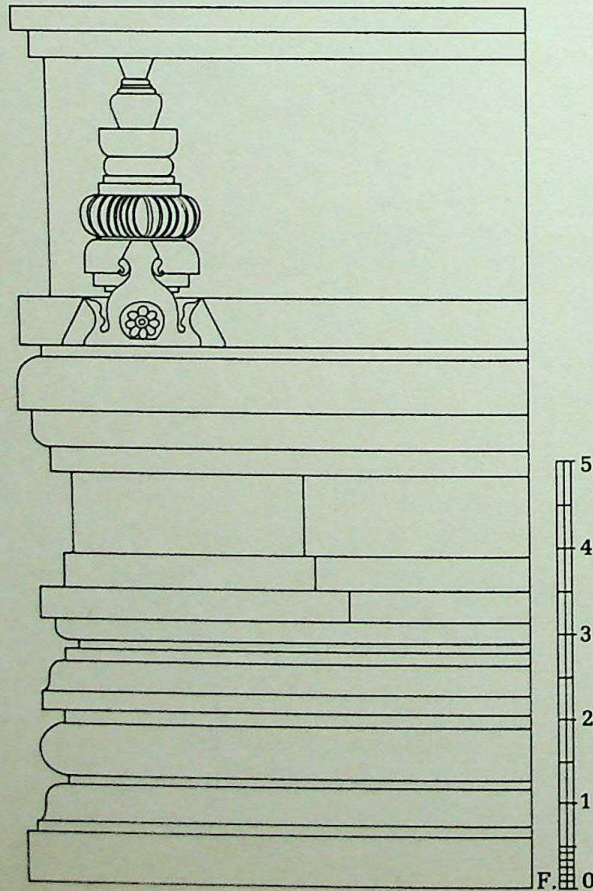


Fig. 81. Kālāvaḍ. Kōṭēśvara temple, pīṭha and vēḍibandha.  
(Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)



upper āmalasāraka is heavy. An original image of Sūrya, heavy, folkish, and somewhat crudely made, is now in the Government Museum, Jamnagar.

In the neighbourhood was a shrine of the Saptamātṛkās, now disappeared. The surviving Mātṛkā figures are much worn.

The Pāchtar temple is perhaps a little later than that at Dhāṅk. If Dhāṅk was built late in the seventh century, Pāchtar could date to c. A.D. 700.

Contemporaneous temples with double vēṇukōśas are known in Western, Central, and Eastern India, but none later than perhaps c. A.D. 700-725.

#### *Rāṇāvāv, Jaḍēśvara temple (Plate 418)*

This small sāndhāra temple has a short maṇḍapa, continuous with the ambulatory, its walls restored. The Phāṁsanā roof has five major kapōtapālikā-tiers, between each of which occurs a minor kapōta. As with a Latina shrine of the Sūtrāpāḍā class, a madhyalatā appears (Plate 418), as already known at Pasnāvaḍā.

The Phāṁsanā is crowned by five square slabs, progressively reduced, perhaps signifying a vēḍī. The crowning kalaśa, its lower part fluted and the upper part (separated by a kalaśa) treated like a cūlikā, may be original. Inside the hall are two plain pillars, which may be original.

#### *Dvārkā, Suvarṇatīrtha temple (Fig. 80; Plates 419, 421)*

This sāndhāra temple is situated about five miles northeast of Dvārkā. It stands on a wide jagatī, having a tall kaṇṭha relieved by pilasters and topped by a parapet, from the bottom course of which plain water-spouts emerge at regular intervals. The corner pilasters are wider than the others and the parapet above assumes a sort of kūṭa-form, decorated with gavākṣa or śurasēna.

The exterior wall of the ambulatory forms an undifferentiated line with the mukhamaṇḍapa (Fig. 80). This wall has a paṭṭikā bearing rafter-ends above and a second, oversailing paṭṭikā, punctured at regular intervals by praṇālas. A tall kapōtapālikā acts as a parapet. At the corners are kaṇṇakūṭas and above each praṇāla a gavākṣa-motif is carved (Plate 419).

The maṇḍapa has four, plain, Rucaka pillars and corresponding engaged columns (Fig. 80).

The plain garbhagṛha doorframe has a large female figure to either side at the base. Though badly coated with cement and lime, these look archaic.

The Phāṁsanā superstructure rests on a short vēḍī and consists of seven kapōtapālikā-tiers (Plate 421), an upper vēḍī, skandha, candrikā, āmalasārikā, ghaṇṭā (probably medieval), and kalaśa. The madhyalatā meets the skandha. The temple may date to the end of the seventh century A.D.

#### *Pāchtar, old temple (Plate 420)*

This temple, at the west end of the village, is a square cell without a porch, east-facing, and standing on a featureless platform (Plate 420). The seven-tiered Phāṁsanā roof resembles that of the Suvarṇatīrtha temple but without madhyalatā and āmalasāraka. The uppermost crowning members are late, but the curvature, which mimics Nāgara conventions, is original.

#### *Mēvāsā, Chēlēśvara temple (Plate 422)*

The maṇḍapa of this east-facing shrine is from the late medieval period but the mūlaprāsāda, with its seven-tiered Phāṁsanā, is ancient. The tiers progressively contract in



height as well as width, so that the ultimate tier almost resembles a small square ghaṇṭā.

*Bhāṇvaḍ*, old temple (Plate 423)

In appearance, this west-facing shrine duplicates the Mēvāsā temple, save that its garbhagrha has slight bhadra projections bearing jālas (that on the north contemporary) and the uppermost (sixth) tier has faces. The maṇḍapa is late medieval.

The Phāṁsanā form fostered during the Maitraka period, phase II, with its varieties and close variants, lacked potential for further development. Its obtuse angle, lack of intervening recesses between tiers, and want of decorative ideas sealed its fate. Sterile and unimaginative, this type was replaced late in the eighth century in Surāṣṭra by beautiful, Mahā-Gūjara, Nāgara forms as were then being developed in northern Gujarat.

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Varieties of North Indian style: Mahā-Gurjara style, phase 1, Arbuda School, c. seventh century A.D.

## Cāpōtkāṣas of Bhillamāla

### Historical Introduction

The Chinese pilgrim, Hsüan Tsang, in the first half of the seventh century A.D., referred to "pi-lo-mo-lo" (probably Bhillamāla, modern Bhinmal, in District Jalor, Rajasthan) as the capital of Gūrjaradēśa. The mathematician, Brahmagupta, wrote his *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* in Bhillamāla in A.D. 628, calling himself a "Bhillamālakācārya," and referred to the patronage of Vyāghramukha of the Cāpōtkāṣa (Cāvaḍā) dynasty. An inscription from Vasantgaḍh, District Sirohi, of A.D. 625 records that one Rājilla and his father Satyāśraya both had ruled as feudatories of the Cāpōtkāṣa king, Varmalāta, of Bhillamāla; Māgha, in his *Śiśupāla-vadha*, later in the century (c. A.D. 680) reported that his grandfather, Suprabhadēva, had been the chief minister for Varmalāta.

That the Cāpōtkāṣa kingdom was one of high cultivation can be seen in its patronage of science and mahākāvya, and from the limited examples of architecture and sculpture surviving from its period. The later history of the dynasty, however, cannot be traced with any certainty, though an inscription of A.D. 738 from Navsārī does record that the Arabs, who conquered Sindh in A.D. 712 under their governor, Junaid, had defeated Kacchēlla (Kaccha), Surāṣṭra, Cāvōṭaka, Maurya, and Gurjara kings and were driven back finally only by Pulakēśi, the Calukya governor of Gujarat.

The "Gurjara"-Pratīhāras, who ruled from Jālōr in Rajasthan, already had begun their rise toward imperial power in this period, partly as a result of leading a confederation of princes against the Arabs. The Mauryas in Upamāla, on the other hand, had been dealt a severe blow by Arab raids, and probably had become the confederates or feudatories of the Pratīhāras by this point. The Cāpōtkāṣas also must have felt pressure from the growing power of the neighboring Pratīhāra dynasty, but the nature of their interaction early in the eighth century cannot be reconstructed. Later chronicles do record that the city of Aṇahillapāṭaka (modern Patan, District Mehsana, Gujarat) was founded by a Cāpōtkāṣa king, Vanarāja, son of Jayaśēkhara, in A.D. 746, and a Cāpa family also ruled in eastern Surāṣṭra as late as the early tenth century A.D.

### Architectural Features

Sculpture and architecture under the Cāpōtkāṣas share characteristics with other contemporary Western Indian styles; the delicate grace and suggestiveness of figures are reminiscent of earlier Śāmalājī sculptures but represent a separate Arbuda idiom early in the seventh century. Architects and sculptors used locally available marble, giving



to their sculpture and architecture a particularly sensuous quality long before the luminous use of marble in the medieval period made the Jaina temples on Mount Abu and the temples at nearby Candrāvati justifiably famous.

The sole surviving temple from the early Cāpōtkāṭa period, the Śiva temple at Kusumā, shows a number of characteristics typical of later Mahā-Gurjara temples, including a broad antarapāṭṭa among the vēdibandha mouldings, rathikā pillars with laśuna-ghaṭa-bharaṇī members, stencilled candraśālā patterns, precise use of masonry, and even, perhaps, its use of an anēkāṇḍaka superstructure over a sāndhāra plan, but there are also elements commonly found on later Mahā-Maru temples to the north, such as elephant-protome (gajamuṇḍa) supports for the mattavāraṇa (kakṣāsana) and free-standing ghaṭapallava pillars (at Kusumā, used only in front of the side-shrines in the gūḍhamaṇḍapa). Its sāndhāra plan, with square garbha, ambulatory, and offset corner piers, with cardinal openings framed by pilasters set against masonry projections and with two widely spaced pillars at the centre, influenced not only the late eighth-century Sūrya temple nearby at Varmāṇ but also Mahā-Maru sāndhāra structures such as those at Bīthū, Ōsiāñ, and Khēḍ. Certain aspects of this early seventh-century shrine also reflect Hindu cave-traditions in the Deccan, including use of heavy Rucaka pillars with paired, foliated, pearled medallions as decoration, roll-bracket forms, a plain, square, masonry sanctum surrounded by pradakṣiṇāpatha, gūḍhamaṇḍapa abutted directly to the ambulatory and with subsidiary shrines to either side, and a broad entry framed by pilasters and with widely spaced central pillars.

That these diverse elements already represent a local synthesis in the seventh century, strong enough to persist in this region for several centuries, can best be seen by comparing the Kusumā temple with the late eighth-century Sūrya shrine at Varmāṇ, hardly a few miles away, which will be described in a later chapter. The Kusumā temple as well as the limited body of sculpture that can be associated with the Cāpōtkāṭa period not only add to our knowledge of the repertoire of forms available early in the seventh century but also emphasize the importance of recognizing the consistency and strength of regional idioms in every period.

Kusumā, Śiva temple (Figs. 82-85a; Plates 424-437)

Locally known as the Rāmcandrajī, this temple was visited by V.S. Sukthankar of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, in 1917; in his period, the ambulatory walls were standing, and the rubble core of a massive superstructure, including the lower portion of a śṛṅga on the northwest corner, could still be seen. Collapse and current renovation have removed much of the old sanctum and ambulatory walls (Fig. 82) but have left the lovely marble gūḍhamaṇḍapa for the moment reasonably intact.

An inscription removed from the ruins at Kusumā was deposited with the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, and now is displayed in the epigraphy room of the museum at Mandor. It records the construction of a Śiva temple in v.s. 693/A.D. 636 by Satyabhāṭa, younger brother of the area's ruler (Salomon has suggested a possible association of Satyabhāṭa with Vajrabhāṭa Satyāśraya of the Vasantgaḍh inscription of v.s. 682/A.D. 625), and mentions the presence of an āśrama of a sage named Kutsa. The tower of the temple is described in formulaic language as towering to the sky and its "hermitage ground" (āśrama-pada) compared to the peak of Mount Mēru.

The Śiva temple, centered toward the western end of a large rectangular compound closed in by a masonry wall capped by half-round coping-stones, faces east (Fig. 83; Plate 424); the jagatī-platform and vēdibandha mouldings of a small eighth-century shrine, inserted at a time when the compound already had partly silted up



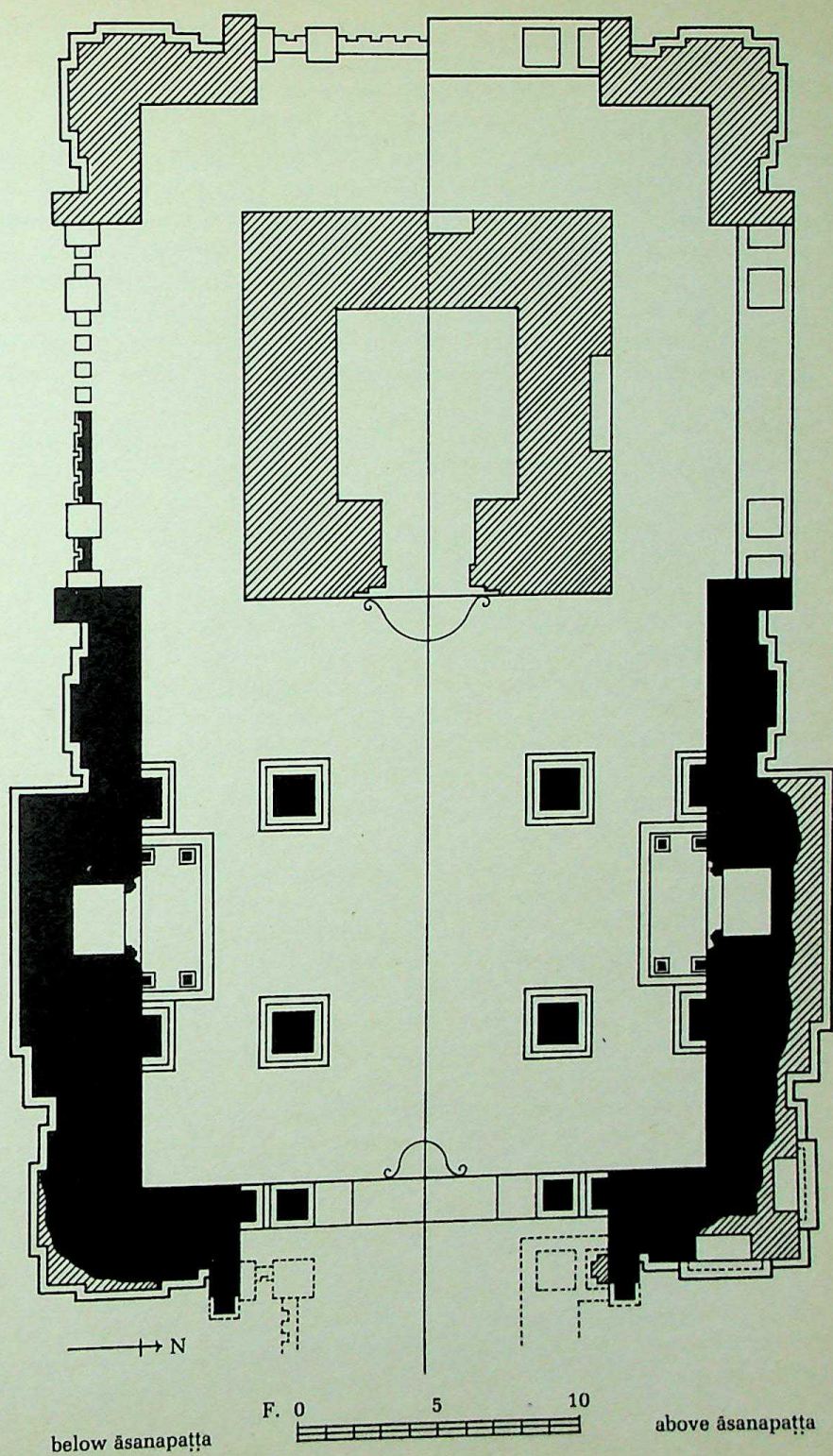


Fig. 82. Kusumā. Śiva temple, plan. (Courtesy: contributor.)



(Plate 426), survive just to its north. The remainder of the compound is filled with rubble, silt, miscellaneous images, architectural fragments, and here and there base mouldings for tiny subsidiary shrines (Fig. 83; Plate 429). A plain, small, re-cemented, marble step-well appears just to the east of this compound.

On plan, the Śiva temple consisted of a sāndhāra mūlaprāsāda with square garbha, a gūḍhamāṇḍapa extending the inner dimensions of the ambulatory, but with subsidiary shrines to north and south, and a shallow mukhamāṇḍapa (Fig. 82). The cardinal openings into the ambulatory and through the mukhamāṇḍapa were framed by masonry projections that extended through vēdibandha mouldings to floor level, with pilasters and widely spaced central pillars (Fig. 82; Plate 425); the openings into the ambulatory were closed by vēdikā, āsanapaṭṭa, and kakṣāsana supported by gajamaṇḍa brackets extending from the bases of the half-pillars above the āsanapaṭṭa (Fig. 82).

The vēdibandha mouldings of the Śiva temple remain buried several feet in silt, entangled in the roots of trees, making it difficult to determine whether the temple has a simple pīṭha, as one might expect. The vēdibandha consists of khura-kumbha, kalaśa, broad antaraṭṭa with lotus-diamonds and double-volute pattern, and kapōtāpālī ornamented with half-candraśālās and ardhapadmas (Fig. 85a).

The plain, well fitted, masonry jaṅghā has as ornament only a madhyabandha consisting of kapōtapālīkā, cippikā of broad lotus-petals, and elegant grāsapaṭṭaka. On the front corners of the gūḍhamāṇḍapa, offsets in the vēdibandha support bases consisting of tulāpīṭha and lotus-petal cippikā for large niches that are recessed into the fabric of the maṇḍōvara (Plate 427). Bhadras of the gūḍhamāṇḍapa act as walls enclosing two subsidiary shrines within the gūḍhamāṇḍapa; these bhadras are made up of plain masonry blocks, ornamented only with madhyabandha, and directly abut the front corners of the mūlaprāsāda in plan (Fig. 82).

The varaṇḍikā above the jaṅghā consisted of kapōtapālīkā, kaṇṭha with diamond and double-volute pattern, a padmapaṭṭikā, and finally a cippikā of broad lotus-petals that acted as base, on the northwest corner, for the single śṛṅga partly surviving in Sukthankar's day. The fact that the temple was anēkāṇḍaka (pañcāṇḍaka) seems certain from this fragment; the gūḍhamāṇḍapa also must have had a superstructure with corner aediculae, as suggested by some of the architectural fragments. (The Kusumā inscription uses the term "uruśikharam" in referring to the temple's lofty towers.)

The interior space of the temple consisted of two squares (ambulatory and gūḍhamāṇḍapa) overlapping to form a mukhālinda in front of the sanctum. Four central Rucaka pillars once supported a raised ceiling that has not survived. Lintels of the central nave are ornamented with rathikās housing images of musicians, sages, and mithunas, as did the larger niches resting above the kumāra brackets of the central pillars (Plate 430).

The rectangular bay between the central pillars and the mukhamāṇḍapa preserves an important ceiling (Plate 432) — the first of its kind surviving in Western India — that represents a cusped wooden ceiling with thin ribs making up its frame. Here the structural reference is clear, though the ceiling has been carved in low relief on a single slab (its octagonal support is made of separate slabs); in later ceilings, this reference is embedded in a cusped filigree of turning apses hardly visible as separate structures (as at Varmāṇ and much more elaborately later at Mount Abu).

Half-pillars of the north and south walls of the gūḍhamāṇḍapa frame low mañcas that act as antarāla porches for two subsidiary shrines (Plate 434); these have smaller ghaṭapallava pillars and pilasters that support large Phāṁsanā pediments fronted by a



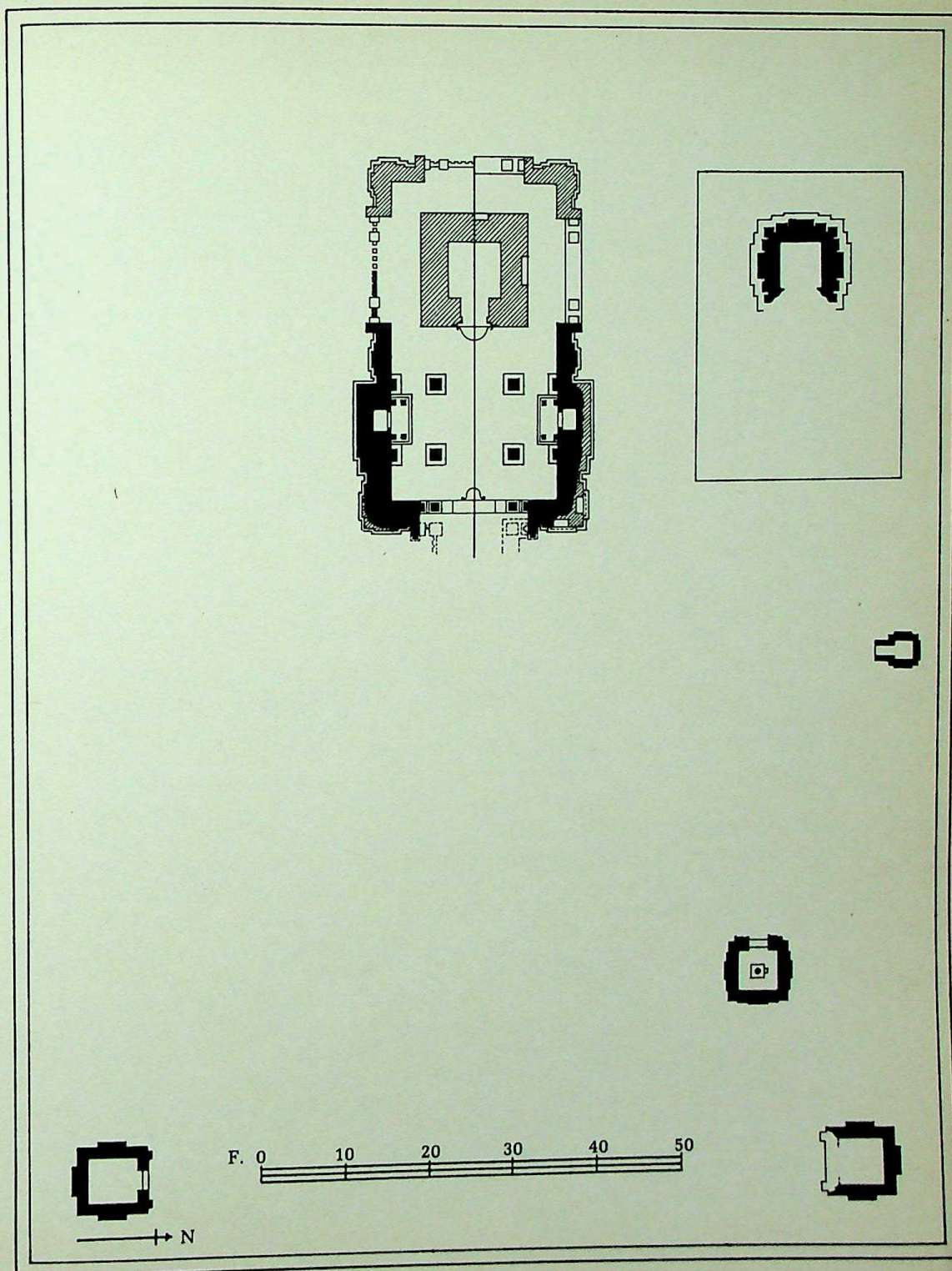


Fig. 83. Kusumā. Śiva temple, plan of compound. (Courtesy: contributor.)



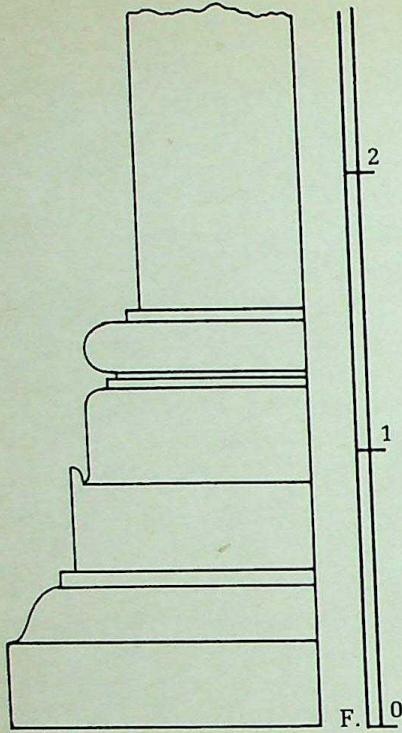


Fig. 84. Kusumā. Śiva temple, base mouldings of gūḍhamanḍapa pillars. (Courtesy: contributor.)

bold, elegant, ornate udgama, in kind resembling that facing the Viśvakarmā cave at Ēllōrā; the lower level of this large udgama frames two lotus-diamonds to either side and has a projecting rathikā at the centre with tōraṇa and udgama enclosing Śaiva figures (on the south, Umā-Mahēśvara; Plate 435).

The original doorway to the garbhagṛha, illustrated in one of Sukthankar's photographs, has been replaced during modern rebuilding by a doorway of which the inner śākhā is completely modern, but which uses a piece of ancient vēdikā as overdoor and frames the construction with half-pillars taken from the mūlaprāsāda's cardinal openings (Plate 425). The original doorway was triśākhā, with a lovely moonstone at its base, an udumbara with a half-circle with paired haṁsas at the centre, and an inner foliated śākhā having river goddesses on the pēdyās, Gaṇēśa and Skanda in the middle on either side, and Lakulīśa on the lalāṭa above (Plate 436). The stambhaśākhās had dvārapālas on the pēdyās and were elaborately ornamented with basal kīrttimukhas, a vertical floral band, ornate darpaṇa, octagonal neck with pearled niche-forms, large ghaṭapallava with hanging pearl-loops, lips with leaf-drops and shallow volutes, crowning kīrttimukha bracket, and a cross-lintel of paired cornices marked by four śṛṅga-like projections, crowned by thin āmalakas, and a central pediment formed of candraśālās and half-candraśālās with vyālas on the side. The bāhyaśākhā shows a convoluted creeper. Crisp, yet with a high sense of plasticity, the ornate, low-relief, carving of this doorway is typical of the Arbuda school.

A bold overdoor, springing from a bed of sensuously carved buds and lotuses, framed three images by Rucaka pillarets, having laśuna-ghaṭa-bharaṇī elements, crowned by tōraṇas (Plate 436); these images were of Brahmā (left), Śiva (missing in Sukthankar's photograph), and Viṣṇu, all seated in yōgāsana, Śiva flanked by Śaiva pratihāras and Brahmā and Viṣṇu by celestial apsaras (Plate 433).



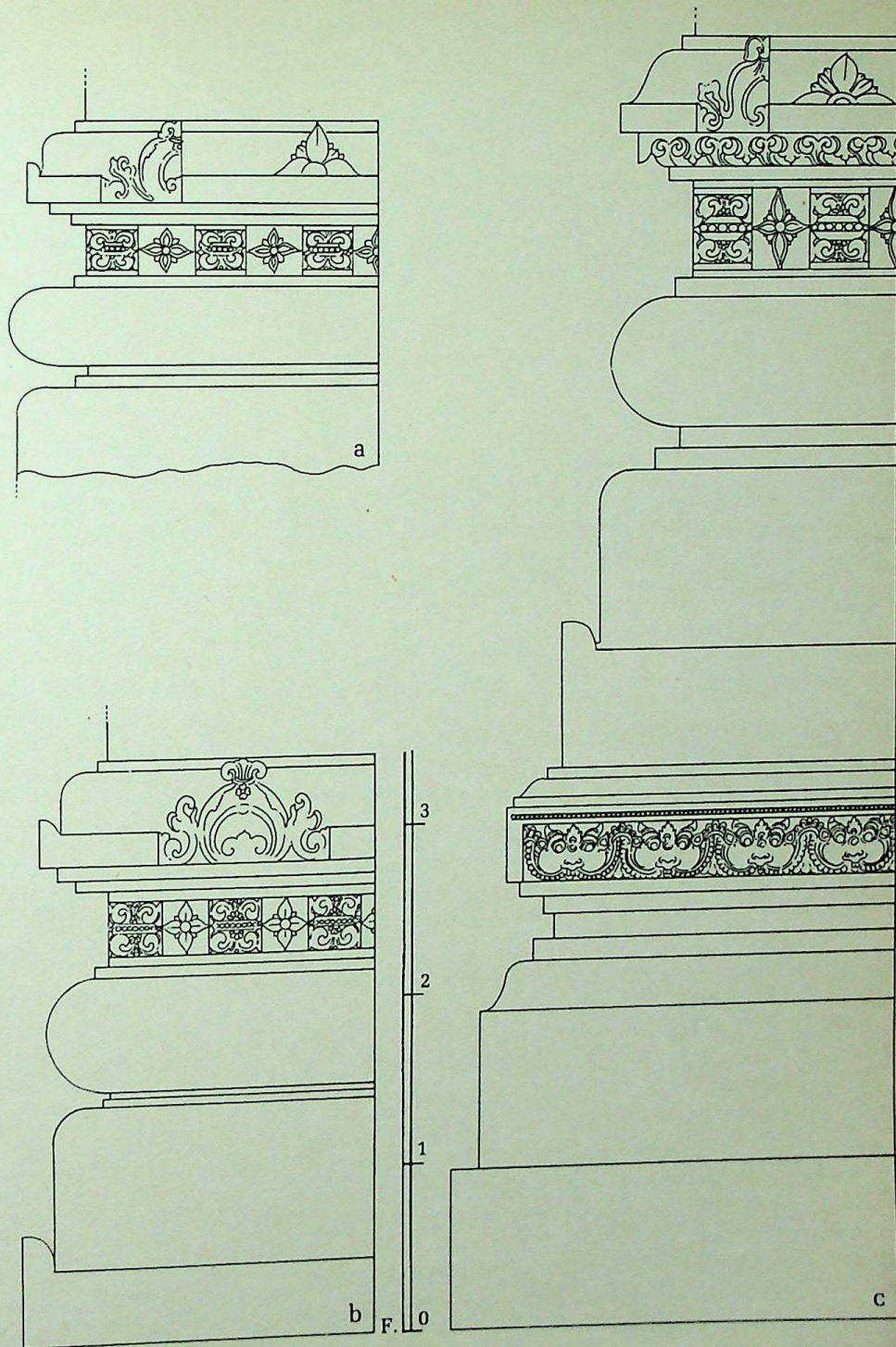


Fig. 85. Vēdibandhas:  
 a. Kusumā. Śiva temple; b. Varmāṇ. Śiva temple; c. Varmāṇ. Sūrya temple.  
 (Courtesy: contributor.)



In the sanctum is a large marble image of Śiva-Mahādēva, the central face partly damaged and the eyes of all three faces now unpleasantly covered with silver. The fierce left face shows taut neck tendons, fangs dripping blood into a bowl held in one hand, crown of snakes and skulls, and flame-like hair; the right face, strong in its profile, wears a huge spoked earring, elegant hairdress, and one hand holds a mirror; the great central Śiva bust wears towering jaṭāmukuṭa, exceptional neck ornament, nāga as sacred thread, carries rosary and citron, and originally had an appropriate expression of serene dignity. While certainly not able to equal the spiritual force of the great image at Elephanta, this remains a remarkably expressive conception, to which subsequent artists in this region would look, as to the temple, for a model.

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Varieties of North Indian style: Kāmarūpa style,  
c. seventh century A.D.

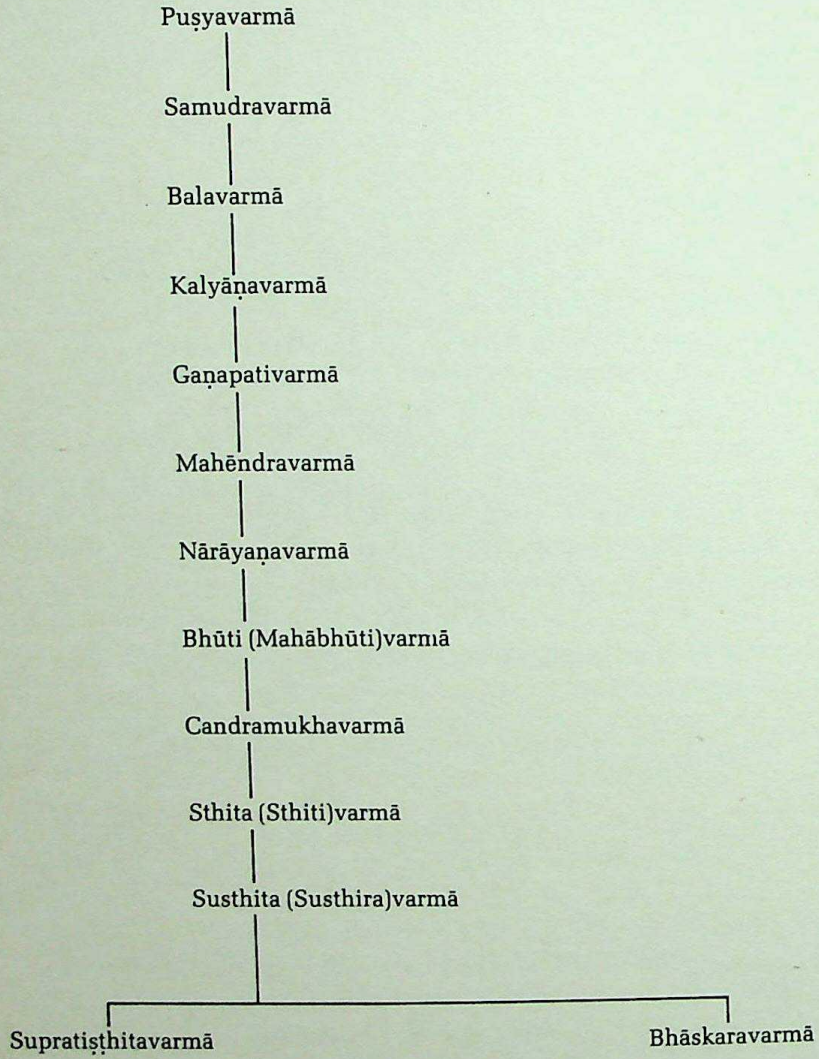
## Varmans of Kāmarūpa

### Historical Introduction

From the Dubi and Nidhanpur copper-plate grants of Bhāskaravarmā, supported by his Nālandā seal-inscription, one learns of 12 generations of chiefs ruling the kingdom of Prāggyōtiṣa (Kāmarūpa) in the Brahmaputrā valley of Assam. The dynasty traced its descent from the mythical demon-king Naraka, his son Bhagadatta of *Mahābhārata* fame, and the latter's son Vajradatta. The same dynasty, according to the above epigraphs (after a lapse of 3,000 years, as stated in the Nidhanpur grant), produced the first historical personage, Puṣyavarmā, who, as well as his three descendants, is called Mahārājādhirāja in the Nālandā seal. Kāmarūpa is mentioned as a subordinate frontier-state in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (c. A.D. 350-370), and the dynasty evidently owed its rise, about the middle of the fourth century A.D., to the patronage of Gupta imperial power. It continued to be a Gupta feudatory during the fifth century, as indicated by the prolonged vogue of the Gupta era in Kāmarūpa. The sixth or seventh descendant of Puṣyavarmā seems to have taken advantage of the weakness of Gupta imperial authority towards the beginning of the sixth century and is stated in the Nālandā seal to have performed two aśvamēdha sacrifices marking his independent status.

The founder of the family's greatness was Bhūtivarmā, the eighth descendant, whose authority extended over the contiguous Ḍavāka (Kapilī valley) and the Surmā valley further south; he was the original donor of the Dubi and Nidhanpur charters, granting land to more than 200 Brahmanas. A rock-inscription in the Kapilī valley (District Nowgong) states that Bhūtivarmā also performed an aśvamēdha sacrifice. The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa narrates an historical account of the family from Bhūtivarmā to Bhāskaravarmā, the 13th ruler of the dynasty, who was contemporary with Hsüan Tsang and was friend and ally of Harṣavardhana. The tenth ruler in the line is credited with two aśvamēdha sacrifices; the 11th suffered defeat at the hands of the Later-Gupta king, Mahāsēnagupta, and was succeeded by his elder son, Supratīṣṭhitavarmā. Shortly thereafter, in c. A.D. 600, Kāmarūpa was invaded by the Gaudas and both Supratīṣṭhitavarmā and his younger brother, Bhāskaravarmā, were taken captive to Gauda but released after some time. Supratīṣṭhitavarmā had a short reign, and was succeeded by his brother, Bhāskaravarmā, who is eulogised in the *Harṣacarita* and in Hsüan Tsang's travel-accounts for his statesmanship, patronage of learning, and his friendship with Harṣavardhana; Bhāskaravarmā renewed the Nidhanpur grant from his camp at Karṇasuvarṇa, situated near Murshidabad, which had been the capital of



**Genealogical Table: Varmans of Prāgjyōtiṣa**



Śaśāṅka. After Śaśāṅka's death in A.D. 619, his kingdom was partitioned between Harṣavardhana and Bhāskaravarmā. Towards the end of his long reign (c. A.D. 606-648), Bhāskaravarmā was defeated by the Tibetan king Sron-tsan-gam-po; shortly thereafter his kingdom, left without a successor, was usurped by a new dynasty.

Bhāskaravarmā was a devotee of Śiva but was also well-disposed towards Buddhism, as attested by his admiration for Hsüan Tsang and his participation in the quinquennial festival of Harṣavardhana, wherein the two rulers were said to play the roles of Brahmā and Indra flanking an image of Buddha.

### Architectural Features

Little remains of architecture under Bhāskaravarmā save probably the doorway to a Śiva temple at Dah Parbatīyā, which shows close links to the art of Madhyadēśa.

*Dah Parbatīyā, remains of Śaiva temple (Plate 438)*

Close to the town of Tezpur, District Darrang, Assam, is the village of Dah Parbatīyā in which the remains of a brick temple of Śiva of the Ahōm period overlays ruins of an earlier stone temple, of which only a highly ornate doorframe has survived (Plate 438). Made of three pieces of sandstone, this has a "T"-shaped format and is composed of four śākhās; the innermost carved with patralatā, the next with padmalatā, the third a stambhaśākhā embellished with pramathas, apsaras, and figures of Kārttikēya and Gaṇēśa, the fourth adorned with a chain-like garland of distinctive design. Between the first two śākhās is the serpentine body of a pair of nāgas ending in human busts, their hands held in añjali, their tails held by a garuḍa at the centre of the lintel. The stambhaśākhās have ghaṭapallava capitals and plain brackets with a bhāravāhaka on the front; these support a kapōta decorated with five śimhakarṇas. The central one now harbours seated Lakulīśa with two attendants; the flanking śimhakarṇas contain horse-headed Tumburu and either a nāga or a Śiva-gaṇa playing a flute; the terminal śimhakarṇas show Sūrya and Śiva with attendants. Nimbate Gaṇḡā and Yamunā are carved on the lower part of the dvāraśākhās; each carries a garland and is accompanied by three female attendants carrying a cāmara and offerings. A pair of flying geese holding garlands in their beaks are represented above the heads of the river-goddesses. The modelling of the river-goddesses is reminiscent of the Maṇiyār Maṭh nāginī, but their attendants have tribal features and somewhat congealed stances. In Central India, the motif of nāgas held by a central garuḍa becomes common on monuments no earlier than the seventh century A.D.

Krishna Deva

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Varieties of North Indian style: Dakṣiṇa Kōsala style,  
c. late sixth–early eighth century A.D.

## Pāṇḍuvarṃśīs of Śrīpura and Nalas

### Historical Introduction

The present region of Chattisgarh, comprising Raipur, Bilaspur, Raigarh, Durg, and Rajnandgaon Districts of Madhya Pradesh, was known as Dakṣiṇa Kōsala or Mahākōsala in ancient times. This area came within the sphere of Gupta imperial influence, as we know from Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, which refers to Mahēndra of Kōsala and Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra among Dakṣiṇāpatha kings defeated by Samudragupta and reinstated as subordinate allies. No other information about these kings has survived. The Gupta Era, however, was used as late as A.D. 601 in the Ārang plate of Bhīmasēna of the Rājarsitulya family.

We have records of three dynasties who ruled in Mahākōsala with concurrent jurisdiction between the sixth and eighth centuries. Princes of the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvarṃśīs both issued land-grants from Śrīpura (modern Sirpur) on the Mahānadi, which appears to have been the capital of Mahākōsala. On the evidence of epigraphy, the Śarabhapurīyas are regarded as predecessors of the Pāṇḍuvarṃśīs. The second ruler of the latter line, Indrabala, who brought the family into prominence, is identified with mahāsāmanta Indrabalarāja, the sarvādhikārādhikṛta (prime-minister) of the penultimate Śarabhapurīya ruler, Sudēvarāja. If this is accepted, it would imply that Indrabala ousted his master and set up his own dynasty.

### Rājarsitulyas

Six rulers belonging to a dynasty known as the Rājarsitulyakula are known from a copper plate found at Ārang, issued by the last ruler of the line, Bhīmasēna II. This grant is dated in G.E. 282/A.D. 601 and attests to the lingering influence of the Imperial Guptas in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. V.V. Mirashi reads the date as year 182 of the Gupta Era (A.D. 501), which would imply that this dynasty flourished during the fifth century, thus preceding the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvarṃśīs.

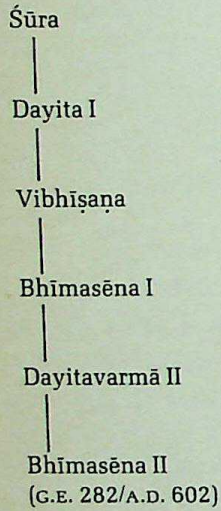
### Śarabhapurīyas

The founder of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty and of its capital, Śarabhapura, was a chief called Śarabha. He is identified with Śarabharāja, the maternal uncle of emperor Bhānugupta's associate Gōparāja, who died fighting in a battle at Ēraṇ in A.D. 510 (though this is not unanimously accepted). Śarabha was succeeded by his son, Mahārāja Narēndra, who issued three surviving copper-plate grants during the 24 years of his reign, two from Śarabhapura and one from his camp at Tilakēśvara. Narēndra

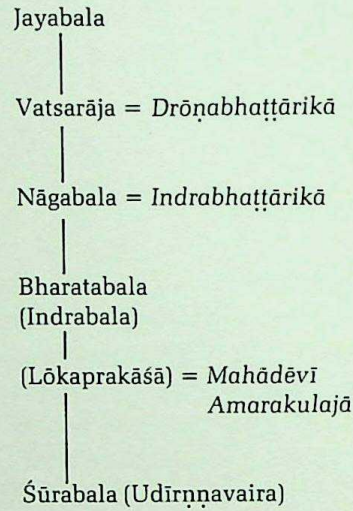


## Genealogical Table: Rājarṣitulya, Pāṇḍu, Śarabhapuriya, and Nala dynasties

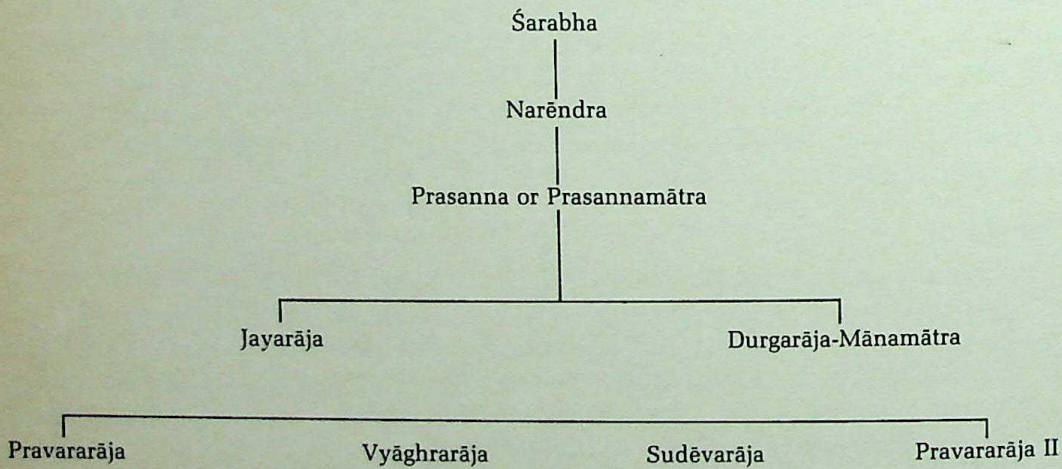
### I. Rājarṣitulya dynasty



### II. Pāṇḍu dynasty of Mēkala

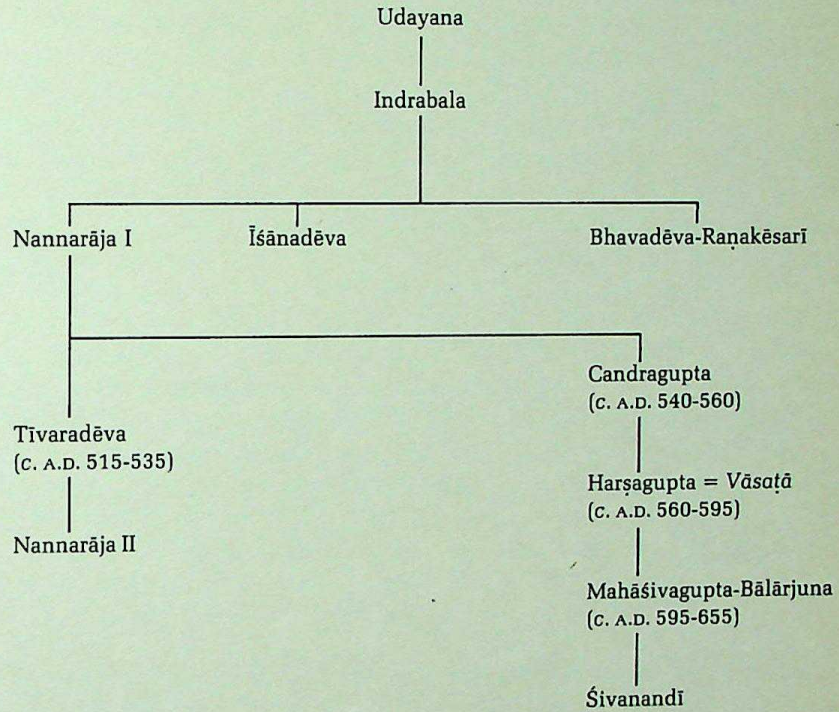


### III. Śarabhapuriya dynasty

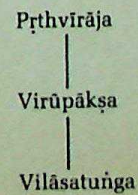
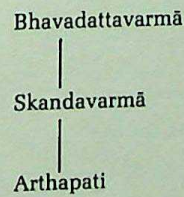




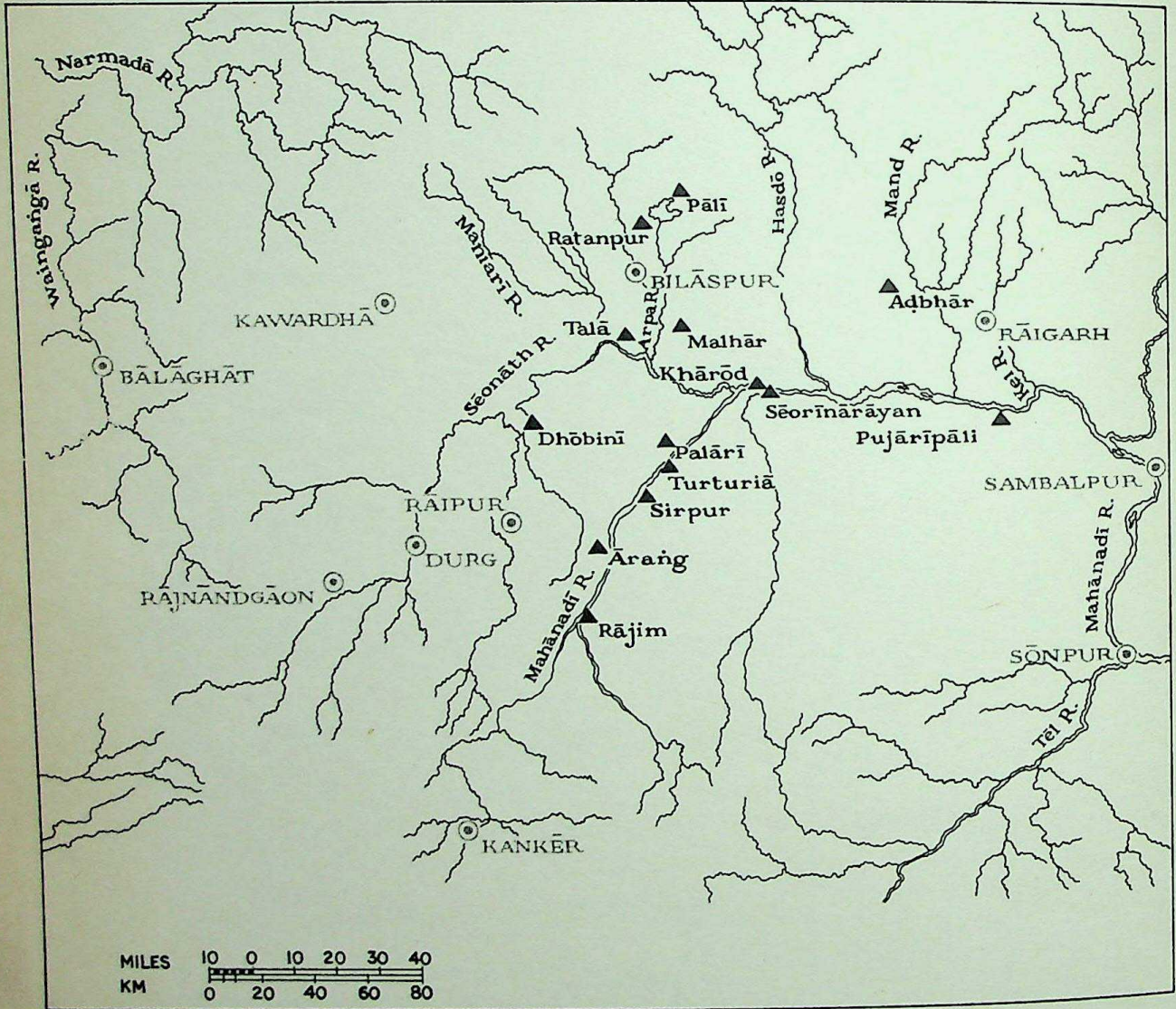
## IV. Pāṇḍu dynasty



## V. Nala dynasty







Dakṣiṇa Kōsala: Pāṇḍuvamśī and Nala sites.



appears to have been a feudatory of a Gupta king, to whom he refers in his records as paramabhaṭṭārakapāda. The next ruler was Prasannamātra, who founded a town called Prasannapura on the bank of the river Niḍilā; he issued coins in debased gold, imitating the distinctive coinage of Mahēndrāditya and Kramāditya. His coins are reported from an extensive area, including Chanda in Maharashtra and Kalahandi in Orissa.

Prasannamātra was succeeded by his son Jayarāja, who issued four copper-plate grants from Śarabhapura. His grants come from the eastern districts of Mahākōsala and adjoining Orissa and set a pattern for both charters and seals that is followed by all subsequent rulers of Mahākōsala. Jayarāja was followed by his brother Mānamātra-Durgarāja, who was succeeded by his son Sudēvarāja. Sudēvarāja issued nine copper-plate grants, five from Śarabhapura and three from Śrīpura. Those from Śrīpura mention sarvādhikārādhikṛta Indrabalarāja, sometimes identified with the homonymous Pāṇḍuvaṁśī ruler, grandfather of Tīvaradēva, as dūtaka. Sudēvarāja seems to have shifted his capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura in the latter part of his reign. Sudēvarāja was followed by his brother Pravaraarāja.

The ancient site of Malhār (Bilaspur District) has yielded a copper-plate grant issued from Prasannapura by Vyāghrarāja in his fourth regnal year. Vyāghrarāja is described as the younger brother of king Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka of the Amarāryakula. Though some scholars consider Vyāghrarāja to be a member of the Śarabhapurīya family, this is not convincing; the draft of the charter, the seal, and also its script, differ from other grants of the Śarabhapurīyas.

The Śarabhapurīyas were devotees of Viṣṇu, invariably calling themselves paramabhāgavata, and engraving Gajalakṣmī on their seals. An incomplete copper-plate grant of Narēndra found at Rava in Raipur District assigns an endowment in favour of a Vaiṣṇava temple of Śrīdharasvāmī.

After Sudēvarāja, the fortunes of this family waned, and the dynasty was probably supplanted by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs.

### Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs

The first known member of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa (Pāṇḍavavaṁśa or Sōmavaṁśa) dynasty was Udayana, perhaps recorded in a rock inscription at Kālāñjara (District Banda, U.P.) as an ancient king of that region. He was succeeded by Indrabala, often identified with mahāsāmanta Indrabalarāja, sarvādhikārādhikṛta of the Śarabhapurīya ruler, Sudēvarāja. Indrabala had four sons; one, Nannarāja, is described as the "conqueror of earth" while another, Bhavadēva (also called Cintādurga and Raṇakēsari), seems to have been Nannarāja's governor in Mahārāṣṭra. He is credited with restoring a Buddhist temple built by Sūryaghōṣa. Īśānadēva is mentioned in the Lakṣmaṇēśvara inscription at Kharōd as having endowed the temple with villages. Nannarāja was succeeded by his son Tīvaradēva, a powerful ruler styled "the overlord of the whole of Kōsala and (adjoining) maṇḍalas like Utkala." He was a paramavaiṣṇava, and carved the effigy of Garuḍa on the seals of his three copper-plate charters. Some scholars think that the Viṣṇukunḍī king Mādhavavarmā (c. A.D. 520-560) was a contemporary of Tīvaradēva, but there is no consensus on this point.

Tīvaradēva was followed by his son Nannarāja II, styled paramavaiṣṇava. Nannarāja was succeeded by Candragupta and Harṣagupta, who have left no records. Harṣagupta is recorded as a devotee of Viṣṇu; he married Vāsaṭā, daughter of Sūryavarmā of Magadha, identified with Sūryavarmā, son of the Maukhari king Īśānavarmā (A.D. 554). Harṣagupta was followed by Mahāśivagupta (also known as Bālārjuna), the most influential ruler of Mahākōsala, who reigned for 57 years. Though he styled



himself paramamāhēśvara and carved the Śaiva bull on his royal seal, he also patronised Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist establishments. He issued six copper-plate grants, three from Malhār. Two grants provide for maintenance of Śiva temples (called Īśānēśvara and Kapālēśvara), the latter built by Śivanandī in Kōsalānagara. Another grant provides for the maintenance of a vihārikā at the request of the king's maternal uncle Bhāskaravarmā. Of a dozen stone inscriptions pertaining to Mahāśivagupta's reign, 11 have been found at Sirpur and one at Sēnākpāṭ, two miles south of Sirpur; seven are Śaiva, four Buddhist, and one Vaiṣṇava. The latter mentions the foundation of a Viṣṇu temple by the king's mother Vāsaṭā in commemoration of her deceased husband Harṣagupta. This inscription pertains to the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur, where it was found. The inscription from Sēnākpāṭ refers to the construction of a Śiva temple and the dedication of some plots of land in favour of a Śaiva ascetic. Six Śaivite inscriptions are located in the modern Gandhēśvara temple at Sirpur, which is referred to in three of the six epigraphs as the temple of Gandharvēśvara.

One Buddhist stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna, recording the donation of a friar, Ānandaprabha, was unearthed in a Buddhist vihāra, excavated about a mile south of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur. There was a large Buddhist temple-cum-monastery, with a monastic annex and an enshrined, colossal, seated stone image of Buddha, attended by Bōdhisattvas. The excavation also yielded large stone figures of Jambhala and Gaṅgā and many bronze and stone statues of Buddha and Bōdhisattvas.

In close proximity to the above, a similar but slightly smaller Buddhist establishment was found belonging to the same period. Sirpur has also yielded a large hoard of Buddhist bronzes of the eighth century including exquisite figures of Tārā, Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi, and Mañjuśrī, besides those of Buddha. The site is rich in other remains — inscriptions, ruined temples, and loose architectural pieces. If the Pāṇḍuvarṁśīs did not found Śrīpura, to them is mainly due its abundant archaeological wealth. Sirpur's claim to be the ancient capital of Mahākōsala is at least on a par with the site of Malhār, District Bilaspur.

### Nalas

Bhavadattavarmā was the first Nala ruler, followed by Skandavarmā and Arthapati; they are known from epigraphic and numismatic sources to have flourished during the late fifth and early sixth centuries and were contemporaries of the Vākātakas, Narēndrasēna and Pṛthviṣēṇa II. Though the Nalas had their home in the southeast extremity of Mahākōsala, Bhavadattavarmā carried his arms into Vākāṭaka territory, as indicated by Rithapur plates that refer to a grant of land in Vidarbha and the issue of a charter from Nandivardhana, the earliest capital of the main Vākāṭaka line. The Bālāghāt plates of Vākāṭaka Pṛthviṣēṇa II state that the king had raised his sunken family. Pṛthviṣēṇa II not only drove out the Nalas from his kingdom but even occupied enemy territory. A Pōḍāgaḍh inscription says that the Nala king Skandavarmā, son of Bhavadattavarmā, recovered the lost fortune of his family and repeopled the deserted capital of Puṣkarī, where he constructed a temple to Viṣṇu.

The Calukya king Kīrttivarmā I (A.D. 567-597) also claims to have subdued the Nalas, who eventually lost their northern possessions to the Pāṇḍuvarṁśīs.

We learn of three dynasts of a ruling Nala family — Pṛthvirāja, Virūpākṣa, and Vilāsatuṅga — from a stone inscription fixed in the Rājīvalōcana temple at Rājīm that records the construction of a Viṣṇu temple by Vilāsatuṅga. This epigraph can be assigned to c. A.D. 700-725. The Nalas seem to have laid low in their home territory of



Bastar-Koraput during the sixth and early seventh centuries but to have then filled the vacuum created by the decline of the Pāṇḍuvamśī kings towards the close of the seventh century. The Nalas had Vaiṣṇava leanings and built shrines at Rājim.

The Vākātakas of the main branch and the Nalas of Mahākōsala struggled throughout the latter half of the fifth century. The Vākātaka capital of Nandivardhana (District Nagpur) remained for some time under the occupation of the Nalas, and the Vākātakas in turn ravaged Puṣkarī (District Koraput), the Nala capital. The last Vākātaka prince, Pṛthviṣēṇa II, had to shift his capital to Padmapura (District Bhandara), which brought the Vākātakas right to the border of Mahākōsala. The prolonged contact between the two neighbouring powers led to cultural intercourse clearly reflected in the earliest artistic remains at Rājim and Turturiā in Mahākōsala.

### Architectural Features

Artistic decoration in Mahākōsala shows clear contact with artistic traditions of the Vākātakas, as at Ajaṇṭā. A doorway preserved in the Rāmacandra temple at Rājim shows ratnaśākhā and a Rucaka stambhaśākhā with fluted laṣuna closely aligned with those from Ajaṇṭā cave no. 2. Decorative and figural ornaments, including a seated amorous mithuna (the male wearing wig-shaped curls) echo painted figures at Ajaṇṭā (a yakṣa riding a makara depicted at the base of the doorframe is comparable to a similar representation on a pilaster medallion in the verandah of Ajaṇṭā cave no. 23).

Of two early pillars in the Rāmacandra temple, one is Rucaka, the other octagonal with a circular fluted laṣuna and crowning members. Similar pillars are known from Turturiā. These Mahākōsala art forms, which reveal the diffused impact of Vākātaka prototypes, can be dated c. A.D. 525-550.

Not all structures in Mahākōsala, however, show such influence. The earliest surviving temple in Mahākōsala is the Śiva temple at Talā, which is a massive ashlar edifice with an unusual plan and elevation. Its vēdibandha shows certain mouldings otherwise unfamiliar in North India; its jaṅghā displays a design of shallow, oblong, framed niches, with heavy makara-tōraṇas crowning bhadra niches. The scheme, with some niches projecting, others recessed, a few crowned by makara-tōraṇas, seems reminiscent of early Calukya and Pallava temples. In contrast to the austere treatment of the wall, the doorway and the side-walls of its mukhamaṇḍapa are lavishly carved with figural and floral ornaments, executed in a highly decorative style. Some of these figural reliefs have a Vākātaka flavour. The temple has been assigned to c. A.D. 550-575. Architecturally, the temple is uncommon in plan and elevation, comprising an antar-āla almost as large as the garbhagrha and a narrow mukhamaṇḍapa. The typical architectural idiom of Mahākōsala is reflected first in the brick-built Rājivalōcana temple at Rājim.

Temples of Mahākōsala datable between c. A.D. 600 and 725 are mostly brick-built and share common characteristics. They are made of finely jointed, smoothly rubbed bricks raised on a stone jagatī; their doorframes and pillars are made of stone. They consist of garbhagrha, kapilī, and long pillared maṇḍapa. Two early examples are dvi-aṅga, but others are pañcaratha or tri-aṅga. The earliest examples are orthogonal while others show angled projections on the pratirathas with āmalakas above on the pratilatās of the śikhara.

The vēdibandha has a fixed sequence of kumbha, kalaśa, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōta-pālī. Kalaśa is adorned with a pattern of leaves (resembling those of the aśoka tree) surmounted by fruit. The jaṅghā is dominated by Rucaka pilasters with plain shafts,



simple moulded capitals, abacus and brackets of Deccani affiliation. The pillar top often assumes the form of a fluted ghaṭapallava on a plain octagonal necking. Similar miniature pilasters appear in the varaṇḍikā, which is sandwiched between a pair of prominent kapōtas. Identical kapōtas cap each bhūmi of the śikhara, marked by āmalakas on the kārṇas and on the pratirathas on some monuments.

A favorite architectural motif is the candraśālikā or śimhakarṇa containing heart-shaped mukulakas. Crowned by a grāsamukha, the śimhakarṇa sometimes contains pilasters.

The stone doorway of these temples received maximum embellishment. Outer śākhās show scrolls, mithunas, or adoring nāgas, while inner bands show luxurious scrolls, full of half lotuses, and registers of peacock or makara motifs. The lintel often displayed Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu on Vaiṣṇava shrines and the Brahmanical triad with Śiva or Lakulīśa at the centre on Śaiva shrines. Later temples show life-size figures of the river-goddesses in place of outer śākhās.

With the exception of the Rājivalōcana temple at Rājim, Mahākōsala temples have a heavy-shouldered rēkha śikhara marked by bhūmi-āmalakas. The Rājivalōcana is triratha on plan and its śikhara is a straight-edged pyramid with stūpī-like octagonal śikharikās on the kārṇas.

The Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur, the most finished example of the Mahākōsala style, is pañcaratha (tri-aṅga), with a well-integrated śikhara having slightly curvilinear contour. It has varied and refined architectural embellishments, which include ghanadvāras on the bhadras, kārṇāmalakas as well as octagonal śikharikās in the śikhara. The temple also introduces such architectonic ornaments as bhāraputrakas, lion brackets with two bodies and a single head, and striding elephants.

The Rāma temple at Sirpur, simpler and smaller than the Lakṣmaṇa, introduced angled projections acting as pratirathas for the first time. The Śabarīnārāyaṇa temple at Kharōd also uses angled projections on the pratirathas; in the śikhara, these projections are marked by bold quarter āmalakas aligned with the kārṇāmalakas. The central pañjara is marked by large candraśālikās. The doorframe shows nāgas in half human and half serpentine form, a feature that henceforth constitutes an important trait of the Mahākōsala style. Garuḍa as lalāṭabimba holds the tails of two nāgas. The Indal Dēul at Kharōd and the Siddhēśvara temple at Palārī introduce life-size figures of the river-goddesses spanning almost the entire height of the jambs. These figures stand at Kharōd in tribhaṅga and at Palārī in atibhaṅga.

The Śiva temple at Aḍbhār, to judge from its plinth, had a plan arrived at by placing two squares at an angle of 45°. The Śiva temple at Dhōbinī, of similar date and style, repeats this plan (perhaps regarded appropriate for Śaiva shrines). The varaṇḍikā and three surviving bhūmis of the śikhara are dominated by pilasters and by a row of prominent śimhakarṇas and bhūmi-āmalakas marking each storey.

*Rājim, Rāmacandra temple, architectural remains (Fig. 94a; Plates 439-443)*

Alexander Cunningham, who visited Rājim in 1881-82, recorded a tradition that the Rāmacandra temple was built 250 and 400 years ago. The use of a knife-edge moulding in the vēḍibandha guarantees that the temple can be no earlier than the 11th century. It is likely that, like other temples at Rājim (such as the Dānēśvara and Rājēśvara), it is very late, crudely imitating old designs and reutilising old architectural pieces. The sanctum doorway, for example, shows a smaller, earlier doorframe of four śākhās within a larger one of three śākhās probably of the 17th century.

The earlier doorframe shows workmanship reflecting Vākāṭaka influence (Plates



439-443). The inner ratnaśākhā represents a maṇibandha of diamonds alternating with bean-shaped gems; next, a śākhā is decorated with perforated, half-lotus triangles (these two śākhās have a common block at their base carved with a yakṣa riding on a makara; Plate 442); the third śākhā is carved with a thin octagonal band and two square clasps, fringed on the outer side by lotus petals; fourth is a broad, Rucaka stambhaśākhā carved with a base panel of scrolls, a goddess standing in tribhaṅga under a simhakarna tōraṇa with mukula pendant, ardhapadma, rectangular strip with amorous couple, mālāsthāna decorated with a medallion, short fluted section containing a dancing gaṇa with rosettes below and above, fluted laśuna tāṭi, and āmalaka-shaped ghaṭa. The base of these śākhās, on the right, shows a squatting yakṣa (that on the left is defaced). The lateral faces of the doorway are fluted, with square bosses ornamented with half and full lotuses (Plate 440).

The maṇḍapa pillars of this temple are old; the majority are carved with large śālabhañjikā figures, apsaras, Gaṅgā in one instance, lively monkeys, mithunas, and other decorative motifs and belong to the latter half of the seventh century. Two pillars, however, seem older, agreeing in style with the earlier doorframe. One is Rucaka, the other octagonal except for a fluted, circular laśuna and other upper parts (Plate 439).

The lower two-fifths of the Rucaka pillar (Plate 443) is plain; the upper three-fifths is carved in three zones. The lower shows a half-lotus medallion (a band of rosettes below) containing either a seated mithuna or reclining corpulent figure; the middle, a central mithuna or apsara flanked by rampant mēṣavyālas (festoons above and below show figures of vidyādhara, gaṇas, etc.); the top, a large lotus medallion containing mithuna or fanciful figure (kautuka). The top zone is crowned by a small design resembling a grāsamukha.

The octagonal pillar (Plate 439) has fluted, circular laśuna and upper members. The lowest third of the shaft is plain; the next has two ornate clasps showing a festoon decorated with seated mithunas (with a band of rosettes below, and a scroll interspersed with playful jambhakas). The upper part of the shaft is lavishly decorated with a register of festoons enclosing vidyādhara, a row of small medallions containing mithunas with a rosette border, and a register of figures holding a vine. The upper, fluted, circular members consist of laśuna, tāṭi (decorated with lotus petals), and āmalaka-like ghaṭa. Two similar pillars are known from Turturiā.

*Talā, Śiva temple* (Fig. 86; Plates 444-451)

Talā is situated on the confluence of the Maniārī and the Sēvnāth, both tributaries of the Mahānadi, located about 19 miles south of Bilaspur. Two stone temples built close to each other are locally called the Dēvarānī and Jīṭhānī. The northern one, dedicated to Śiva, is better preserved.

The Śiva temple faces east with its back towards the river. It is a massively built edifice externally measuring c. 75 × 32 ft. It consists of a garbhagṛha, antarāla, and a narrow mukhamāṇḍapa (Fig. 86) preceded by a 14 ft. space, now vacant, approached by a flight of steps with a large candraśīlā. The temple stands on a base consisting of a kapōta-like bhīṭa and a broad, rectilinear paṭṭa; on the garbhagṛha, the vēḍibandha consists of a broad kumbha, almost 4 ft. tall, a narrow antarapaṭṭa, and an unusual sequence of flat mouldings (with projecting beam-ends on the corners) that act as a base for the wall. On the mukhamāṇḍapa, this kumbha is substituted for by a broad kaṇṭha and kalaśa (from which the wall begins directly; Plate 446). The jaṅghā displays a monotonous design of oblong framed niches, all shallow and severely stark;



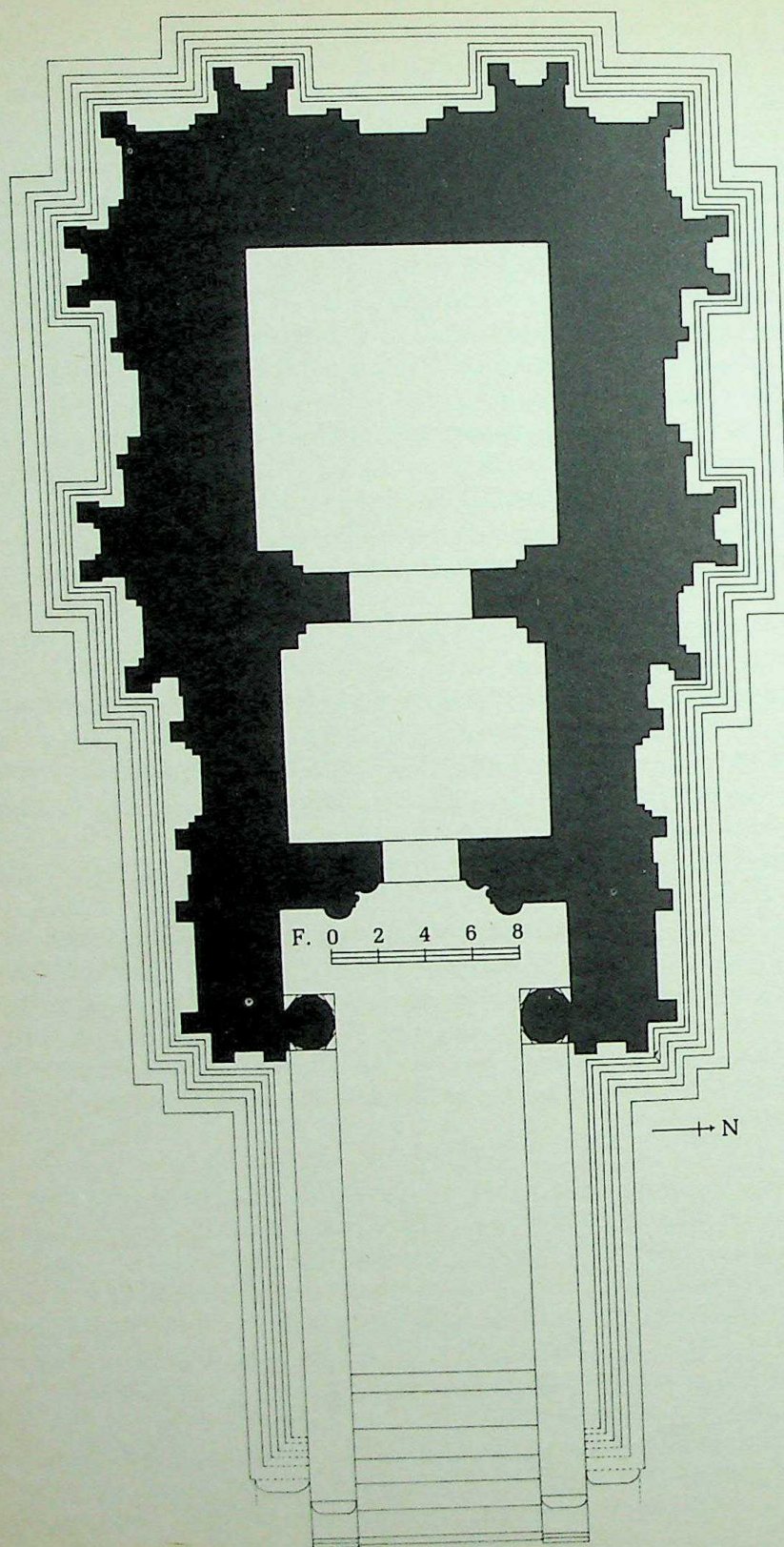


Fig. 86. Talā. Śiva temple, plan.



heavy, rather clumsy, makara-tōraṇas crown the bhadra niches.

The lavishly decorated doorframe (Plates 447-450) is composed of six śākhās, the first carved with patravallī (on the right having a vertical stem, as on a doorjamb in the Ānandaprabha vihāra at Sirpur). The second bevelled śākhā shows foliate scrolls interlaced with birds, including haṁsas. The third śākhā represents a luxurious twisted garland of four different floral strands. The fourth is a narrow patraśākhā; the fifth a circular stambhaśākhā, comprising four vertical bands of decorative ornament with a ghaṭa base, grāsamukhas at the top, and an āmalaka-shaped element crowned by a ghaṭa (Plate 448). The sixth śākhā is a broad patravallī. The lower architrave is carved with a panel of Śiva flanked by attendants at the centre, elephant busts, panels of two attending gods, and lion busts; the upper lintel has vidyādhara couples flying toward Gajalakṣmī at the centre (Plate 447).

The inner faces of the doorjambs are embellished with exquisite figural ornament in panels demarcated by floral borders (Plate 450). The top panel on the right jamb shows corpulent Kubēra whose rotund limbs together with the flanking attendants are fancifully represented as navanidhis. Successive lower bands show grāsamukhas (Plate 450), friezes of loving mithunas, and a river-goddess with surging crowds of attendants and devotees. The left jamb is devoted to Śaiva myths and depicts Umā-Mahēśvara attended by gaṇas and Śiva-Pārvatī playing dice in two of its panels. The second and the bottom panels show grāsamukhas, in very bold relief, and river-goddesses attended by maids and worshippers.

The soffit of the door-lintel displays three lotus medallions; the central one is adorned with 15 identical squatting figures, the right hand of each held over the head of the preceding figure.

Reliefs cover also the lateral walls of the mukhamaṇḍapa representing a dīpa-dhārīṇī and cāmaradhārīṇī on each side surmounted by bhāraputrakas. The entrance to the mukhamaṇḍapa is flanked by a pair of massive monolithic attached pillars; these are square in the lower part, have a short octagonal section carved with figural decoration, a 32-sided section, and ghaṭa.

The space preceding the mukhamaṇḍapa may have accommodated a raṅgamaṇḍapa or a Nandi-maṇḍapa, now lost. The temple is approached by a flight of steps rising from a large candraśīlā (Plate 446). The parapets support a pair of dwarf, pot-bellied gaṇas with mutilated heads. A standing goat-headed gaṇa is represented on the south side. Beneath the gaṇa on the north side is a bold graffiti or pilgrim-record reading Śrī-Hēttunāgaṇa in nail-headed characters of c. A.D. 625-650.

The śikhara is completely lost, with no indication of its form or character surviving. The neighbouring temple, hardly 50 ft. to the south, has among its loose pile of architectural members a stone āmalaka (Plate 451) of a form known from the early sixth-century temple at Dēvgaḍh. A similar form also is employed on the śikhara of the Śabarī temple at Kharōd. This temple may have had a śikhara anticipating the form met in Mahākōsala during the seventh century. It is likely that this śikhara was built of the bricks still thickly scattered around the structure.

The Śiva temple has an exceptional plan and elevation. Its vēdibandha and jaṅghā show, some features reminiscent of Calukya and Pallava temples. The plan, having an antarāla almost as large as the garbhagrha and preceded by a narrow but ornate mukhamaṇḍapa, is also uncommon. The temple did not play an important role in the development of a regional style of architecture, but some of its floral and ornamental motifs and figure-types seem ancestor to slightly later forms in Mahākōsala. Because many of its figural reliefs exude a strong Vākāṭaka flavour, the temple can be assigned



to c. A.D. 550-575.

*Rājim, Rājīvalōcana temple* (Figs. 87, 91a-b, & frontispiece; Plates 452-460)

Situated on the confluence of the Pairī and Mahānadī, Rājim is a pilgrim centre about 32 miles southeast of Raipur. The place has about half a dozen temples of which the Vaiṣṇava Rājīvalōcana is the oldest and most sacred. The Rājīvalōcana has undergone phases of repairs, restoration, and additions in its long history of active worship.

The brick-built Rājīvalōcana temple faces west and stands on a c. 8 ft. high stone jagatī. The original temple comprised a garbhagrha, kapilī, and maṇḍapa (Fig. 87); other appurtenances including the corner shrines, prākāra, and pratōlī are later accretions. The maṇḍapa has undergone additions and alterations. The garbhagrha and śikhara, however, have retained their original form in spite of a thick coat of plaster and whitewash and the arbitrary restoration of many architectural ornaments.

The garbhagrha is dvi-āṅga on plan. The lower part of the vēdibandha (Figs. 91a-b) is concealed under the present level of the pavement; kumbha, a kalaśa with the foliage ornament typical of Mahākōsala, and a kapōtapālī with a row of ardhapadmas (wrongly restored as triangular frills) are visible. Bhadras introduce an antarapaṭṭa decorated with vēdikā (Plate 456).

On each bhadra, the jaṅghā shows a deep niche framed by pilasters and capped by a large, straight-edged chādyā which is surmounted by a prominent śimhakarṇa (Plate 457). The jaṅghā is relieved by large Rucaka pilasters with plain shaft surmounted by either laśuna and ghaṭa or fluted ghaṭapallava.

The varaṇḍikā comprises two prominent kapōtapālīs with pilasters between that frame śimhakarṇas on the corners.

The śikhara above the varaṇḍikā is a straight-edged pyramid (Plate 453; slightly suggesting, perhaps, the superstructure of the Mahābōdhi temple in Bihar). It has four bhūmis marked on the karṇas by kūṭas of four pillars supporting a heavy octagonal dome topped by an āmalaka and flanked by small corner śikharikās crowned by āmalaka and vījapūraka. The design suggests a pañcāṇḍaka śikhara. The central ratha of the śikhara shows four prominent śimhakarṇas, the three lower ones addorsed to Phāmsanā projections. The top bhūmi and crowning members are inaccurately restored.

The jaṅghā of the kapilī on the north side is decorated with a pair of short pilasters surmounted by kapōtapālī and śimhakarṇa. The roof of the kapilī displays two levels of śimhakarṇas; its front face had a large śimhakarṇa set against a Phāmsanā roof. Part of the vēdibandha and some fractions of the jaṅghā on the maṇḍapa's north side are original; the rest is restoration. The jaṅghā showed shallow niches, framed by short pilasters, sometimes containing a śimhakarṇa and surmounted by a kapōtapālī decorated with candraśālikās. In the case of the central niche, the kapōtapālī was decorated with a śūrasēnaka surmounted by a large śimhakarṇa.

Two stone inscriptions fixed to the inner maṇḍapa wall of the temple include one, undated, of Nala Vilāsatuṅga and a second of the Kalacuri feudatory Jagapālādēva, dated A.D. 1145. The Nala inscription is paleographically assignable to c. A.D. 700-725 and records the construction of a Viṣṇu temple by Vilāsatuṅga in commemoration of his son, who had died young. The Rājīvalōcana temple, however, should be at least a generation earlier than the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur and is assignable on grounds of style to c. A.D. 600. The Nala inscription has no relevance to the earliest phase of the Rājīvalōcana temple, comprising the present garbhagrha, its entire superstructure, the connected kapilī, part of the façade of the maṇḍapa, and a few of the interior pillars.



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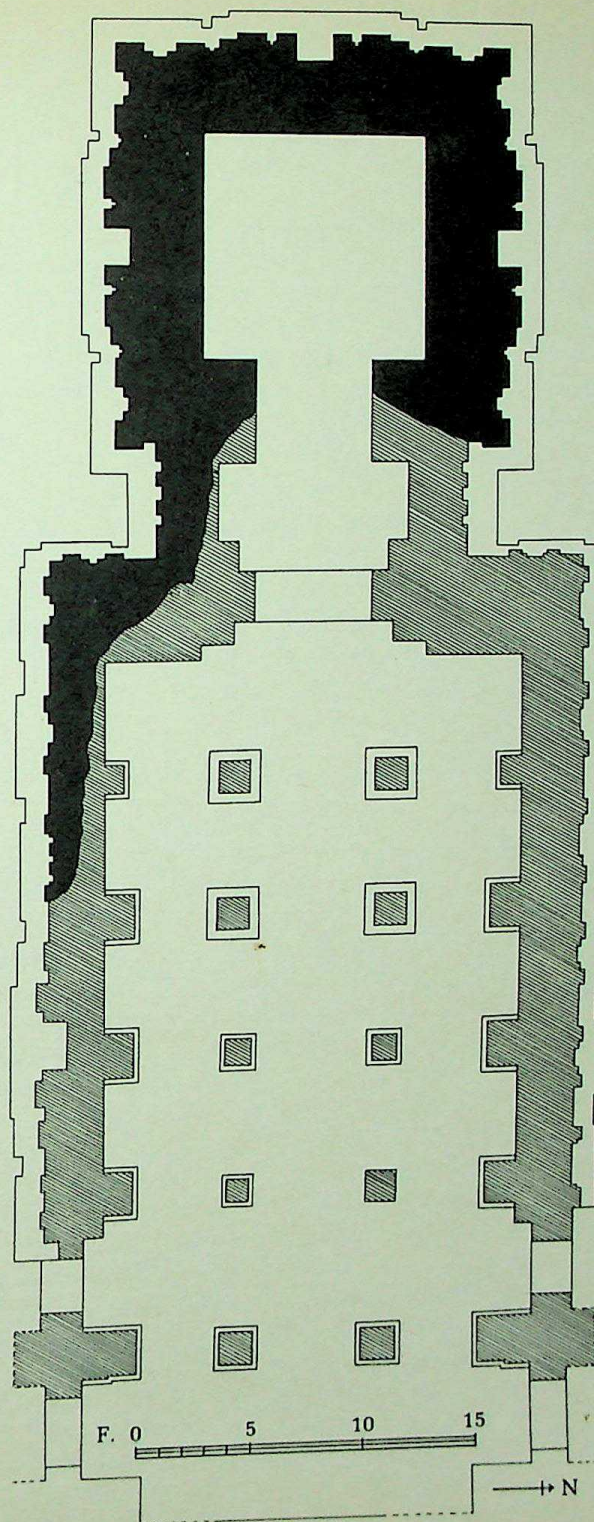


Fig. 87. Rājīm. Rājīvalōcana temple, plan.



These are integral and architecturally and stylistically consistent. Some later accretions, like the sanctum doorway, the pratōlī to the west, and some pillars of the maṇḍapa, are stylistically referable to c. A.D. 700-725, the period of the Nala inscription. If Vilāsatūṅga built a new Viṣṇu temple, it is not traceable; it may have been ruined or drastically overbuilt, or the inscription may be referring to the restructuring of the ancient temple.

The pratōlī, doorway, and some maṇḍapa pillars are probably remnants of Vilāsatūṅga's temple. The heavier pillars of the maṇḍapa show a clear batter and bear sensitive figural and decorative carvings that distantly echo pillars of Vākāṭaka and Kalacuri extraction (Plates 454-455). They appear derived stylistically from pillars utilised in the Rāmacandra temple and can be assigned to c. A.D. 700. The twisting and somersaulting jambhakas interlaced with the patravallī on the inner faces of the door-jambs attached at the entrance to the maṇḍapa are of the same period (Plates 458-460; these are indeed among the most graceful ornamental compositions produced by the art of Mahākōsala). To the same period may also be assigned the expressive and sensitively rendered sculptures of Yōganārāyaṇa and Vāmana in two of the corner shrines.

The Rājīvalōcana temple morphologically acts as antecedent for the Mahākōsala style, indicated by its triratha plan, straight pyramidal contour, and bold architectural embellishment (with motifs still in a formative stage). This Vaiṣṇava temple may even have been built by the Pāṇḍuvamśī king, Harṣagupta, who is recorded to have been a devotee of Viṣṇu.

Sirpur, Buddhist vihāras (Figs. 88, 91c; Plates 461-463)

The two Buddhist vihāras excavated at Sirpur lie less than a mile south of the Lakṣmaṇa temple. Largely brick-built, with pillars, doorframes, and floor-slabs made of stone, these vihāras are laid out on the rectangular plan of a residential house with a central court open to the sky (Fig. 88). The courtyard is fringed by pillars meant to support the roof of an enclosing vithikā (gallery) that provided access to cells for the residence of monks (Plate 461). Each vihāra is entered through a mukhamaṇḍapa that faces the main shrine-chamber in the back row of cells. This enshrines a colossal image of Buddha seated in bhūmiśparśamudrā and flanked by life-size figures of Padmapāṇi and (perhaps) Vajrapāṇi. A staircase close to the entrance porch suggests that each vihāra was a double-storeyed structure to which was added an annex with smaller paved courts, pillared galleries, and residential cells.

The main vihāra (Ānandaprabha) measures 89 × 62 ft. with an annex 65.5 × 53.5 ft. The lateral walls of the mukhamaṇḍapa are lined with sculptures showing divinities (mostly broken) borne on seated dwarfs. The mukhamaṇḍapa has a large doorway in its back wall flanked by colossal pratihāras. The doorway leads to a votive chamber adorned with a niche containing a figure of Jambhala on the right wall (Plate 462). The surviving side wall is treated as a vēdibandha, with tall kumbha, vēdikā, and kapōtāpālī, supporting a jaṅghā niche framed by pilasters that closely resemble those on the Lakṣmaṇa temple. The entrance to the shrine-chamber is flanked by a large image of Gaṅgā on the left; the corresponding figure of Yamunā on the right is lost.

A stone inscription discovered during excavations records that this vihāra was built during the reign of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna and its refectory donated by Bhikṣu Ānandaprabha. The figures, yakṣas, and the decorative designs strikingly agree with figures on the Lakṣmaṇa temple, which also was built during the reign of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna.



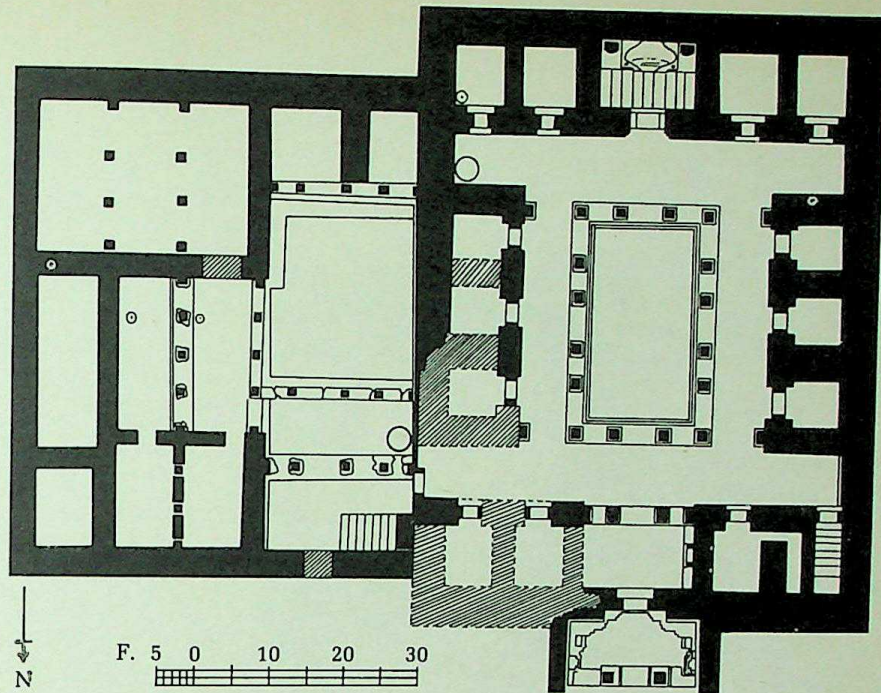


Fig. 88. Sirpur. Ānandaprabha vihāra, plan.

*Sirpur, Lakṣmaṇa temple (Figs. 89, 91d; Plates 464-473)*

This brick-built temple stands on a 7 ft. high stone jagatī. Beglar reported that the temple was built on a cellular foundation surrounded by eight subsidiary brick shrines preserved in his day only as mounds of bricks. All traces of these are now lost.

The temple faces east and consists of a garbhagrha, kapilī, and a maṇḍapa with three pairs of pillars and perhaps ten peripheral pilasters (Fig. 89). Only the stone kumbhakas of the pillars remain. The jagatī (67 × 39 ft.) was approached by lateral flights of steps on the east. The garbhagrha, constructed of finely jointed and smoothly rubbed bricks, is tri-aṅga on plan with bhadra, pratiratha, and kārṇa parts. The façade of the kapilī is preserved up to the jaṅghā level only, and the maṇḍapa preserves only a small portion of the jaṅghā.

The vēḍibandha consists of khura, kumbha, kalaśa (adorned with conventional leaves and fruit), antarapaṭṭa showing niches framed by pilasters with ghaṭapallava capitals, and kapōtapālī adorned below by a course of half rosettes (Fig. 91d). The kapōtapālī is decorated with large candraśālikās, of which three are seen on each bhadra and one each on the other projections. The kumbha is taller, and kalaśa and antarapaṭṭa proportionally smaller, on the pratirathas. The kapōtapālī is surmounted by vēdikā and a short mañcikā that supports the jaṅgha.

All angles of the jaṅghā are cantoned by pilasters. The bhadra-projections show ghanadvāras with straight-edged awning above (Plates 465-467). Pratiratha projections are clasped by niches canopied by kapōtapālī, vēdikā, and prominent śimhakārṇa. Kārṇas show slight projections with a pair of pilasters framing a narrow slit. The pilasters projecting from bhadra and kārṇa carry ghaṭapallavas, while the cantoning pilasters on the pratirathas and elsewhere carry crowning members with laśuna and



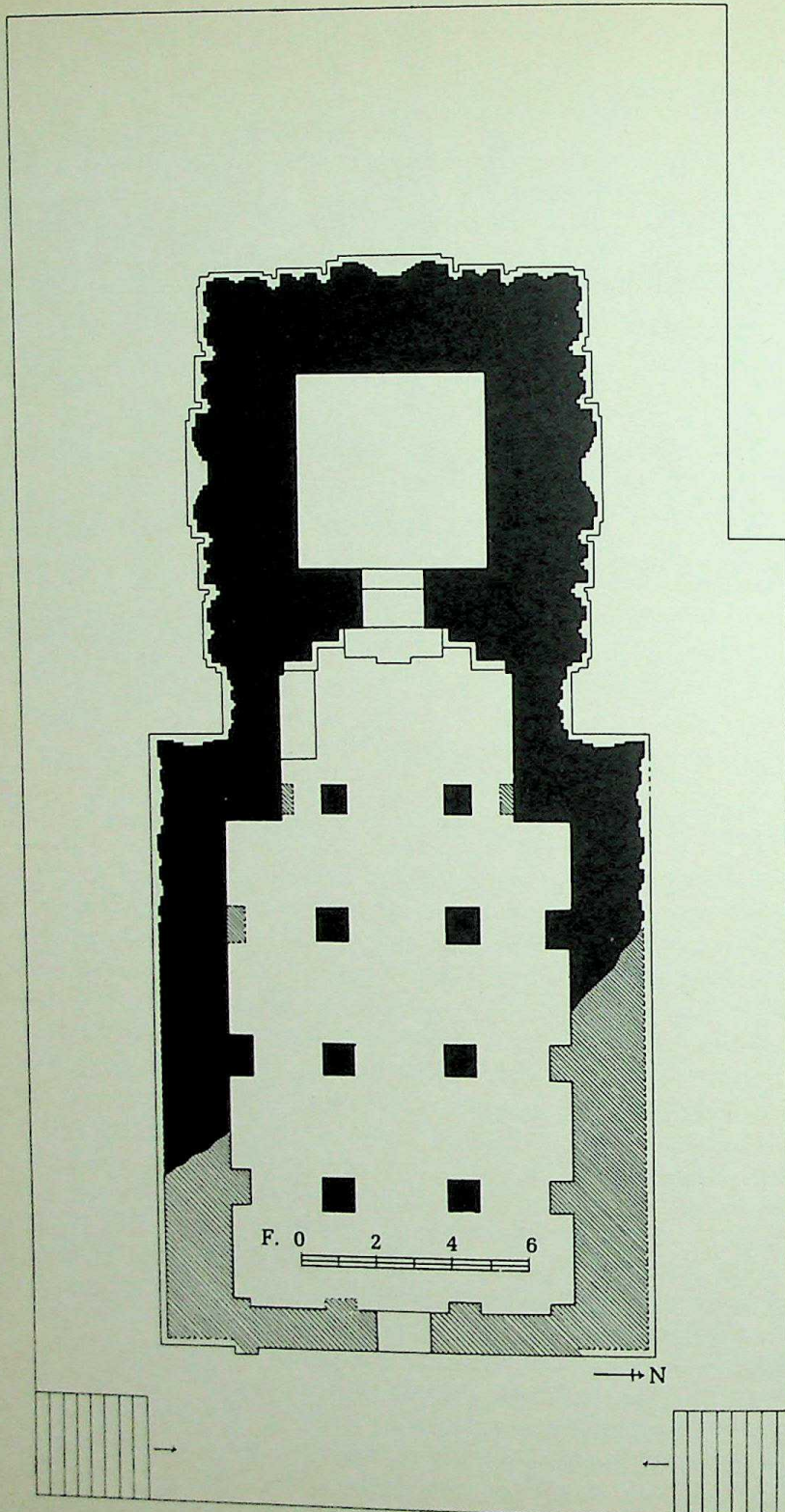


Fig. 89. Sirpur. Lakṣmaṇa temple, plan.



ghaṭa resembling the Vākāṭaka form.

The ghanadvāras on the bhadras imitate details of timber doors divided by mulions and carved with rosettes (Plate 467). Each is framed by three śākhās, the first plain, the second circular, and the third a bevelled śākhā decorated with lotus petals. Above each ghanadvāra are a slanting chādyā, vēdikā, and six tulā-ends decorated with bhāraputrakas on the south, with bhāraputrakas and vyālas on the west, and with elephants and a vyāla on the north.

The jaṅghā is surmounted by a large kapōtapālī adorned with candraśālikās (Plate 265-266). A second kapōtapālī with mukulas beneath frames a recess filled by niches framed by dwarf pilasters; a pair of elephant figures emerge diagonally at the corners. Bhadra-niches in this recess contain figures of four-armed bhāraputrakas; on the pratirathas are human or leonine heads flanked by lion brackets.

Above this varaṇḍikā is a kaṇṭha adorned with chequer-pattern. This supports a vēdikā framing plain, oblong slits. The pratirathas again show śimhakarṇa patterns. These pillars act as the first "storey" of the superstructure, supporting a broad kapōtapālī, bhūmi-āmalakas on the corners, and octagonal śikharikās on the pratirathas.

The east face shows a tall lancet window on the central ratha where a śukanāsa must have projected. On other sides, the central ratha preserves a series of three, ascending, large śūrasēna frontons.

The śikhara is articulated by four bhūmi-āmalakas (Plate 464). The central frontons step back but the corners suggest a slight curvature. The upper bhūmi-āmalakas have lost their ribbing in restoration.

The crowning portion of the śikhara shows only the rough hearting. The roof internally is hollow, built of corbelled courses which gradually narrow down.

The doorframe of the garbhagṛha (Plates 468-473) is made of pinkish sandstone that matches the red colour of the bricks quite well. Of five śākhās, the first is a circular patraśākhā rising from a small ghaṭapallava and embellished with patravallī; the second is an ornamental ratnaśākhā; these two emanate from a common square base adorned with haṁsas with rich scroll-tails. The third śākhā shows a pair of nimbate gandharva-mithunas with attendants and a dwarf pratihāra at the pēdyā. The pēdyās have adjacent faces adorned by mithunas. The third śākhā shows a figure of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu on the lintel flanked by a seated Sarasvatī (left) and a musician (right). The fourth śākhā shows patravallī interlaced with jambhakas; the fifth śākhā is carved with seven panels containing mainly the Daśavatāras of Viṣṇu. On the right is Hayagrīva and on the left Kēśīvadha; the lintel shows other Kṛṣṇalīlā scenes — Kāliyadamana, defeat of Kāṁsa's wrestlers, and Kāṁsavadha — which also extend to the left jamb. The right jamb has panels carved with Vaiṣṇava incarnations: Matsya, Nṛvarāha, Nara-simha, Vāmana, Trivikrama and Rāma with Lakṣmaṇa. River-goddesses do not appear.

A large stone inscription recovered from the fallen debris of the maṇḍapa of this temple records the construction of a Viṣṇu temple by Vāsaṭā, the queen mother of the Pāṇduvaṁśī king, Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna, in memory of her deceased royal husband Harṣagupta. There is no doubt that the inscription, written in the kāvya style, refers to the present temple. Vāsaṭā is described as the daughter of king Sūryavarmā of the royal family of Magadha, which seemingly alludes to the Maukhari prince Sūryavarmā known from the Harahā inscription of Īśānavarmā, dated A.D. 554. Assuming that Sūryavarmā was a young man of about 24 years in A.D. 554 and Vāsaṭā was born to him while he was about 40 years old, she would have been about 60 years old in A.D. 630 in the middle of the long reign of her son Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna (c. A.D. 595-655). Paleographically, this epigraph belongs to c. A.D. 625-650 and the temple is



also assignable to the same period.

There are no precisely dated records for the Śarabhapurīya and the Pāṇḍuvarṃśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, however (their inscriptions are dated only in regnal years), and the chronology of these kings has been determined mainly on the basis of the paleography of their inscriptions and the assumed mention of them in the records of contemporary dynasties. D.C. Sircar and V.V. Mirashi both have dated the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa temple inscription of Pāṇḍuvarṃśī Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna's reign to the first half of the seventh century on grounds of paleography and on the basis of the plausible identity of Sūryavarmā, son of the Maukhari king Īśānavarmā of the Harahā inscription (dated A.D. 554) with Sūryavarmā, the father of Vāsaṭā, the widowed queen mother of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna and the founder of the Lakṣmaṇa temple. This date also suits its art style and the sequence of regional architectural development, and has been generally accepted except by Ajay Mitra Shastri.

Shastri starts with the assumption that Śarabha, the founder of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty, was identical with Śarabharāja, grandfather of Gōparāja who, according to the Ēraṇ pillar inscription, died fighting for the Gupta sovereign Bhānugupta in A.D. 510. He postulates c. 475 as the initial year of the Śarabhapurīya rule and records regnal years on the basis of that, assigning c. 115 years for seven Śarabhapurīya and c. 160 years for the six Pāṇḍuvarṃśī kings who succeeded the Śarabhapurīyas in Kōsala. Consequently Shastri fixes c. A.D. 650 as the initial year of Pāṇḍuvarṃśī Tivaradēva's reign and c. A.D. 725-785 for the reign of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna. He is also of the opinion that Trivaranagara mentioned in two inscriptions of the Viṣṇukunḍī king Mādhavavarmā I is not a reference to the city of Śarabhapurīya Tivaradēva, since Mādhavavarmā had ceased to rule in c. A.D. 520. Mirashi and Sircar, as I have noted, assume the contemporaneity of Mādhavavarmā I and Tivaradēva and accept an earlier chronology for the Kōsala kings. Many scholars working on Orissa, however, have followed the views of Shastri.

Sirpur, Rāma temple (Figs. 90, 91e-f; Plates 478-479)

This brick temple, situated about two furlongs from the Lakṣmaṇa temple, faces east and is built on a high jagatī of plain ashlar courses. The temple is tri-aṅga on plan with bhadras, karṇas, and angled pratirathas that have been located using turned squares (Fig. 90). Narrow pratibhadras also flank the bhadras.

The temple has lost its superstructure, doorframe, and most of the north and east walls. The temple's ornamentation bears close resemblance to the Lakṣmaṇa temple.

The bhadras and karṇas show a niche pattern canopied by kapōta, vēdikā, and a large śiṃhakarṇa (resembling that on the pratirathas of the Lakṣmaṇa temple). The jaṅghā is topped by a kapōtapālī, plain kaṇṭha, and a second kapōtapālī (with mukulas) above. Only four brick courses of the śikhara remain (Plate 479).

Kharōd, Śavarīnārāyaṇa temple (Figs. 91g, 92, 94b; Plates 474-477)

This brick temple, locally known as Śaurī or Śaurīnārāyaṇa (Śavarīnārāyaṇa), is situated at the southern end of Kharōd village, about 39 miles southeast of Bilaspur and three miles northwest of Seorinarayan. The temple faces east and was built near the west bank of an ancient tank. (On the south bank stands a very dilapidated, small brick shrine of the same age.)

The temple is erected on a stone jagatī. While still close in date and general style to the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur, its pratirathas, like those of the Rāma temple, have angled projections (Fig. 92).



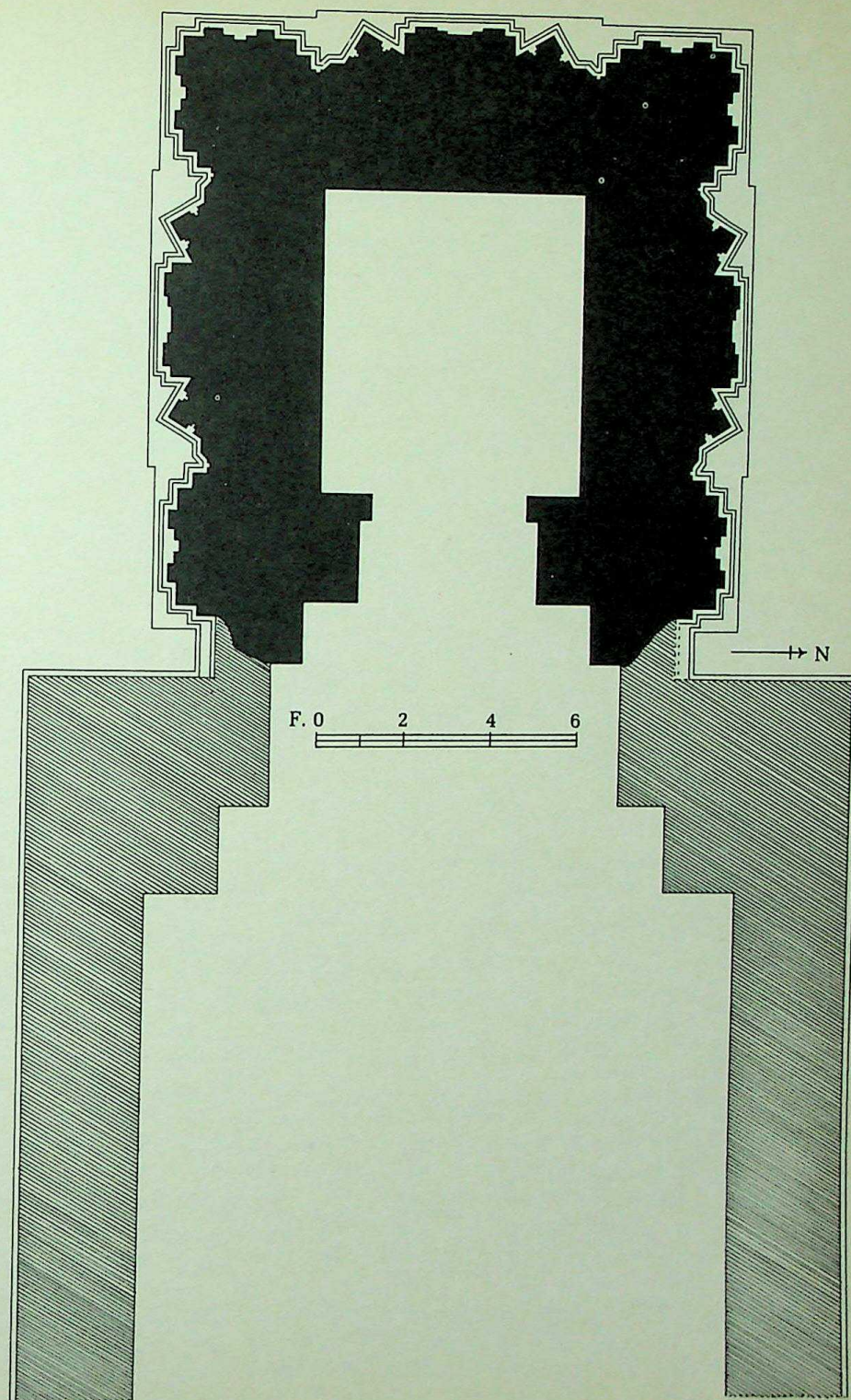


Fig. 90. Sirpur. Rāma temple, plan. (After Meister.)



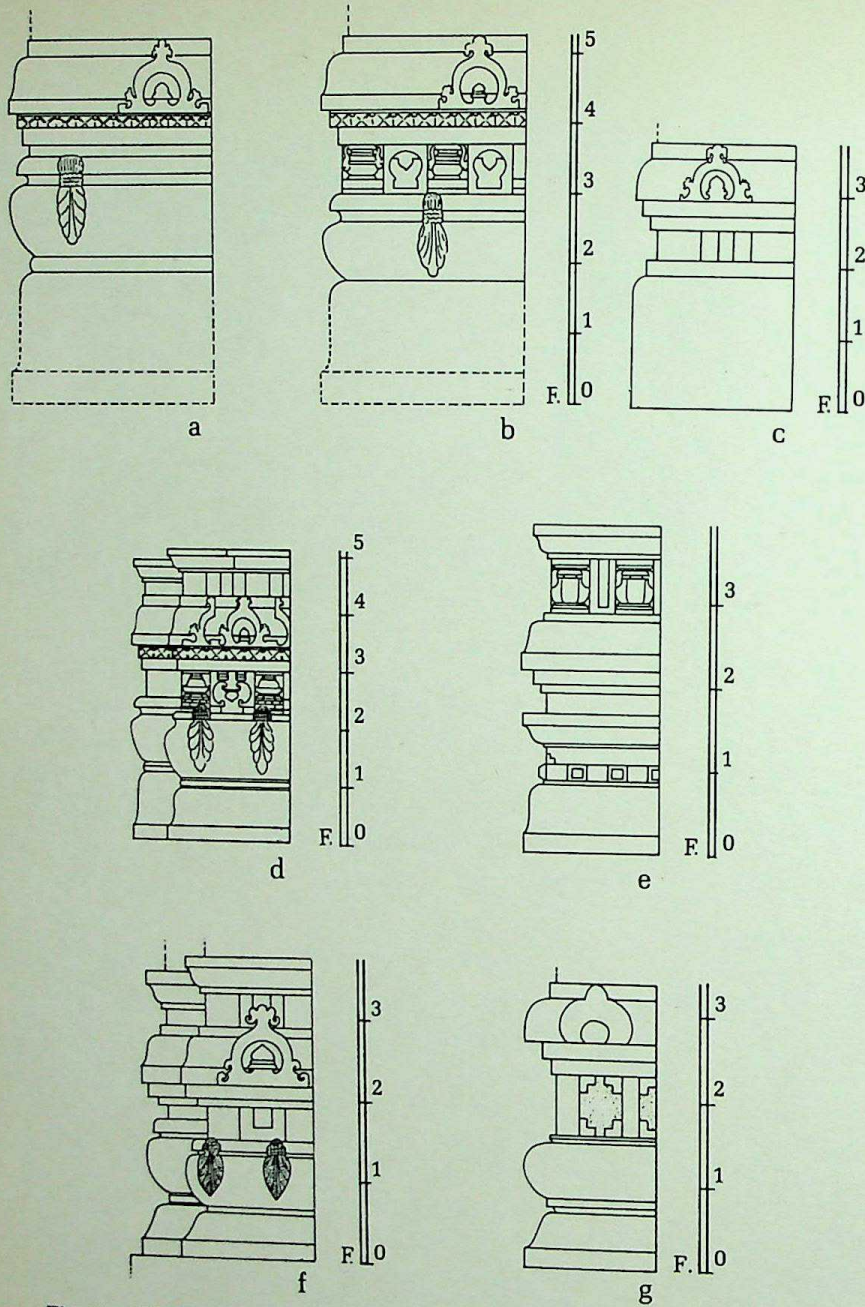


Fig. 91. Vēdibandhas:

- a-b. Rājīm. Rājivalōcana temple; c. Sirpur. Ānandaprabha vihāra;  
 d. Sirpur. Lakṣmaṇa temple; e-f. Sirpur. Rāma temple;  
 g. Kharōd. Śavarinārāyaṇa temple.

The temple consisted of a garbhagṛha, kapilī, and a closed maṇḍapa (now replaced).

The temple stands on a stone foundation. The vēdibandha mouldings are composed of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, antarapaṭṭa with subdivisions, and kapōtapālī (Fig. 91g). The projections on bhadra and kārṇas use a much shorter kumbha, lowering the kalaśa and kapōtapālī mouldings, thus creating a staggered effect.



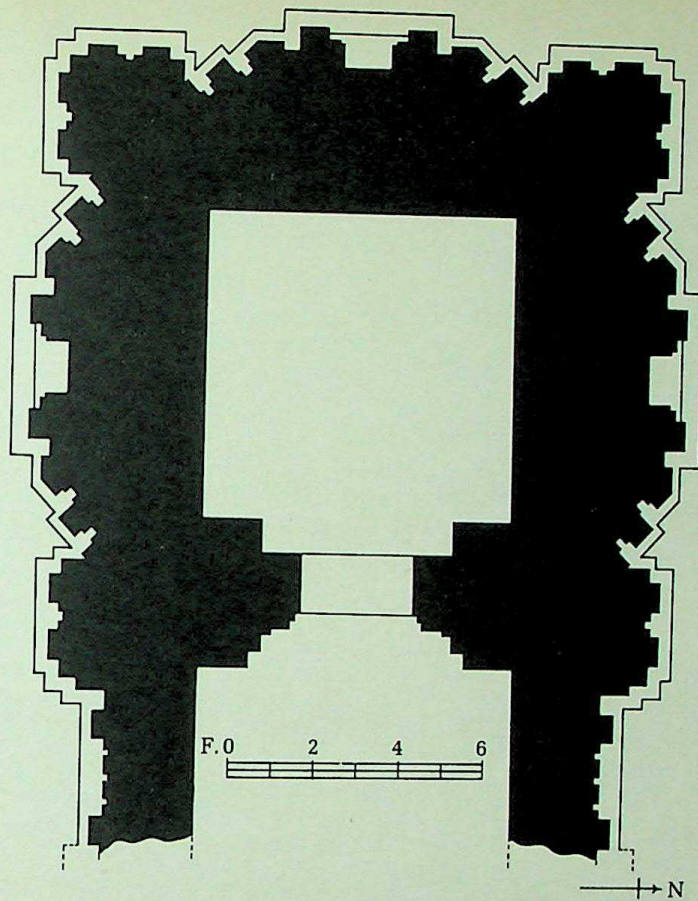


Fig. 92. Kharōd. Śavarinārāyaṇa temple, plan. (After Meister.)

The jaṅghā is dominated by pilasters, flanking oblong slits on all projections, except the bhadras, which have a regular niche. These Rucaka pilasters have bold mouldings on the upper part which include a fluted ghaṭa and a cruciform śīrṣaka. The jaṅghā is capped by a bold kapōtapālī with stepped bosses below. Above rises a varaṇḍikā with stunted pilasters surmounted by a second kapōtapālī with mukulas below.

The śikhara has a slight curvilinear contour, with four storeys marked by well-articulated bhūmi-āmalakas (Plates 476-477). The principal ratha shows four small śimhakarṇas framed by pilasters and flanked on the pratirathas by quarter āmalakas. Below the lowest karṇāmalakas occur tiny āmalakas as a grace-note (Plate 477). Horizontal lines in the śikhara are emphasized by bands of kapōta separating the pilasters of each bhūmi. The top of the śikhara has been restored but the crowning āmalaka may be original.

The garbhagrha is preceded by a kapilī wall; this was preceded by a maṇḍapa, the original features of which comprised slits framed by pilasters, as known from an old photograph. The present maṇḍapa is an incongruous modern restoration. One of the original pillars inside has a shaft of alternately octagonal and 16-sided sections, carries a ghaṭapallava above, and is carved with elegant floral and geometrical motifs (Fig. 94b; Plate 475).



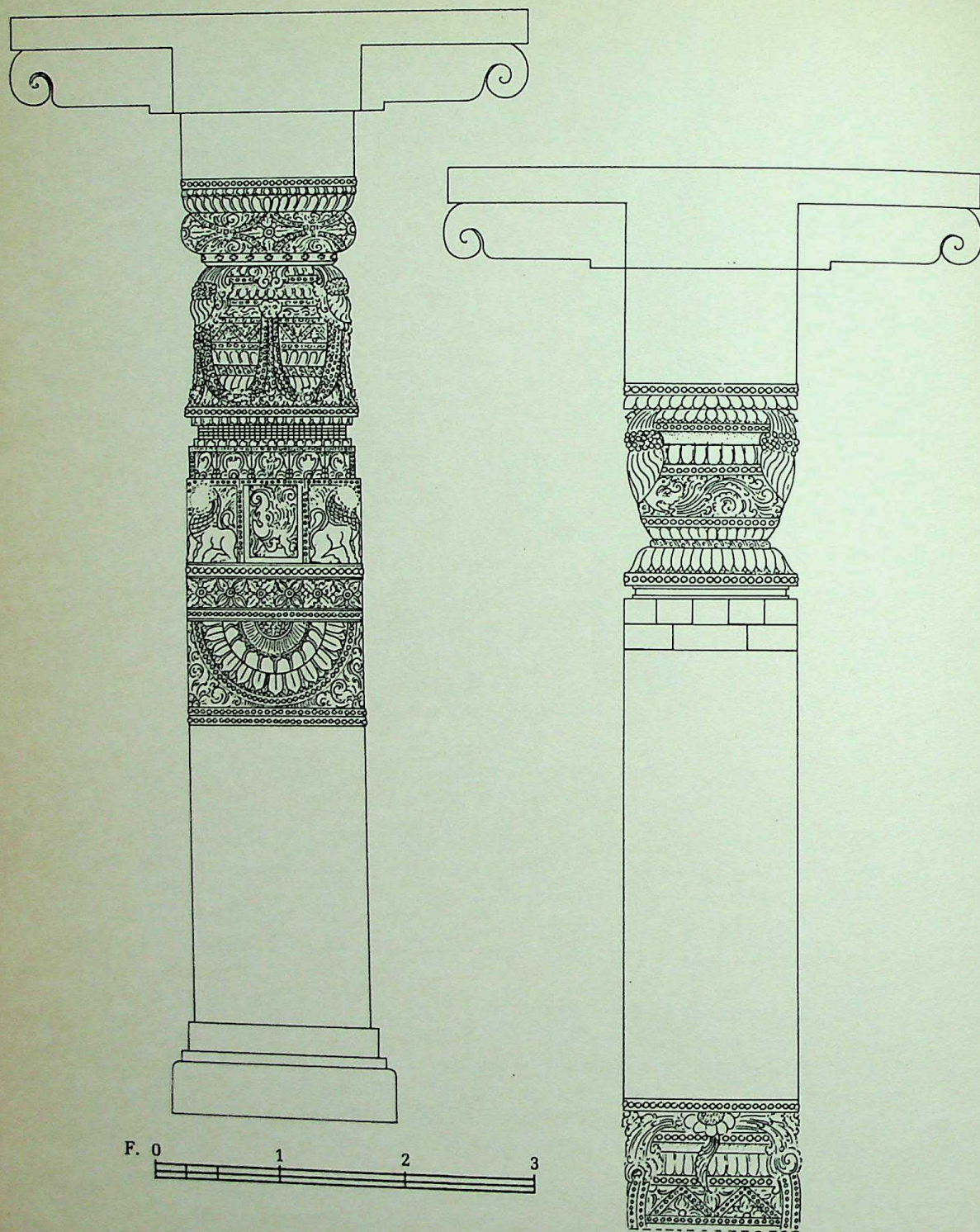


Fig. 93. Rājim. Rājivalōcana temple, pillars.



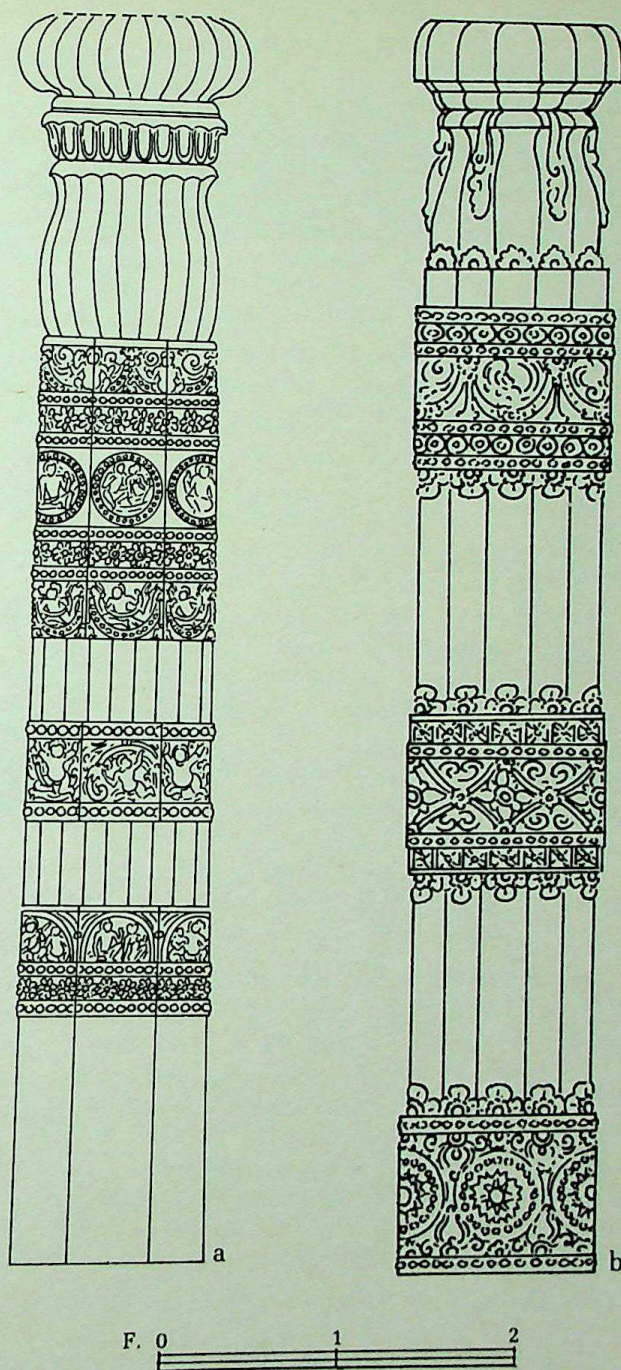


Fig. 94. Pillars:  
a. Rājim. Rāmacandra temple; b. Kharōd. Śavarīnārāyaṇa temple.



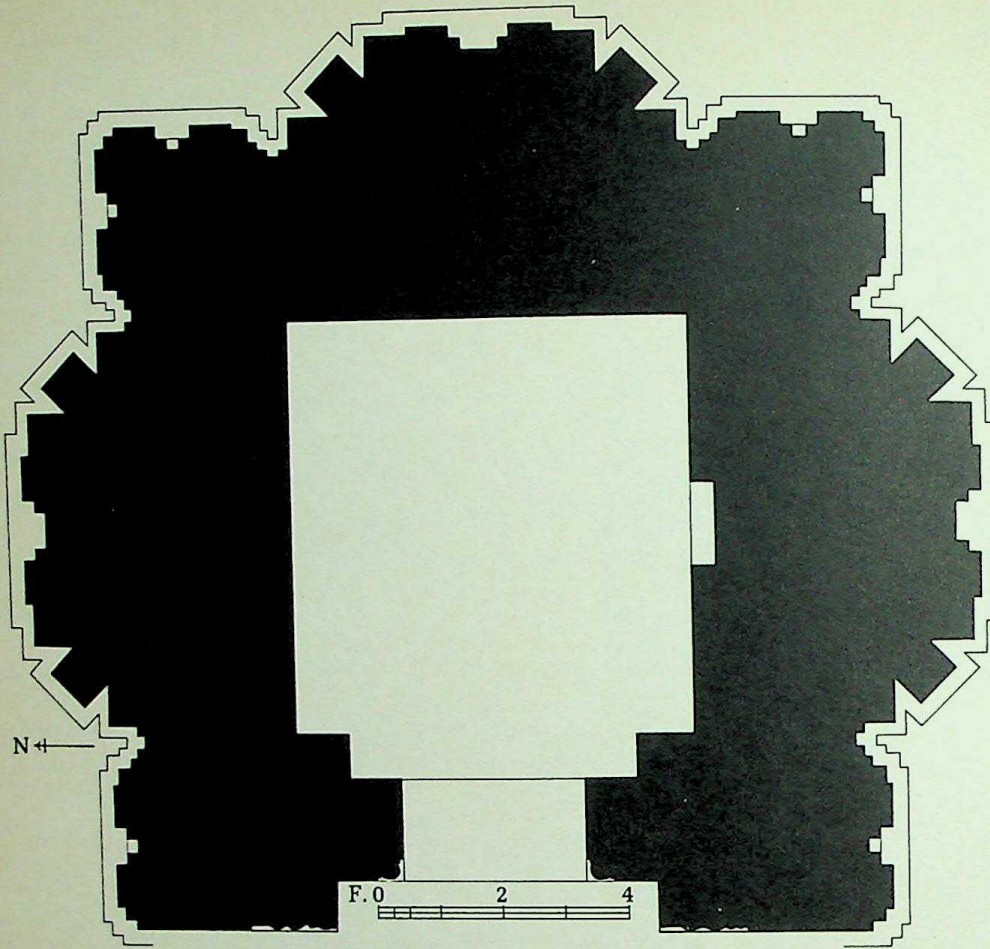


Fig. 95. Kharōd. Indal temple, plan. (After Meister.)

The sanctum's stone doorframe has been partly blocked by a lintel and a pair of jambs collected from other monuments. The original doorframe shows a garuḍa holding the tails of two nāgas, the convolutions of whose bodies enclose adoring nāgīs, gandharvas, and vidyādharaś as they trail down the jambs (Plate 474). The anthropomorphic busts of the nāgas rest on lotus pedestals over standing figures of the river-goddesses on the pēdyās of the jambs.

This temple is not far removed from the two Sirpur temples in style and may date to c. A.D. 650, towards the close of the reign of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna.

*Kharōd, Indal Dēul* (Figs. 95, 97a; Plates 480-484)

This west-facing brick-with-stucco temple is situated at the northern end of Kharōd village. The temple stands on a 4 ft. high, renovated, stone jagatī. Only the garbhagrha, measuring 6 ft. 3 in. square internally and 15 ft. 6 in. square externally, has survived. The śikhara is damaged beyond the third bhūmi and its western face and much of the northern face is lost. Like the Śavarīnārāyaṇa, the temple's pratirathas show angled projections.

The vēdibandha mouldings, resting on a stone kharaśilā, are uniform in height and are composed of khura-kumbha, kalaśa decorated with foliage, an antarapaṭṭa



adorned with ghaṭapallavas (with a niche on the karṇas and bhāraputraka on the bhadras), and kapōtapālī decorated with candraśālikās. The kapōtapālī is surmounted by another antarapaṭṭa capped by a mañcikā.

The jaṅghā over the mañcikā shows plain tall pilasters on the bhadra framing a divinity surmounted by siṃhavyāla. Remaining projections of the jaṅghā show ornate pilasters, those on the karṇas clasped by slightly projected short niches capped by a kapōtapālī with candraśālikās and a prominent siṃhakarṇa containing an image of a deity (Plate 480). The pilaster on the pratiratha shows a smaller siṃhakarṇa containing a divine head or bust. This pilaster is flanked by rampant siṃhavyālas, with human riders, trampling on paired couchant elephants.

The south wall shows a defaced figure on the bhadra, seated in padmāsana, who could have been Lakulīśa or Brahmā, a four-armed dancing Gaṇeśa in the siṃhakarṇa on the west karṇa, and two-armed seated Narasiṃha on the east karṇa. The east wall shows standing Sūrya on the bhadra, Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa on the south karṇa, and Indra and Śacī riding on an elephant on the north karṇa. The much damaged north wall shows traces of a ten-armed divinity (Durgā?) on the bhadra and seated Kubēra on the east karṇa. The angled pratiratha projections show heads or busts of Śiva (including Mahēśamūrti on the south pratiratha of the east wall).

The pilasters on the jaṅghā resemble those on the Śabarī temple and the siṃhakarṇas on the karṇas those on the Rāma temple at Sirpur. The height of the jaṅghā and its staggered patterning also follow the Śabarī temple's mode. The varaṇḍikā with vēdikā is masked partly by siṃhakarṇas, which make the varaṇḍikā (more clearly than before) seem to be the lowermost storey of the śikhara.

The śikhara is curvilinear (Plate 480), and has preserved three of its four bhūmis marked by āmalakas on both karṇas and angled pratirathas. The central ratha of the śikhara shows siṃhakarṇas containing figures on each bhūmi. On the south (Plate 480), a progression of four siṃhakarṇas contain Gajalakṣmī (on the varaṇḍikā), a four-armed seated deity, a seated yakṣa, and a head of Śiva. On the east are four-armed Narasiṃha, a divine couple, a bust of Mahēśamūrti, and a head of Śiva. The south karṇa of the east shows a figure of Kubēra; the north karṇa, a seated divine couple, probably Śiva-Pārvatī. Each bhūmi on the pratirathas is marked by an āmalaka crowned by a tiny āmalaka and vījapūraka.

The entire temple once had stuccoed surfaces. Finer details of figural and decorative ornament seem to have been picked out in this stucco and finished by incised lines.

The stone doorframe (Plate 482) preserves only three śākhās. The first śākhā is carved with patravallī in low relief, the second with a complex form of maṇibandha, the third with unusually bold and large figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The lintel shows seated Śiva-Pārvatī at the centre flanked by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, a pair of adoring nāgīs, and by nāga couples at the ends.

Sculpturally, this temple marks the apogee of Mahākōsala style; architecturally, it is more developed than the Sirpur temples and the Śabarī temple at Kharōd and anticipates many of the advanced features of the Siddhēśvara temple at Palārī. The temple may be assigned to c. A.D. 650-675.

*Palārī, Siddhēśvara temple (Figs. 96, 97b; Plates 485-493)*

Palārī is situated about 43.5 miles northeast of Raipur. The Siddhēśvara temple faces west and stands on the south bank of the large Bālsamund tank.

Raised on a stone jagatī, the temple is built of brick with fine stucco coating; only



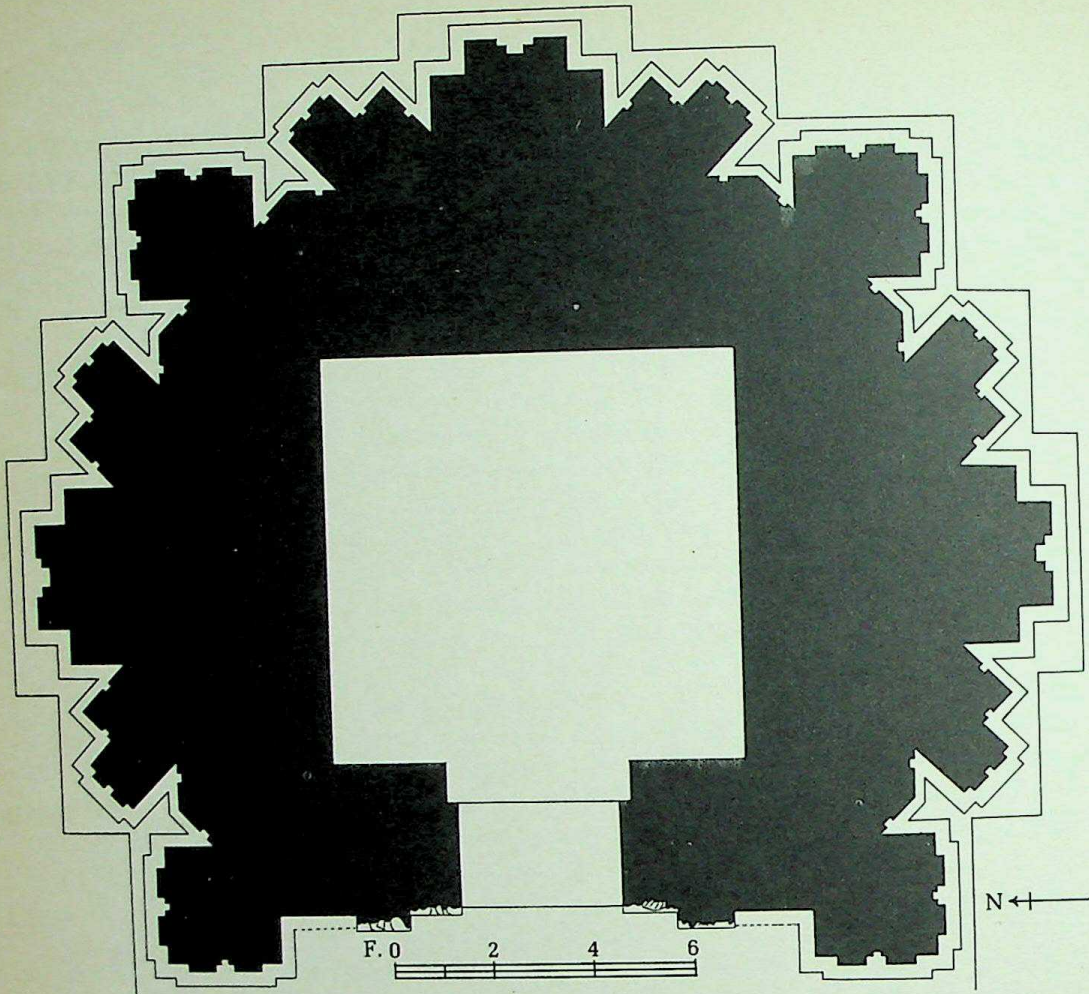


Fig. 96. Palārī. Siddhēśvara temple, plan. (After Meister.)

its garbhagṛha is preserved (measuring 8 ft. square internally). The pratirathas show angled projections.

The vēdibandha stands on a plain brick course resting on a kharaśilā; the mouldings are khura-kumbha, kalaśa, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī topped by a vēdikā and mañcikā (Fig. 97b).

The jaṅghā rising over the mañcikā displays prominent simhakarṇas on the bhadra and karṇas and smaller ones on the pratirathas. The pratirathas in fact show a series of pañjaras with simhakarṇas (Plate 486).

The upper half of the jaṅghā is demarcated by a paṭṭikā; pilasters terminate in cruciform śiṛsakas.

The main simhakarṇas on the jaṅghā harbour images of deities (Plates 486, 488-489); those on the pratirathas show human heads or grāsamukhas. The south wall shows dancing Gaṇeśa on the bhadra, Skanda riding peacock on the east karṇa (Plates 488-489); the corresponding figure on the west karṇa is destroyed. The east wall shows Sūrya seated in his chariot on the bhadra, a mālādhara demigod on the south karṇa, and a deity seated with a yōgapaṭṭa on the north karṇa. The north wall shows Gajalakṣmī on the bhadra, Kubēra on the east karṇa; the west karṇa is damaged. Each prati-



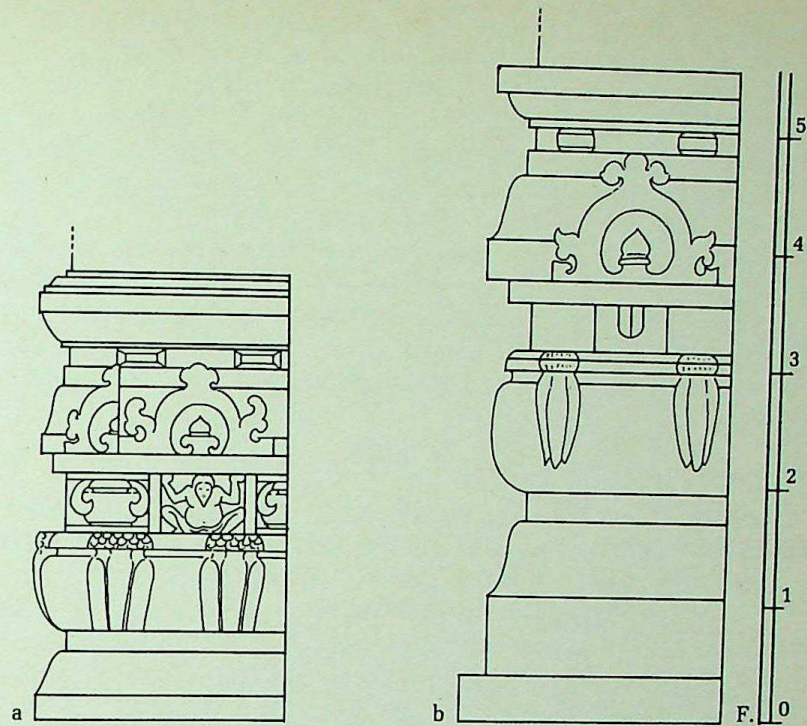


Fig. 97. Vēdibandhas:

a. Kharōd. Indal temple; b. Palārī. Siddhēśvara temple.

ratha, on one of its angled projections, shows paired rearing simhavyālas, with riders, trampling on elephants (Plate 488).

The varaṇḍikā, which acts as first storey of the śikhara, displays pilasters with addorsed simhakarṇas flanked by seated simhavyālas on the bhadras and by rearing simhavyālas trampling elephants on the pratirathas and karṇas (Plate 485).

The heavy curvilinear śikhara had four bhūmis originally indicated by bhūmi-āmalakas. Each bhūmi of the śikhara somewhat repeats the design of the varaṇḍikā (but the karṇas of the upper bhūmis are devoid of simhakarṇas). A seated simhavyāla appears beneath each quarter-āmalaka on the pratirathas; two sit below each karṇāmalaka while two rear above. The simhakarṇas dominating the madhyalātās of the śikhara are invariably crowned by rearing simhavyāla. The pratirathas show single pillars supporting quarter-āmalakas crowned by tiny āmalaka and vijapūraka.

The doorframe of this temple (Plates 490-493) is dominated by life-size figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in exaggerated flexion. A smaller doorframe of a similar style, also depicting figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, has been fitted within the original larger frame.

The small doorframe had a bevelled first śākhā carved with patravallī and a broad inner face adorned with large lotus flowers, padmalatā, and a makara within a rectangular block at the base (Plate 491) recalling designs on the doorframes at Sirpur. The lintel of this doorframe displays four-armed Lakulīśa with his four disciples flanked by figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu (Plate 490). The larger doorframe shows a large narrative frieze of Pārvatī-pariṇaya at the centre of its lintel, flanked by scenes of Śiva



as Gajāntaka (left) and Andhakāntaka (right). Above the heads of the river-goddesses have survived six figures of the Dikpālas, three on each side.

The crowded grouping of the figures on the doorframe is consistent with the surfeit of architectural ornaments on the temple's façade creating a cluttered and jumbled effect. The architect of the temple seems to be obsessed with loading his structure with ornaments, without realising the value of plain surfaces and proper architectural articulation.

That this temple is a close successor of the Indal Dēul is shown by a similarity but elaboration of plan and elevation, by the use of stucco, and by some of the iconographic forms. The affinity in the design of vēḍibandha, śikhara, doorframe and in the images of Kubēra, Gaḷalakṣmī, and Gaṇēśa is so striking as to suggest that the two temples could be separated by no more than 25 years. The Palārī temple, therefore, may be assigned to c. A.D. 675-700.

*Aḍbhār, Śiva temple (Fig. 98; Plates 494-496)*

The Śiva temple at Aḍbhār (ancient Aṣṭadvāra), situated in the eastern extremity of Bilaspur District, was a massive stone structure now much dilapidated; it comprised a garbhagrha, kapilī, maṇḍapa with transepts, a now lost mukhamāṇḍapa approached by steps, and a detached Nandi-maṇḍapa. The plan of the temple is remarkable in being arrived at by placing two squares at an angle of 45°. (The sanctum also followed this plan.) The Nandi-maṇḍapa (Plate 494) is better preserved than the main temple, of which only the doorframes of the kapilī and the garbhagrha stand.

The doorframe at the kapilī of the main temple (Plate 496) is dvīśākha. The first is carved with an adoring nāga couple, their tails held by a garuḍa at the centre of the lintel. Below are dwarf pratihāras wearing luxurious curls and leaning on a paraśu. The inner faces of the jambs and the soffit of the lintel are adorned with full and half-lotuses joined together by a medial padmalatā. The lower part of these jambs shows an elaborately carved pūrṇakalaśa. The second śākha is decorated with life-size figures of Gaṅgā (left) and Yamunā (right), each carrying a kalaśa and standing under an umbrella. The architrave represents seated Śiva and Pārvatī at the centre flanked by mālā-vidyādhara, Kārttikēya (left), and probably Umā-Mahēśvara (right). The upper architrave has fallen and broken into two pieces; it shows, in niches, seated Śiva in the centre flanked by Brahmā and Viṣṇu attended by cāmaradhārīṇīs or goddesses.

Unlike the doorway of the kapilī, that of the garbhagrha is quite plain (Plate 485). A similar plain doorway is repeated for the Nandi-maṇḍapa.

The Nandi-maṇḍapa, measuring 18 × 13 ft. (Plate 494), is supported on four pillars with shafts with octagonal and 16-sided sections, a constricted neck, and a large āmalaka-shaped capital somewhat resembling that in the much more ornate Rāṣṭrakūṭa Jaina caves at Ēllorā. One pillar is carved with a figure of eight-armed Naṭeśa showing a developed iconography and hardened modelling. The loose image of Nandi is consistent with the style of Naṭeśa.

Though the figures of the river-goddesses and dwarf pratihāras reveal a supple modelling reminiscent of the river-goddesses on the Indal Dēul at Kharōd, the execution of the figures on the architraves and the few loose sculptures (such as Naṭeśa) is harder, indicating c. A.D. 700 as the date of the temple.

*Dhōbinī, Śiva temple (Figs. 99-100; Plates 497-503)*

Dhōbinī is c. half a mile southwest of Dāmākhēḍā, a pilgrim centre for the Kabīra-panthīs, lying off the Bilaspur-Raipur road about 38 miles southwest of Bilaspur.



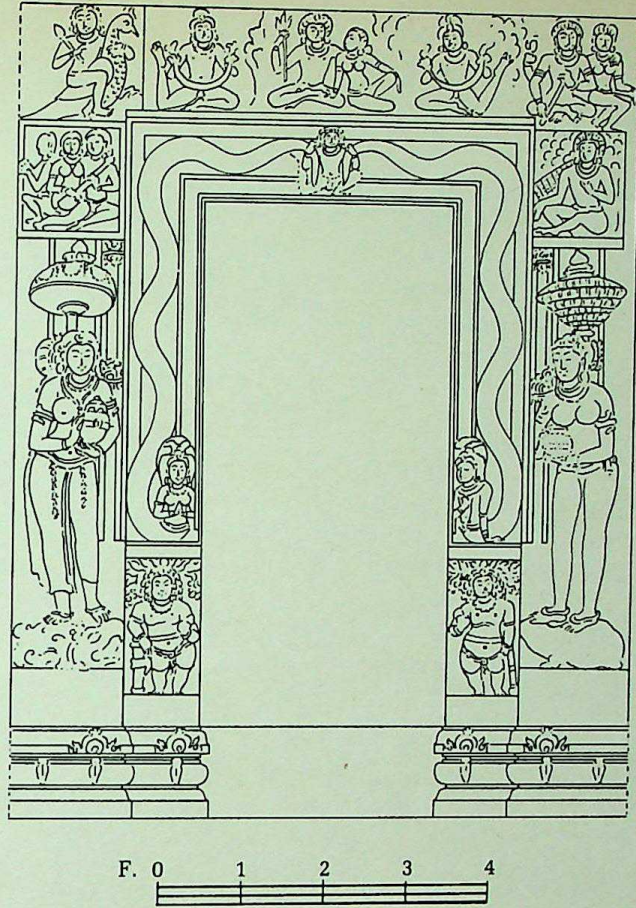


Fig. 98. Aḍbhār. Śiva temple, garbhagṛha, doorway.

The west-facing temple, which stands on the bank of a tank, is built on a restored jagatī. The vēdībāndha, rising on a plain bhiṭṭa, is extensively repaired, composed, however, of khura, kumbha, kalaśa with leaf foliage (Fig. 99), antarapaṭṭa decorated with vēdikā pattern, paṭṭikā carved with ardharatnas, and kapōtapālī adorned with candraśālikās. On the angled pratirathas, the kumbha is taller, surmounted by kalaśa, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī, eliminating paṭṭikā.

The walls of the temple up to the upper kapōta are made of stone while the superstructure is made of brick and finished with stucco. Like the Aḍbhār temple, the shrine of this temple is based on a plan placing two concentric squares at an angle of 45° (Fig. 98). Unlike the Aḍbhār temple, which seems to repeat the same plan internally, the internal sanctum at Palārī is square.

The jaṅghā shows ghanadvāras on the bhadra (Plate 501). Kārṇas display śimha-kārṇas supported by bhāraputrakas and crowned by śimhavyāla. All parts of the wall are framed by Rucaka pilasters (that on the pratiratha having an obtuse angle). The pilasters on the bhadras and kārṇas display an āmalaka-shaped vase, those of the pratirathas a plain capital; all rise from a mālāsthāna carved with half-lotus motif and crowned by a plain phalaka and śīrṣaka of curved profile. The pilasters of the pratirathas and bhadras are carved with mālā-vidyādhara's part way up the shaft.



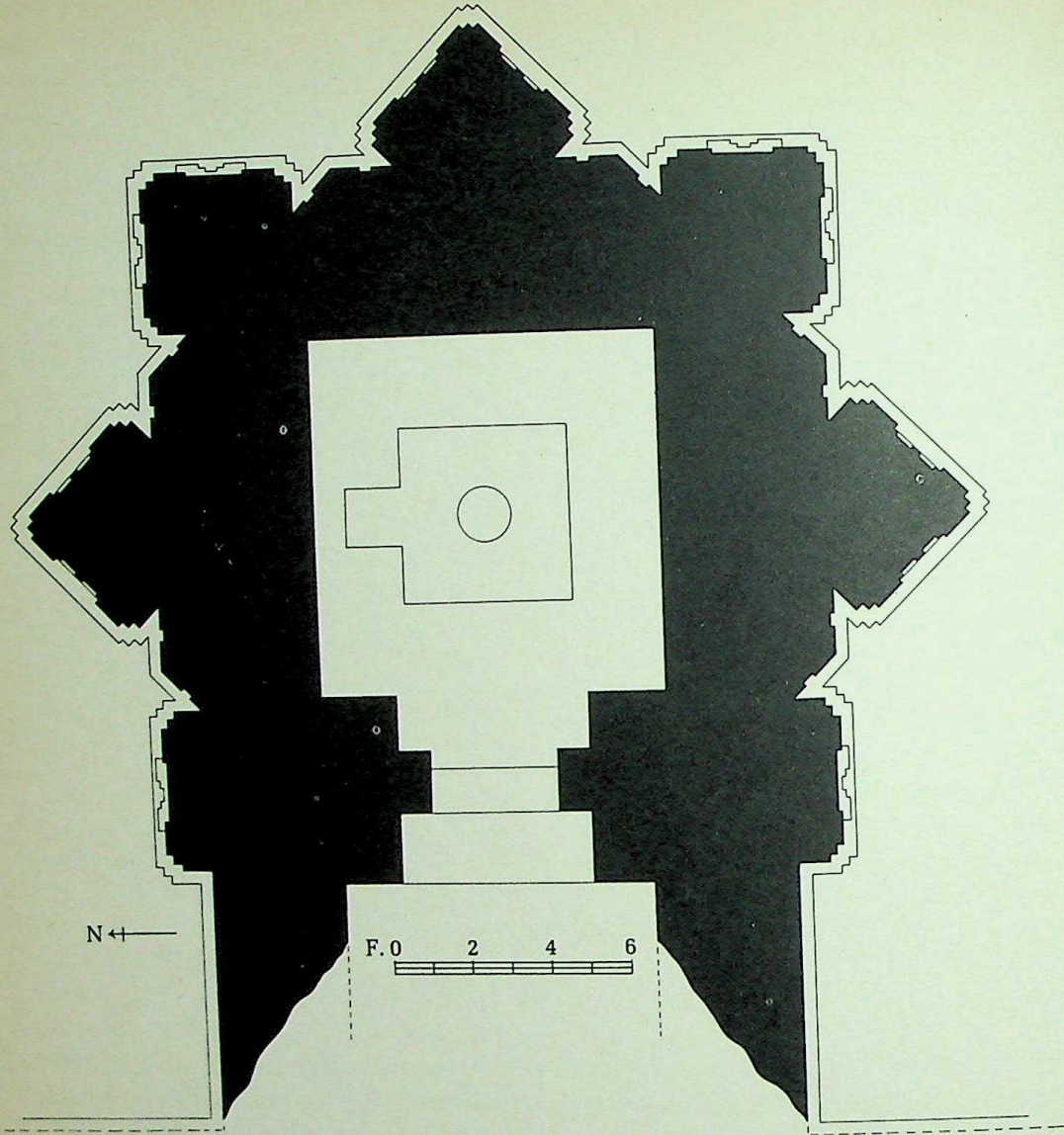


Fig. 99. Dhōbinī. Śiva temple, plan.

The ghanadvāras on the east and north bhadras are plain but those on the south are partly carved with registers inset with chequer-pattern and a female figure emerging from a door (Plate 501). The śimhakarṇas on the karṇas contain figures in dhyānamudrā on the north with possibly Lakulīśa above (Plate 503).

The prominent kapōtapālī crowning the jaṅghā is decorated with candraśālikās containing grāsamukhas or motifs of pilasters and a heart-shaped mukula.

The brick-and-stucco superstructure above the kapōtapālī consists of varaṇḍikā and three surviving storeys of the śikhara marked by corner āmalakas (Plates 497-499). Like the varaṇḍikā, the bhūmis are dominated by pilasters. The predominant scheme of the superstructure is that of horizontal storeys. Large śimhakarṇas appear on the varaṇḍikā only. Between the karṇa and bhadra projections are sections in the śikhara (as in the wall) that mark the corners of an octagonal pillared structure protected by the corner bastions. The architecture of this temple is unique in its clear articulation.



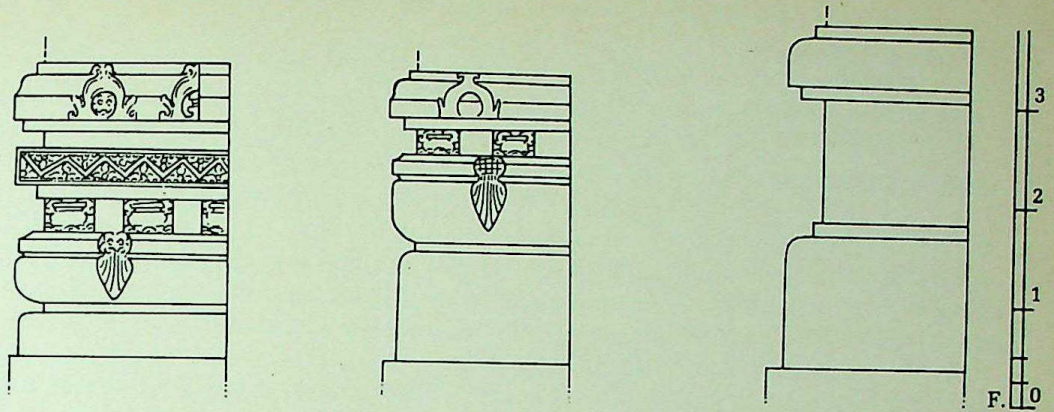


Fig. 100. Dhōbinī. Śiva temple, different vėdibandha profiles.

Only the back wall of the garbhagṛha is intact. That this temple was dedicated to Śiva is indicated by the continuity of Śiva worship at the site and by the likelihood of Lakuliśa figures on the jaṅghā.

While the masonry work of the temple has been executed competently, its figure carvings (like the females within the ghanadvāras, the bhāraputrakas, and the mālā-vidyādhāras on the jaṅghā) are crude and clumsy, revealing a lower level of craftsmanship as compared to other temples in the region. The temple introduces some new features in the vėdibandha (grāsamukha above the foliage on the kalaśa moulding; a paṭṭikā with reversed padma triangles; Plate 502). The complexity of plan and design indicates a date c. A.D. 700.

#### *Rājim, Rājīvalōcana temple, sanctum door (Plates 504-505)*

This door is composed of three bevelled śākhās (Plate 505), the first carved with stylized patravallī emanating from a ghaṭapallava, the second with three pairs of mithunas and a cāmaradhāriṇī at the base, the third with five interlaced adoring nāgas. The first and third śākhās are fringed by lotus petals. The lintel of the second śākhā is carved with gladiators fighting makaras to either side of Garuḍa carrying 4-armed Viṣṇu at the centre (Plate 504). Viṣṇu on the third śākhā is flanked by adoring nāgas. The hardened modelling suggests a date around c. 700-725 for this doorframe.

#### *Rājim, Rājīvalōcana temple, pratōlī (Plates 506-509)*

The Rājīvalōcana temple is enclosed on the west by a prākāra, which is pierced by an ornate pratōlī (Plate 507). The doorway of the pratōlī comprises five śākhās (Plates 506, 508-509), of which the first has patralatā with a serpent addorsed and showing three exquisitely supple climbing jambhaka figures. The second śākhā is patravallī; the third has river-goddesses at the base, a pair of mithunas, and then intertwined adoring nāgas. The first śākhā shows Gajalakṣmī on the lintel. The third shows a garuḍa holding nāga tails. The bevelled fourth śākhā is adorned with patravallī, and shows Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu flanked by devotees on the lintel (Plate 506). The fifth śākhā is decorated with mithunas; at the base are dwarf pratihāras flanked by a caurī-bearer. The left pratihāra leans on an ax while that on the right carries a thick daṇḍa. On the lintel, a bearded figure fondles two females, one seated on his lap; this group is flanked by pairs of figures that look like agitated devotees of Tantric practitioners rather than



secular mithunas. Towards the left, a boar-headed god is seated being garlanded by a devotee from the back.

The inner lateral faces of the doorframe are adorned by a broad band of luxurious *patravallī* (Plates 508-509), as is true of a majority of doorframes from Mahākōsala.

The *pratōlī* has both an eastern and a western *ardhamandapa*. The western *ardhamandapa* has two pillars and pilasters resting on square bases decorated with *ghaṭapallava*. The shafts are eight- and 16-sided with *ghaṭapallavas* at the top. The west faces of the two pillars are carved with *dvārapālas*, one hand raised up in *capēṭamudrā* and the other on the chest. Above the 16-sided section occurs an ornate pitcher-shaped section decorated with four interlaced serpents with suspended tails. Above are *ghaṭapallavas*, a plain abacus, and plain curved brackets. The flanking pilasters of the *ardhamandapa* are carved with large figures of *apsarases*.

The stance and the modelling of the figures partially resembles that at the *Mukha-līṅgēśvara* temple in Srikakulam District; the developed erotic intent of the mithunas and the frothy explosion of the arabesque are reminiscent of the *Vaitāl Dēul* at *Bhuvanēśvara*. A date towards the middle of the eighth century for this *pratōlī* would therefore seem sensible.

Krishna Deva

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## CHAPTER 19

II.D.3.

Varieties of North Indian style: Kaliṅga style, phase 1,  
c. late sixth–early eighth century A.D.

## Śailōdbhavas

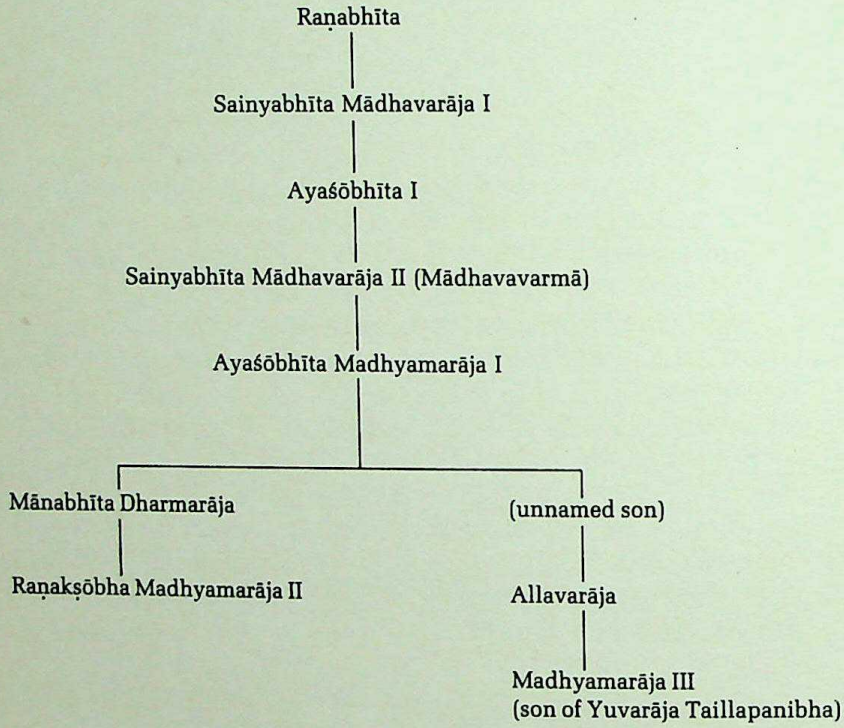
### Historical Introduction

The Śailōdbhavas claimed a mythical descent from the land of the Mahēndra mountain. The first important chief of the line, known from the Ganjam copper-plate charter issued from Koṅgōda in C.E. 300/A.D. 619, was Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II, ruler of Koṅgōda (now part of Districts Ganjam and Puri), who was feudatory of Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka, king of Karṇasuvarṇa and a sworn adversary of king Harṣavardhana. That Śaśāṅka was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara is proved by inscriptional records as well as references in later Sanskrit works, like the *Ēkāmrapurāṇa*, that credit him with the enshrinement of a liṅga at Tribhuvanēśvara (present Bhubaneswar) in a temple that might well represent the first stone temple at the site. Śaśāṅka may have been instrumental in the establishment of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata sect at Bhuvanēśvara, though this is not certain; from early in the seventh century A.D., however, Bhuvanēśvara became a prolific centre for temples on which images of Lakulīśa figure prominently. Practically all the Śailōdbhava kings following Mādhavarāja II professed Śaivism, and presumably took interest in erecting Śaiva temples in Orissa.

Mādhavarāja II asserted his independence after reverses by Śaśāṅka and extended the boundaries of his kingdom according to his Khurda copper-plates, issued from his victorious camp at Koṅgōda, in which he is described as “sakala Kaliṅgādhipati.” That his rule had a long span is apparent from the Orissa Museum copper-plates dated 50, which may be his regnal year (some scholars, however, have referred to the Harṣa era, which would yield a date of A.D. 656). According to his Orissa Museum copper-plate inscription, Mādhavarāja II performed great sacrifices such as aśvamēdha. He had been forced to submit to Harṣavardhana shortly before A.D. 643, but again reasserted his power after Harṣa’s death in A.D. 646.

Hsüan Tsang travelled through Orissa in about A.D. 639, and mentions three countries, Ōdra, Koṅgōda, and Kaliṅga. From his narrative, it is evident that Koṅgōda (then under Mādhavarāja II) was most powerful. Hsüan Tsang records that “the country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong, there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy.” The performance of the aśvamēdha sacrifice by Mādhavarāja II in the last part of his reign would indicate that he extended his authority over neighbouring territories, including possibly part of Ōdra.



**Genealogical Table: Śailōdbhavas**



Mādhavarāja II was succeeded by his son Ayaśōbhīta Madhyamarāja I, who ruled for at least 26 years and performed āśvamēdha and vājapēya sacrifices. His copper-plates from Parikud, District Puri, record the grant of a village in Kaṭaka-bhukti-viṣaya, which indicates that his sway extended in the north as far as the lower Mahānadī valley. Ayaśōbhīta's son was Mānabhīta Dharmarāja, designated as Mahārājādhirāja in his copper-plate charter, where he is credited with the performance of āśvamēdha and vājapēya sacrifices. He was a great devotee of Śiva, taking delight in all religious activities, and ruled for at least 30 years.

The three successors of Mānabhīta were weak and inconsequential rulers, and the dynasty ultimately succumbed to the power of the rising Bhauma-Karas.

The C.E. 300/A.D. 619 date of the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja II is the only definite point we have for the chronology of the Śailōdbhava dynasty, and there is uncertainty about the limits of his reign. Available copper-plates show that his son, Madhyamarāja I, and grandson, Dharmarāja, ruled for at least 26 and 30 years respectively, but we have no regnal years for the three kings succeeding Dharmarāja. D.C. Sircar assigns Mādhavarāja II, Madhyamarāja I, and Dharmarāja to c. A.D. 610-665, 665-695, and 695-730. The fall of this dynasty was probably due to the rise of the Bhauma-Karas, who reckoned their dates in their own era, the last known year of which is 204. R.C. Majumdar was inclined to place the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era in the middle of the eighth century A.D., while D.C. Sircar assigns the initial year of their era to A.D. 831. Satyanarayan Rajaguru suggests A.D. 736, according to which the Śailōdbhava dynasty would have come to an end before the middle of the eighth century A.D.

Koṅgōda, the early capital of the Śailōdbhavas, is identified by some scholars with Banpur-Achutrajpur (District Puri) on the bank of the Salia, which has yielded not only ancient structural remains, sculptures, and bronzes but also copper-plates of the Śailōdbhavas, Bhauma-Karas, and the Sōmavamśīs, and by others with Bankāda, a fortified site c. six miles northwest of Achutrajpur, also on the Salia. Close to Bankāda is Punjama, which contains the remains of a ruined Śiva temple, believed to be of the late Śailōdbhava period.

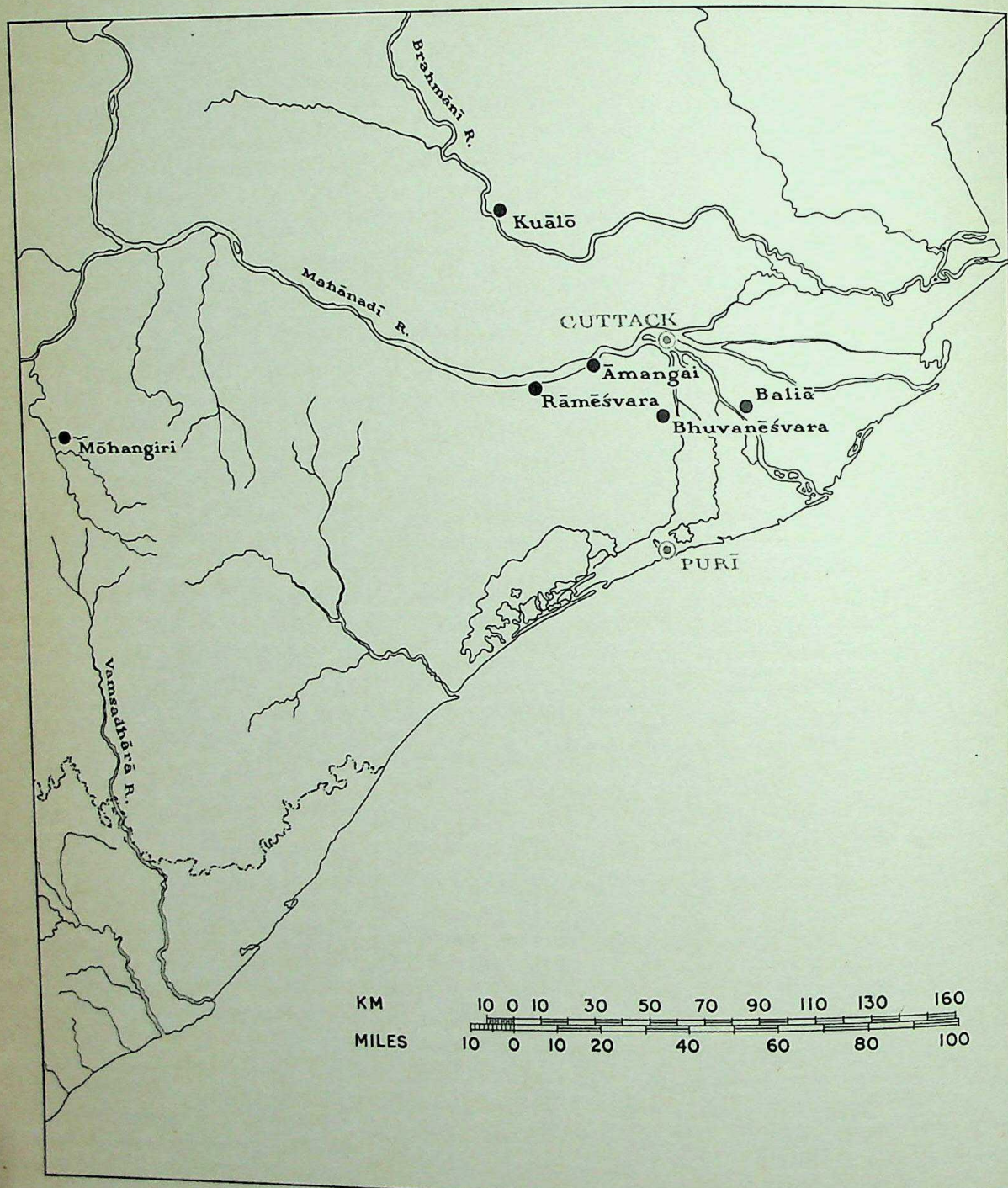
### Architectural Features

Temples in Kaliṅga style are concentrated mostly in present-day Orissa where temple-construction is still a living tradition among some families of śilpins. A few specimens are also found in the northeastern region of Andhra Pradesh, an area that formed part of ancient Kaliṅga even so early as the period of Aśōka Maurya.

The architectural canons of the Kaliṅga style have survived in a few, late, Oriya texts in which each temple-type and its components have been specified, with their proportionate measurements. These relate to fully developed temples of three broad orders, known in Oriya terminology as "Rēkhā" (Latina), "Piḍhā" (Phāmsanā), and "Khākhārā" (Valabhī). The typical "Piḍhā" order makes its appearance in later times.

"Rēkhā" temples assignable to the Śailōdbhava period, are best represented by the Paraśurāmēśvara temple, which shows clearly-articulated components including Latina śikhara. (Earlier prototypes for such a fully developed temple have not been discovered in either Orissa or Andhra Pradesh.) While Oriya terminology may be appropriate to a discussion of Orissan architecture alone, and will be referred to here, this Encyclopaedia primarily will use a Sanskrit terminology appropriate to the pan-north-Indian context of Orissan examples.





Kalinga: Śailōdbhava sites.



The interior plan is square; externally, these temples are triratha, with a well-articulated central projection, termed "rāhā" in Oriya terminology (ratha or bhadra) and corner offsets called "kaṇika" (kaṇa). The central ratha on the front presents a doorway leading to the garbhagrha; bhadras on the other sides each accommodate a "doorway" framing an image of a pārśvadēvatā or parivāradēvatā. Disposition of these images is suggestive of a sarvatōbhadrā shrine, the "T"-shaped frames of these niches on early shrines cutting through the vēdibandha mouldings to floor level (Plates 511, 517, 519).

Vertically, the elevation of the garbhagrha ("Rēkhā dēul") in Oriya texts may broadly be divided into three principal parts, namely "bāḍa" (kaṭi or maṇḍōvara), "gaṇḍi" (śikhara), and "mastaka" (head; the crowning members), having further subdivisions. The components of the kaṭi are "pābhāga" (vēdibandha), "jāṅgha" (jaṅghā), and "varaṇḍa" or "varaṇḍi" (varaṇḍikā), the last capped by a recess, called "kāṇṭhi" (kaṇṭha), demarcating the kaṭi from the śikhara. The vēdibandha of the early group of temples invariably presents three mouldings called "khurā" (khura-kumbha), "nōli" (kalaśa), and "vasanta" (kapōtapālī). The kapōtapālī is often carved with a variety of decorative motifs.

Each kaṇa on the jaṅghā is decorated with a niche, representing a miniature shrine, crowned by an udgama-pediment. The varaṇḍikā has a rūpakaṇṭha between two kapōtapālīs; in finished temples this is embellished with carvings, including narrative episodes from the epics and the Purāṇas.

The thick-set curvilinear śikhara begins its well-graduated curvature almost from its base. Kaṇarathas are divided into bhūmis consisting of a set of kapōta mouldings ("bhūmi-varaṇḍis"); the upper two kapōtas are clasped together by a larger gavākṣa and the remaining by smaller gavākṣas. The principal ratha is adorned by a latā formed of a succession of śimhakarṇas flanked by ardha-śimhakarṇas, which often contain a narrative frieze, Śiva's bust, or a head. The flanking "anurāhās" (anurathas; pratirathas) also are embellished by a latā formed of plain gavākṣas flanked by ardha-gavākṣas on a succession of mouldings. The broad recess between anuratha and kaṇaratha is decorated with a form of bālapañjara representing miniature versions of the niches on the jaṅghā's karṇas, complete with deity or other figures and crowning udgama. The kaṇaratha, bālapañjara, and pratiratha together sit above each kaṇa of the jaṅghā on early structures, suggesting a pañcaratha structure but with a dvi-aṅga plan.

The śikhara ends with a square "visama" (vēdī; skandha) which does not partake of the ratha projections but does continue the curve of the śikhara, presenting the appearance of a broad shoulder. The "mastaka" above this shoulder consists of a short, cylindrical "bēki" (grīvā), large āmalasāraka, low circular "khapurī" (candrikā), and a finial (usually faceted, only occasionally resembling a liṅga).

Inside, the span of the garbhagrha was reduced by a succession of corbels. To ensure stability, the lower parts of the corbelled walls were tied together by a ceiling of flat slabs, above which was a hollow chamber, access to which was usually provided by a small opening above the corbelled niche over the ceiling of the passage leading to the sanctum.

No mortar was used in the construction of these temples. Huge blocks of stone were laid dry, one upon the other, and kept in position by their weight and balance. Iron occasionally was used for clamps and dowels, binding the facing courses, and for beams inserted into the central chase of the lintel and ceiling-slabs. Facing stones of the śikhara were often so finely dressed and fitted that the joints can barely be



perceived. The stones that form the core, however, were often quite roughly dressed (Plate 546).

At their base, the walls are half in thickness the width of the sanctum; compared to this thickness, the height of the temple seems low. From the unfinished carving on the walls of some temples, it is evident that figures and decorative patterns were often carved in situ in this region, following construction.

Most temples of this early group were preceded by a "mukhaśālā" (gūḍhamaṇḍapa), construction of which followed that of the garbhagṛha, against which it was built (the front wall of the garbhagṛha thus serving as the back wall of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa; Plate 526).

This gūḍhamaṇḍapa is oblong on plan, wider than the garbhagṛha, its decorative scheme and height subordinated to that of garbhagṛha. In the well-preserved Paraśurāmēśvara temple, it is lighted not only by two doors but by four latticed windows. In this temple and a few others, we find the use of monolithic pillars and pilasters to support a roof that slopes in two stages with a closed clerestory between; the lowermost roof-slabs also serve as eaves. The top of the roof is terraced. The walls of the maṇḍapa show base-mouldings that are lower than those of the garbhagṛha; these are on a straight mānasūtra, with only very shallow projections under niches (Plate 526).

Temples of Valabhī type are rare, usually dedicated to Śakti worship. Their oblong plans are crowned by a barrel-vaulted roof (called "khākharā" after the local name of a cylindrical variety of pumpkin-gourd). The small Durgā temple at Rāmēśvara is the earliest known Valabhī shrine in Kaliṅga and does not appear to be earlier than the eighth century A.D., at the end of the Śailōdbhava period.

Kaliṅga architecture shows an innate conservatism, as a result of which changes and modifications in the course of its evolution are not always easy to detect, and architectural features are not so reliable as chronological indicators as they are elsewhere in North India. Lack of dated inscriptions also adds to the difficulty of establishing a clear-cut evolution in these shrines. The style of figural and decorative carvings also need not always be helpful, as we often find both consummate and ungainly workmanship even on the same temple. While some temples noticed in this chapter might even come from the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara period, the first five temples, built within a period of 50 years in the seventh century, clearly belong to the Śailōdbhava period.

*Bhuvanēśvara, Paraśurāmēśvara temple (Figs. 101, 104a; Plates 510-531)*

This best-preserved of the early group of temples at Bhuvanēśvara embodies all the characteristic architectural and sculptural features and decorative designs of the Śailōdbhava period. The ancient name of the Paraśurāmēśvara, as given in a later inscription over the south doorway of its maṇḍapa, was "Parāśēśvara" (perhaps a mistake for "Parāśarēśvara," i.e. the liṅga enshrined in the name of Parāśara, one of the distinguished ācāryas of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata sect). Built in sandstone, the temple faces west and can be ascribed to the first part of the seventh century A.D. It consists of a garbhagṛha and maṇḍapa, now enclosed by a low compound-wall.

The exterior of the garbhagṛha is triratha on plan, with the central projection carried up the śikhara (Plates 510-511).

The vēḍibandha consists of khura-kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōtapālī, the last elegantly embellished with a variety of motifs, such as ornate candraśālikā with lotus or lion-heads, scrolls, haṁsas with foliated tails, vidyādhara, human figures including an erotic couple, and plant and floral designs within diamond-shaped, triangular, or



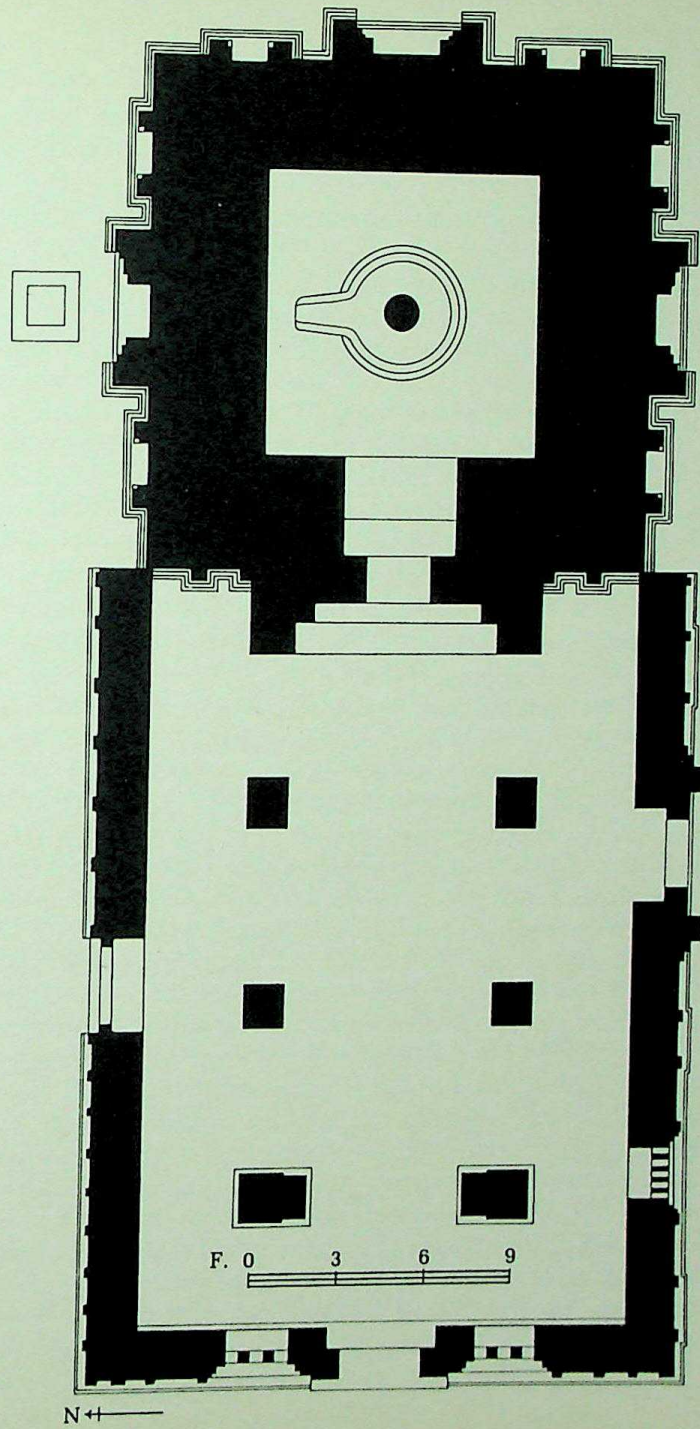


Fig. 101. Bhuvanēśvara. Paraśurāmēśvara temple, plan.



wavy compartments (the kalaśa shows a faint suggestion of tripaṭṭa faceting). Vēḍi-bandha mouldings are interrupted by a doorway on the west and by niches on the bhadras where parivāradēvatās are enframed by dvāraśākhās.

The treatment of the jaṅghā is enriched not only by these parivāradēvatā niches, with their ornate superstructures, but also by smaller niches on the karṇas (Plates 517, 519). The bhadra projections simulate shrines, each harbouring the image of a parivāradēvatā: four-armed Gaṇēśa (S; Plate 519), two-armed Kārttikēya (E; Plate 517), and possibly Pārvatī (N; now empty).

The "T"-shaped frames of these bhadra niches (Plates 517, 519) have been treated with luxuriant decoration that varies from frame to frame (suggesting, perhaps, a formative period when a decorative schema had not been standardized). The three broad śākhās of the jambs have been spaced using thin fillets that have been carved with a beaded line, petals, flowers, or triangles. With an atlantid kumāra seated below, the inner rūpaśākhā of the southern niche has, first, a kneeling devotee, a standing male figure holding a cāmara, and the bust of a garland-bearing figure (Plate 519). The middle śākhā shows ghaṭapallava, haṁsa, and a foliated creeper supporting oblong and square panels embellished with floral motifs. The outermost mālāśākhā shows spiraling strands of beaded lines, lotus-petals, śaṅkhas, etc., with central floral clasps flanked by grāsamukhas. The lalāṭabimba of the innermost śākhā shows a damaged figure in a niche flanked by flying vidyādhara that alternately project or are recessed. At the centre of the second and third śākhās (Plate 518) is a crisp lotus-arabesque flanked by vidyādhara and with a bust of Śiva to the right. The entablature over the lintel is divided into five niches by ghaṭapallava-ornamented pilasters; the central niche bears a bust of Śiva, the two flanking ones show seated pot-bellied figures holding an utpala, the outer niches show acrobatic kumāras.

The innermost śākhā of the eastern frame (Plate 517) is similar to that on the southern bhadra, but with the substitution of a sword-bearing female for the cāmara-bearer. The middle śākhā displays ghaṭapallava, a śālabhaṅjikā within a niche crowned by a pair of candraśālikās, and a succession of compartments decorated with dancing figures, haṁsa with foliated tail, and floral and plant motifs (the śākhā is crowned by a pavilion with three jāla-vātāyanas). The outermost śākhā is carved with śrīvṛkṣa pattern (also found on the doorframes of Gupta temples at Bhūmarā and Dēvgaḍh). The broad panel on the lintel depicts the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, who stand in the centre in front of Agni, Brahmā, and other gods. The entablature has its own uprights, carved on the masonry of the bhadra's jaṅghā, each with three compartments showing śālabhaṅjikās at top and bottom and a mīthuna in the middle.

The northern bhadra (Plate 522) shows cāmaradhāriṇīs on the pēdyās. The inner śākhā has fine patravalli; the middle śākhā, a succession of six compartments alternately containing flying vidyādhara and garland-bearing vidyādhara; the outer śākhā, śrīvṛkṣa pattern. The broad lintel depicts an animated hunting scene with wild boars, elephants, and lions. The crowning entablature has been left uncarved.

Above the entablature of these niches is a superstructure divided into two parts by the varaṇḍikā (Plate 515); the upper part has paired pent-roofs faced by figured śūrasēnakas merging with the central latā of the śikhara; the lower part shows mouldings resembling a segment of a śikhara complete with bhūmikhaṇḍas and pañjaras in recesses.

Each karṇa of the jaṅghā has a niche placed above a projection of the vēḍibandha; these are framed by ornate Rucaka pilasters and crowned by a shapely udgama embellished with figures of divinities (Plate 520). All are now empty. Each rises from a



base-moulding of tulās (Plate 521) embellished with the foreparts of lions, elephants, or sometimes kinnaras or human figures, including amorous mithunas.

The varaṇḍikā at the top of the jaṅghā consists of a rūpakaṇṭha between two ornate kapōtapālīs (Plates 514, 516); this is relieved by gajākrānta-simhas (sharing the same head) at the extreme corners, by scrolls and amorous mithunas separated by chequer-pattern in the recess on the karṇas, and patravallī (the stems held by a central seated yakṣa, two kumāras on the corners in the attitude of supporting the superstructure) on the central ratha (Plates 515-516).

The squat śikhara above the varaṇḍikā (Plate 511) is seemingly pañcaratha (karṇalatā, bālapañjara, and pratilatā, however, set above the karṇa-face of the temple's dvi-aṅga walls). The vēṇukōśa is divided into five bhūmis marked by bhūmi-āmalakas. Each khaṇḍa consists of three kapōtas, the upper two clasped together by a gavākṣa, the lower one faced by a larger gavākṣa; the bhūmi-āmalakas are square and support an ornamented kapōta on which the next khaṇḍa rests.

The central ratha displays an integrated latā formed of a row of simhakarṇas, flanked by ardha-simhakarṇas, often containing narrative figures or Śiva's bust or head. This madhyalatā is flanked by narrow anurathas, separated by thin recesses from pratirathas that also are embellished by gavākṣas flanked by ardha-gavākṣas on a succession of mouldings. The pratirathas and karṇarathas fall along the same mānasūtra above the karṇa faces of the jaṅghā; the broad recesses between pratirathas and karṇa vēṇukōśas are adorned with a form of "bālapañjara" showing miniature niches complete with deities or other figures and crowning udgamas. The skandha that terminates the śikhara is square, with no offsets.

The śukanāsa projecting on the west side of the śikhara (Plates 512-513) rises above six pūrṇakumbhas and displays Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti in its śūrasēnaka and an impressive image of ten-armed Natarāja in the upper simhakarṇa. An image of Lakulīśa caps the grāsamukha crowning the simhakarṇa. Corresponding śukanāsa-like projections on the other three sides are less prominent and at a slightly lower level (Plate 510). On the south (Plate 514) are Śiva as Bhikṣātanamūrti, a bust of Śiva, Natarāja, and a seated figure, possibly Sūrya; on the east (Plate 516) are Lakulīśa with his four disciples, Umā-Mahēśvara, and another figure in yōgāsana; on the north (Plate 515) are Mahiṣāsūramardinī, a head of Śiva, Natarāja, and Śiva-yōgāsana.

At the time of the restoration of this temple between 1899 and 1901, the architectural members above this skandha consisted only of a cylindrical grīvā, ponderous āmalasāraka, and candrikā. The present "dōpiccha simha" on the corners below the āmalasāraka as well as the prism-like finial are recent additions.

The garbhagrha doorway (Plates 530-531), much restored, had four śākhās. The first is carved with patravallī and has a Śaiva pratihāra on the pēdyā; the second and third are rūpaśākhās with warriors at their bases. The first of these shows a miscellany of figures; the second alternates śālabhañjikās and mithunas (Plate 531). The original sill, lintel, and left śākhās have been substituted by later plain pieces of stone in restoration. The architrave shows eight seated and labelled members of the Navagrahas (Kētu conspicuous by his absence). Above, a pair of ornate kapōtapālīs with an intervening vēdikā are crowned by a large śūrasēnaka enclosing Śiva's bust in worship by two devotees; on either side are niches containing mithunas.

The garbhagrha enshrines a Śivaliṅga fixed in a pīthikā, with provision for draining water through a chute in the north wall of the cella.

The maṇḍapa was built following completion of the garbhagrha against its finished western face (Plate 526). The maṇḍapa is oblong, with a terraced roof sloping



in two stages with a closed clerestory in between. The overhanging lower roof-slabs serve also as eaves. The flat ceiling at the centre of the maṇḍapa rests on a course of sloping slabs supported by sloping struts (Plate 530). These ultimately rest on the bracket-capitals of six monolithic pillars, three each on the northern and southern sides, and on two pilasters built against the front wall of the garbhagṛha (Plate 530; the pillars now are largely restored).

The interior of the maṇḍapa was lighted by an entrance on the west (Plate 523), an additional doorway on the south (Plate 524), and four latticed windows, one each on north and south and two on the west flanking the main entrance (Plate 525). The windows on the north and south are not symmetrically placed and the southern doorway is not in the centre of the wall. The western windows incorporate images of dancers and musicians (Plate 525); the frames are lavishly carved.

The western door (Plate 525) is framed by elaborately decorated Rucaka pilasters carved with ghaṭapallavas at base and top, Śaiva pratihāras, foliage bands, ardharatna, etc. The broad paṭṭa above shows Gajalakṣmī at the lalāṭa, worship of Śivaliṅga by hermits, and flying vidyādhara-couples above the window on the right, and a scene of the capture of wild elephants above the window on the left.

The southern doorway (Plate 524) is also flanked by projecting Rucaka pilasters, but also shows two śākhās, the innermost carved with patravallī and the rūpaśākhā with mithunas and charming apsaras; the pēdyās show Śaiva pratihāras. The lintel shows seated Gaṇeśa consuming laḍḍukas at the lalāṭa, flanked by bands of devotees bringing eatables as offerings.

The maṇḍapa's vēḍibandha replaces kalaśa by tripaṭṭa kumuda. In contrast to the well-organized scheme of the garbhagṛha, the embellishment of the maṇḍapa is rather congested (Plates 527, 529). The lower part of the wall above the vēḍibandha is divided into niches framed by ghaṭapallava pilasters; these marshal a remarkable catholicity of Brahmanical deities, including various forms of Śiva (Plate 527), his family, attendants, gaṇas, Lakulīśa, the four Lōkapālas (Plate 529), the Saptamātrkās, Virabhadra, Gaṇeśa, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sūrya. Above each niche is an architectural design representing a pediment of śūrasēnaka and candraśālās (Plates 528-529). These are mostly etched in low relief, giving the impression almost of wood-carving. These shallow carvings, by subordinating the maṇḍapa's ornamentation to that of the shrine, have heightened the prominence and effect of the latter (Plate 526). The medallions of these śūrasēnakas and candraśālās bear themes which include divine and secular figures, heads, busts, vētālas, foreparts of lions, monkeys, haṁsas, lotuses, and even a ṛṣi counting beads. Divine figures include seated Kārttikēya, Gaṇeśa, various forms of standing or seated Śiva, sometimes with three heads, and busts or heads of Śiva, occasionally with a snake peeping out through the ear-stud.

Originally the temple was coloured with dark red ochre, patches of which still linger at places. Disparity in the quality of figure-sculptures would seem to be due to joint participation by master sculptors and less experienced pupils, with expert sculptors attending to major works and complex designs, minor works assigned to trainees of the guild. While some of the work may seem folkish, there is a great profundity and playfulness in the proliferation and variety of patterning lavished on this early stone shrine.

*Bhuvanēśvara, Svarṇajālēśvara temple* (Figs. 102, 104b; Plates 532-539)

The east-facing Svarṇajālēśvara temple is closely affiliated to the Paraśurāmēśvara temple both in plan and elevation. The vēḍibandha (Fig. 104b) presents the usual



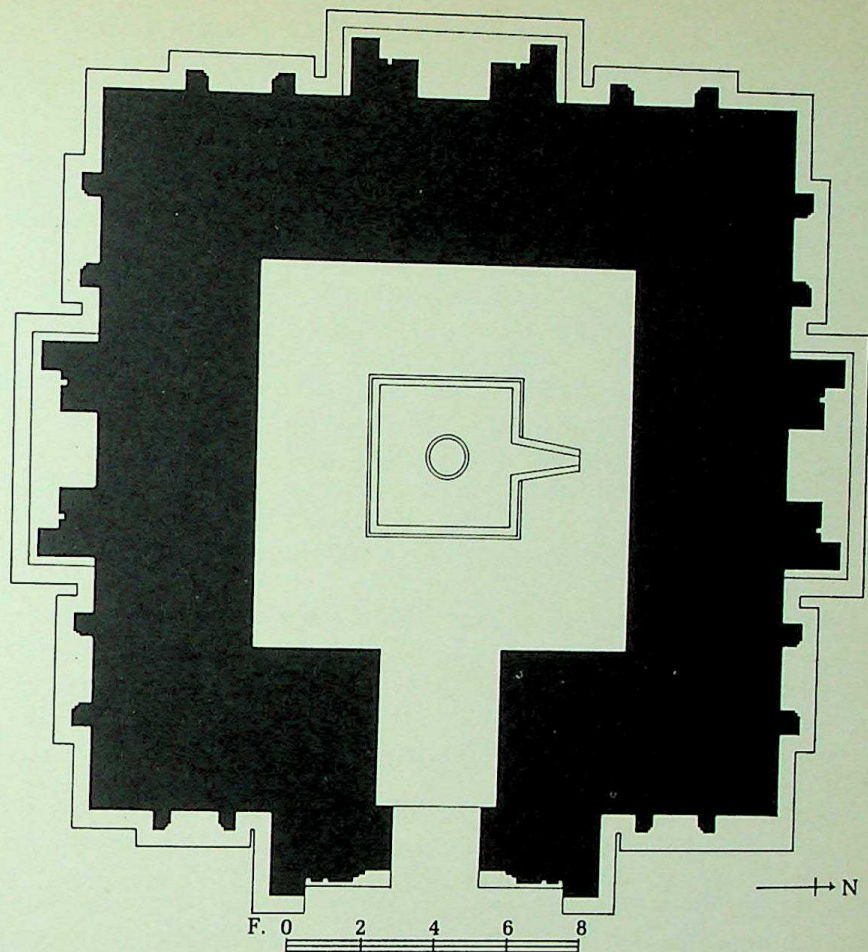


Fig. 102. Bhuvanēśvara. Svarṇajālēśvara temple, plan.

mouldings, interrupted by bhadra-niches and by a doorway on the east (Plate 532). The temple, though much damaged, has been well restored.

Images in the three bhadra-niches are standing Pārvatī (N; Plate 536), seated Gaṇēśa (S), and Kārttikēya (W).

The frame of the north niche (Plate 536) is composed of a rūpaśākhā, stambhaśākhā, and mālāśākhā; the lintel above shows a succession of friezes representing Umā-Mahēśvara adored by converging vidyādhara, the worship of a Śivaliṅga, and Pārvatī-pariṇaya. The frame of the western niche replicates that on the north; that on the south replaces mālāśākhā with lotus-petals. The lintel on the south shows seated Gaṇēśa and a kinnara-mithuna amidst patravallī carrying a garland.

The empty karṇa niches have ornate frames and crowning udgamas, with simha-karṇas and gavākṣas harbouring miscellaneous figures.

The rūpakaṇṭha of the varaṇḍikā, sandwiched between a pair of elegant kapōtā-pālīs (the lower one having a broad, slightly projecting, decorated band below it), is embellished with various narrative scenes (Plates 534-535). The eastern flank of the north side represents the conference of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with Sugrīva,



accompanied by his monkey-headed followers; the western flank shows the Rāmāyaṇa episode of Mārīca as a golden deer shot by Rāma (Plate 534). The northern flank on the west shows Bālī's death at the hands of Rāma; the southern, the fight between Arjuna and Śiva in the guise of Kirāta, accompanied by Umā as a Kirātī, and Arjuna's ultimate surrender to Śiva (Plate 535).

The eastern flank on the south depicts the capture of elephants in a forest; the northern flank on the east preserves only part of a Rāmāyaṇa scene, with three monkeys flying amidst clouds.

The temple's pañcaratha pañcabhūma śikhara (Plates 532-533) is practically a replica of that of the Paraśurāmēśvara; its śukanāsa, however, replaces Rāvaṇānugraha-mūrti in the lower śūrasēnaka by Śiva-Pārvatī. The crowning finial is an octagonal member with a neck-like recess, above which is a faceted part crowned by broken fluted member, the whole possibly identifiable as ākāśaliṅga.

The garbhagṛha doorway (Plate 537), is composed of patra-, stambha-, and mālā-śākhā. At the base of the first śākhā are Śaiva pratihāras flanked by a triśūlapuruṣa. The lintel is badly damaged; its architrave (Plate 538) partially preserves Sōma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, and Śani out of the eight grahas, as represented on the Śatrughnēśvara temple.

The garbhagṛha enshrines a Śivaliṅga fixed in a square pīṭhikā with a channel in the north face.

There are indications to suggest that this temple, like the Paraśurāmēśvara, was preceded by a two-tier maṇḍapa.

#### Bhuvanēśvara, Bharatēśvara temple (Figs. 103, 104c; Plates 540-544)

The southernmost temple in a row of three ruined west-facing shrines across the road from the much later Rāmēśvara temple is now known locally as the Bharatēśvara (the middle is called the Lakṣmaṇēśvara and the northernmost as the Śatrughnēśvara). The Bharatēśvara has been completely restored by the Orissa State Department of Archaeology while the other two are only partly restored. Before restoration (Plate 540), the Bharatēśvara had been denuded of the upper part of its śikhara, and had lost most of the facing stones of its śikhara and jaṅghā on the north, east, and south. Many of the carved facing stones of all three temples remain mixed up at the site.

The temple is triratha (dvi-aṅga) on plan (Fig. 103), with the usual vēḍibandha mouldings (Fig. 104c), the kapōtapālī of which is underscored by mukulikā-pendants.

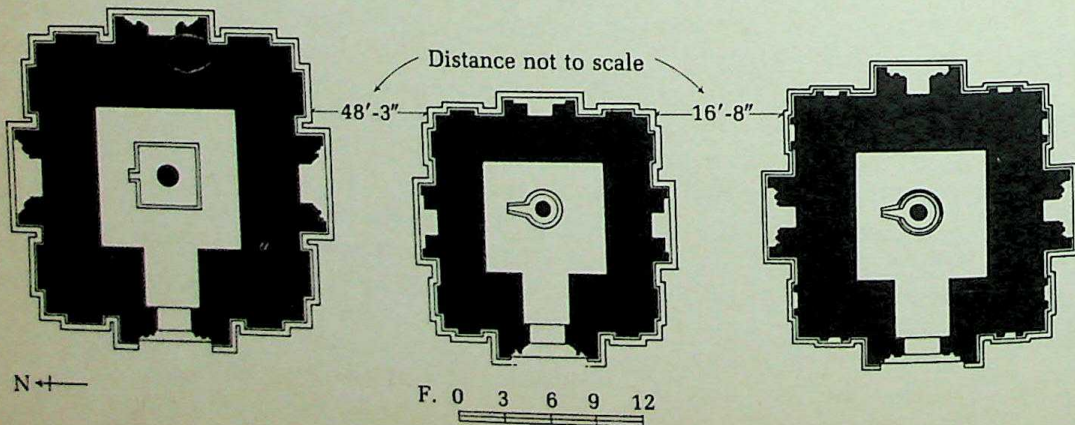


Fig. 103. Bhuvanēśvara. Śatrughnēśvara group of temples, plan.



The eight karna niches in some cases retain original images including Harihara, Natarāja, and dancing Ardhanārīśvara (Plate 543). These niches rest on a series of mouldings based by ornate tulāpīṭha carved with designs, including animals and narrative scenes (Plate 544).

As on the Paraśurāmēśvara temple, the now-empty bhadra niches cut through the vēdibandha; their jambs have four śākhās, with Śaiva pratihāras or other figures on the pēdyās. The lintels on the east and south have Umā-Mahēśvara and Gaṇēśa at their centres. The rūpakaṇṭha of the varaṇḍikā (with a slightly-projected broad ornate band underneath) was embellished with narrative scenes, such as Śiva's marriage procession (Plate 543).

The garbhagṛha's "T"-shaped doorframe (Plate 542) has four śākhās: the innermost is carved with patravallī (emanating from a haṁsa), the next figured with decorative segments based by a ghaṭapallava (these two having pēdyās showing Śaiva pratihāras), the third is a stambhaśākhā based by ghaṭapallava with multiple decorative segments and plain curved brackets, and finally there is a mālāśākhā fringed by a beaded fillet.

The lintel is unique in having a central relief divided into zones with minor rectangular and square registers. (The upper register shows Śiva and Pārvatī flanked by seated pratihāras; above are garland-bearing vidyādhara and a gaṇa holding a standard. The lower register displays kneeling devotees in front of Nandi, Pārvatī's lion, and more devotees.) The lalāṭa is flanked by two tilakas containing voluptuous kanyās (one admiring herself in a mirror); at the end of the lintel are two shrines, one harbouring a Śivaliṅga and the other the head of Śiva.

All three temples in this group had gūḍhamaṇḍapas, as evidenced by mason's lines for placement of the bottom course of the maṇḍapa walls surviving on the stone slabs of the plinth.

#### *Bhuvanēśvara, Lakṣmaṇēśvara temple (Figs. 103, 104d; Plates 546-548)*

This temple — the middle, smallest, and perhaps the earliest of the group — has been denuded of the facing stones for all of the śikhara and much of the jaṅghā (Plate 546). Its vēdibandha (Fig. 104d) has no mukulikā pendants below its kapōtapālī.

The doorframe is "T"-shaped (Plate 547), with a plain sill; it has four śākhās, the innermost a patraśākhā with Śaiva pratihāras at the base, then a Rucaka stambhaśākhā with ghaṭapallava base, ornamental bands, and ornate brackets, mālāśākhā, and a bāhyaśākhā embellished with śrīvṛkṣā design. The lintel depicts elephants.

The Śivaliṅga enshrined in the garbhagṛha is fixed in a circular pīṭhikā with a channel towards the north.

#### *Bhuvanēśvara, Śatrughnēśvara temple (Figs. 103, 104e; Plates 545, 549-553)*

The northernmost temple of the group has lost almost all of its śikhara (Plate 550). Its vēdibandha (Fig. 104e; Plate 549) replicates that of the Lakṣmaṇēśvara, with a wide variety of designs on its kapōtapālī.

Decorative bands sometimes replace tulāpīṭha below the karna niches (Plate 545). Broken images of Gaṇēśa and Mahiṣāsura-mardini have been recovered from the site.

The frame of the south bhadra-niche introduces a luxuriant innermost ratnaśākhā. Others are stambha-, śrīvṛkṣa-, and bāhyaśākhā carved with squarish rosettes. The lintel of this frame has been shifted to the State Museum, Bhubaneswar, and bears the labelled figures of eight grahas (Plate 552). (On other Orissan temples, grahas are represented only on the lintel of the garbhagṛha's doorframe.) According to Panigrahi,



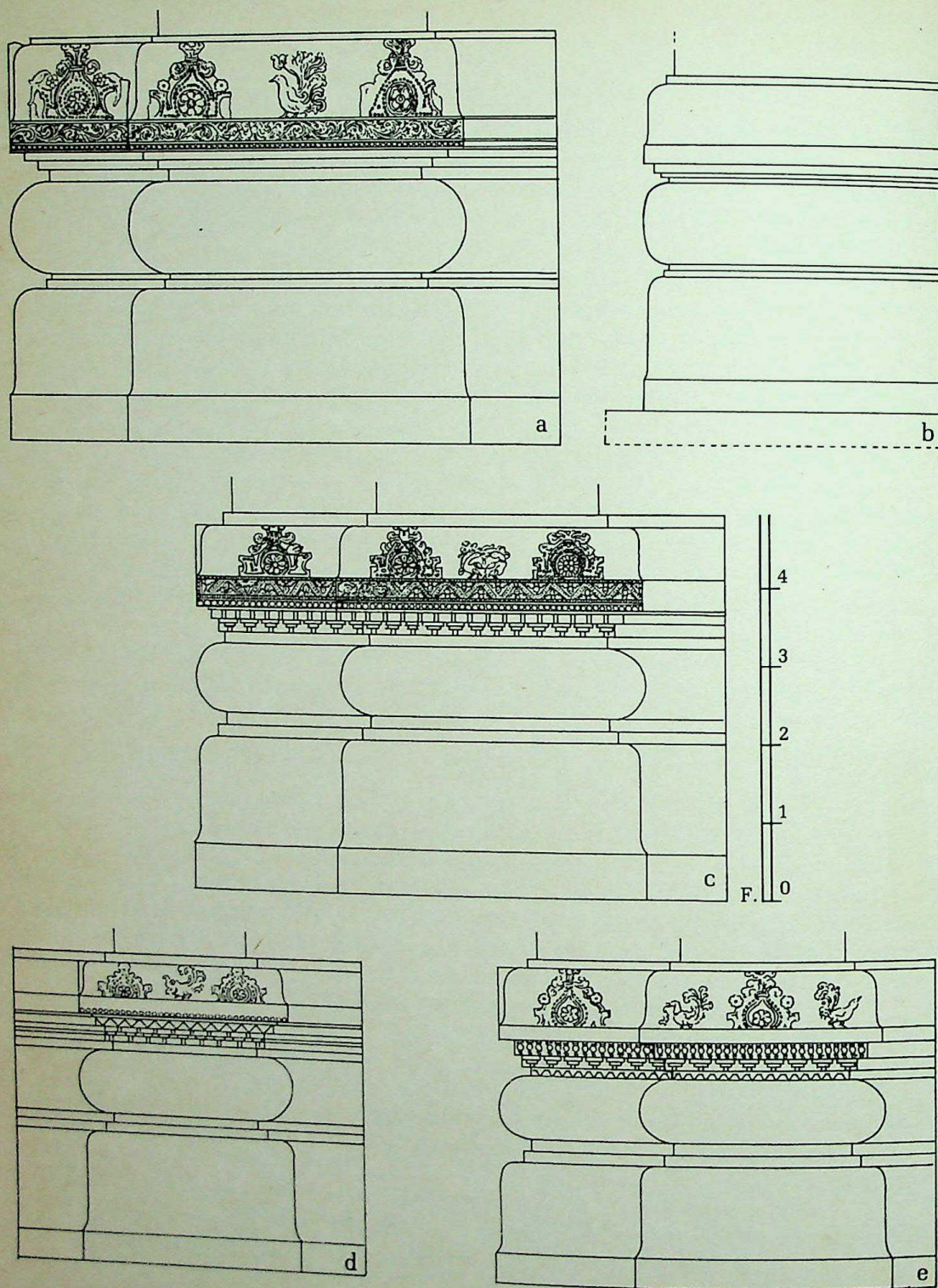


Fig. 104. Vēdibandhas, Bhuvanēśvara:  
a. Paraśurāmēśvara; b. Svarṇajālēśvara; c. Bharatēśvara; d. Lakṣmaṇēśvara;  
e. Śatrughnēśvara.



the characters of the graha-labels are earlier than those on the Paraśurāmēśvara temple; D.C. Sircar is of the opinion that the graha-labels on the Paraśurāmēśvara are slightly earlier.

The garbhagṛha's doorway (Plate 553) has lost its lintel; its principal śākhās are patraśākhā, padmalatā (on the right displaying yakṣas in its meanders), stambhaśākhā, and bāhyaśākhā carved with śrīvṛkṣa. The broad pēdyās below the first two śākhās show Śaiva pratihāras (Nandī, left; Mahākāla on the right). The garbhagṛha enshrines a Śivaliṅga.

*Bhuvanēśvara, the Yamēśvara compound, small temple (Plates 554-555)*

Facing northeast, this small sandstone shrine stood half-buried within the compound of the Yamēśvara temple until recent clearance showed it to be c. 4 ft. 11 in. square externally and c. 8.5 ft. high.

The dvi-aṅga śikhara (Plate 554) preserves two bhūmis, for which the upper bhūmi-āmalaka is lost; the shoulder course has been mutilated and all upper members lost. The central ratha is carved with a series of śūrasēnakas crowned by a śimhakarṇa; the flanking uparathas and khaṇḍas of the vēṇukōśa are also adorned by half or full śimhakarṇas.

The śukanāsa (Plate 555), well articulated on the front face, shows a crude standing figure of Pārvatī in its lower śūrasēnaka.

The garbhagṛha doorway has two plain śākhās; inside the shrine is a Śivaliṅga fixed within a circular arghyapaṭṭa, the projecting channel facing west.

The small shrine-model appears to be coeval with the Paraśurāmēśvara temple.

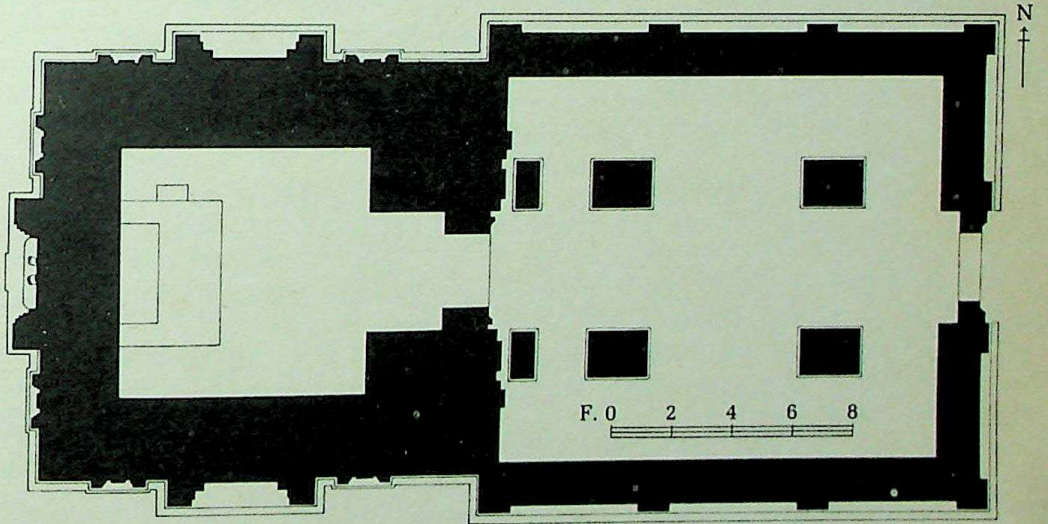


Fig. 105. Bhuvanēśvara. Mōhinī temple, plan.

*Bhuvanēśvara, Mōhinī temple (Figs. 105, 110a; Plates 556-560)*

This east-facing sandstone temple near the south bank of the Bindusarōvara tank consists of a square garbhagṛha and oblong pillared maṇḍapa (the latter partly restored). The temple is analogous to the Paraśurāmēśvara in plan and elevation, though its carvings have largely been left unfinished (Plate 556).



The vēdibandha mouldings (Fig. 110a) are quite bold. Karṇa niches rest above a moulding capping tulāpīṭha over the vēdibandha; the projecting bhadra niches interrupt the vēdibandha and are raised above a small khura-kumbha and ūrdhva-padma (Plate 558). The bhadra niches harbour seated Gaṇeśa (S; Plate 559), standing Kārttikēya (W), and standing Pārvatī (N). Images in the karṇa niches have survived on the north face in a mutilated state and better preserved on the west side of the south face (showing a pair of standing Śaiva figures; Plate 560). The frames of these niches have the usual facets and a projected lalāṭa but all have been left uncarved.

The varaṇḍikā consists of a plain kaṇṭha between two kapōtapālīs; above rises a pañcaratha pañcabhūma śikhara (Plate 556) not unlike that of the Paraśurāmēśvara but devoid of carving. Crowning members above the grīvā consist of āmalasāraka, candrikā, and a later kalaśa.

The doorframe of the garbhagṛha has also been left plain. Inside the garbhagṛha, a ten-armed image of Cāmuṇḍā is still under worship. The interior corbelling has a squarish soffit carved with a lotus.

Four monolithic pillars with two pilasters of plain Rucaka type support the maṇḍapa's roof, forming a raised central nave with sloping roofs over the surrounding aisles (Plate 557). The maṇḍapa is entered from the east through a plain door.

*Bhuvanēśvara, Uttarēśvara temple (Figs. 106, 110b, Plates 561-562)*

This west-facing temple on the north bank of the Bindusarōvara, consists of a garbhagṛha and a maṇḍapa, partly restored and with the carving of mouldings left partly unfinished. The dvi-aṅga garbhagṛha (Fig. 106) carries a squat śikhara, the original character of which is now concealed behind thick plaster.

The temple's vēdibandha (Fig. 110b), as usual, has been interrupted by sculptured bhadra niches; karṇa niches have been blocked out but left uncarved (Plate 562). The bhadra niches are framed by plain Rucaka pilasters and contain standing images of Gaṇeśa (S; now enclosed as if in a separate shrine), Kārttikēya (E; Plate 562), and Mahiṣāsura-mardīnī (N). The corners of the masonry jaṅghā have been cantoned by Rucaka pilasters.

Mouldings above jaṅghā level have only been blocked out so that no details are available for the varaṇḍikā and śikhara save for the half-finished karṇāmalakas of the first bhūmi (Plate 561).

The garbhagṛha doorway is plain, triśākha, and bears a figure of Gajalakṣmī as lalāṭabimba.

The floor of the garbhagṛha is approached by steps descending from the floor of the maṇḍapa. The object of worship in the garbhagṛha is a Śivaliṅga, the channel for ablution facing north.

The astylar maṇḍapa has centralized windows on north and south showing square perforations. To either side are niches harbouring Śaiva sculptures (Plate 561). The maṇḍapa is entered from the east through a plain dviśākha doorway.

*Bhuvanēśvara, Gaurī-Śaṅkara-Gaṇeśa temple (not illustrated)*

Situated directly across the road leading to the Liṅgarāja temple, this sandstone temple has a triratha plan supporting a pañcaratha pañcabhūma śikhara. West-facing, the temple is buried almost to the base of its varaṇḍikā. A narrow flight of steps descending from road level now provides access to the doorway. As with the Mōhinī temple, its carving was left incomplete and parts of the śikhara have been repaired.

The garbhagṛha doorway has five plain facets. The śukanāsa is also only blocked



out. Bhūmi-āmalakas are squarish, indicating a date late in the seventh century. The garbhagṛha enshrines a Śivaliṅga.

The "garbha-muda" consists of three slabs rising from five corbels. An iron beam is fixed below the central slab.

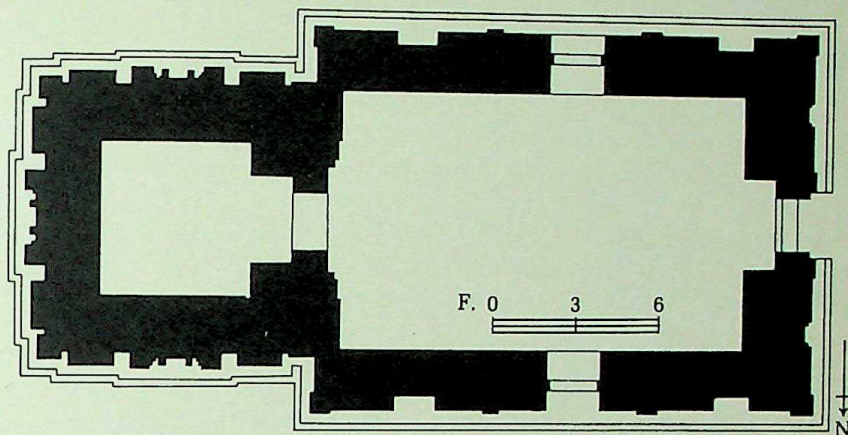


Fig. 106. Bhuvanēśvara. Uttarēśvara temple, plan.

#### *Bhuvanēśvara, Bhavānī-Śaṅkara temple (Plates 563-566)*

This temple has been partly exposed in a thickly populated area not far from the southwest corner of the Bindusarōvara tank. The part exposed (Plate 563) pertains to the east face of the garbhagṛha and part of the attached maṇḍapa. The temple seems to have had an unusual plan in that bhadras are recessed and karṇas project out (Plate 564). The south bhadra harbours an image of Umā-Mahēśvara while karṇa niches are empty.

On the bhadra, the kalaśa and kapōtapālī mouldings of the vēdibandha are replaced by tripaṭṭa kumuda and ūrdhva-padma. The bhadra niche has two śākhās, embellished with rosettes and lotus-petals. Its lintel has a plain lalāṭa and is surmounted by a broad paṭṭikā carved with luxuriant padmalatā. This niche is further enclosed by two broad Rucaka pilasters adorned with ghaṭapallava at the base and capital, bands of diamonds, and floral designs, capped by a very broad paṭṭikā embellished with large triangular ardhapadmas (flanked by a standing kanyā on the left).

Karṇa niches (Plate 564) rise above ornate tulāpīṭha. Udgamas set against two levels of pent-roof frame a lion's head and figures.

The east face of the maṇḍapa (Plate 563) shows two unusually large windows, with square perforations, flanked by a distinctive type of faceted plain pilaster standing on its own projecting base. Mouldings and other architectural features of the maṇḍapa do not match those of the garbhagṛha, and the whole seems to have been added at a later point. If the garbhagṛha dates from the seventh century, as seems likely, the maṇḍapa may date from the mid-eighth century A.D.

#### *Bhuvanēśvara, Paramaguru temple (Plates 568-571)*

This east-facing sandstone temple stands just north of the Śiśirēśvara temple. Decorative and figural ornaments and even parts of mouldings have been left uncarved. The



temple is in a poor state of preservation. The structure is dvi-aṅga with a śikhara of just three bhūmis. The vēdibandha mouldings are composed of khura-kumbha, kalaśa, and an uncarved broad paṭṭa (perhaps meant for kapōtapālī).

Original features of the jaṅghā are available only on the north side (Plate 570) where bold images appear on the kārṇas as well as bhadra. The bhadra niche, which rises from a slightly lower vēdibandha comprising khura-kumbha, tulāpīṭha showing carved animals, and a plain paṭṭa, harbours an image of Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī (Plate 571). The niche is framed by Rucaka pilasters carved with ghaṭapallava at base and top, haṁsa with foliated tail on the shaft, and a paṭṭikā of ardhapadmas above the brackets. Above is a broad, uncarved paṭṭa, śūrasēnaka, and a śimhakarṇa (Plate 570) harbouring a god seated in lalitāsana, carrying an utpala, and a seated image of Gaṇeśa. The kārṇa niches contain images of Pārvatī (left) and Ardhanārīśvara (right).

The shallow śukanāsa on the east (Plate 569) consists of a large śūrasēnaka relieved by ardhapadma and a śimhakarṇa harbouring an image of Natarāja.

The shoulder course of the śikhara resembles a plain kapōta and has no projections.

The garbhagrha doorway has a single broad śākhā adorned with luxuriant patravallī which also extends over the lintel, with Lakuliśa at the lalāṭa. Śaiva pratihāras stand at the base of the jambs. The garbhagrha enshrines a Śivaliṅga.

This temple anticipates the Śīśirēśvara temple in certain respects, as in the details of its broad band of luxuriant patravallī, and is assignable to early in the eighth century A.D.

#### *Bhuvanēśvara, Paścimēśvara temple (not illustrated)*

All that has survived of this temple, situated on the steps of the south bank of the Bindusarōvara tank, are remnants of its plinth and three dislodged bhadra-images of standing Pārvatī, seated Gaṇeśa, and Kārttikeya.

A photograph taken before its demolition in 1940 shows that the temple had the usual vēdibandha mouldings, supported a jaṅghā, with bhadra and kārṇa niches having normal ornate frames and crowning pediments, and had a śikhara with five bhūmis and the usual crowning members.

#### *Āmangai, Paścimēśvara temple (Figs. 107, 111b; Plates 572-576)*

This west-facing sandstone temple at Āmangai (Kandarpur), situated on a small island in the Mahānadī river, is one of the best-articulated temples of the early group.

"Śrī-Vicitrēśvaradēva" and "Śrī-Vicitrabhūṣaṇaḥ" are inscribed on the south side of the śikhara (Plate 575).

Bold vēdibandha mouldings (Plate 573; Fig. 111b) are projected beneath both bhadra and kārṇa niches.

Kārṇa niches rise from a tulāpīṭha carved with animal designs, above which is an ūrdhwapadma embellished with lotus-petals. Bhadra niches also rise from a large ūrdhwapadma (Plate 573). Niches are framed by ghaṭapallava pilasters and are crowned by udgama pediments (those of the bhadra niches rising above the varaṇḍikā). Kārṇa niches are missing. The crowning udgamas of the bhadras harbour images of Sūrya (E; Plate 576), Gaṇeśa (S), and Pārvatī (N) in their śūrasēnakas.

The kaṇṭha of the varaṇḍikā is plain. The śikhara (Plate 575) has five well-articulated rathas; five bhūmis are indicated along the vēṇukōśa by khaṇḍas consisting of one kapōtapālī surmounted by a smaller one, the two together clasped by a shapely śimhakarṇa and crowned by a bhūmi-āmalaka. The central ratha of the śikhara is



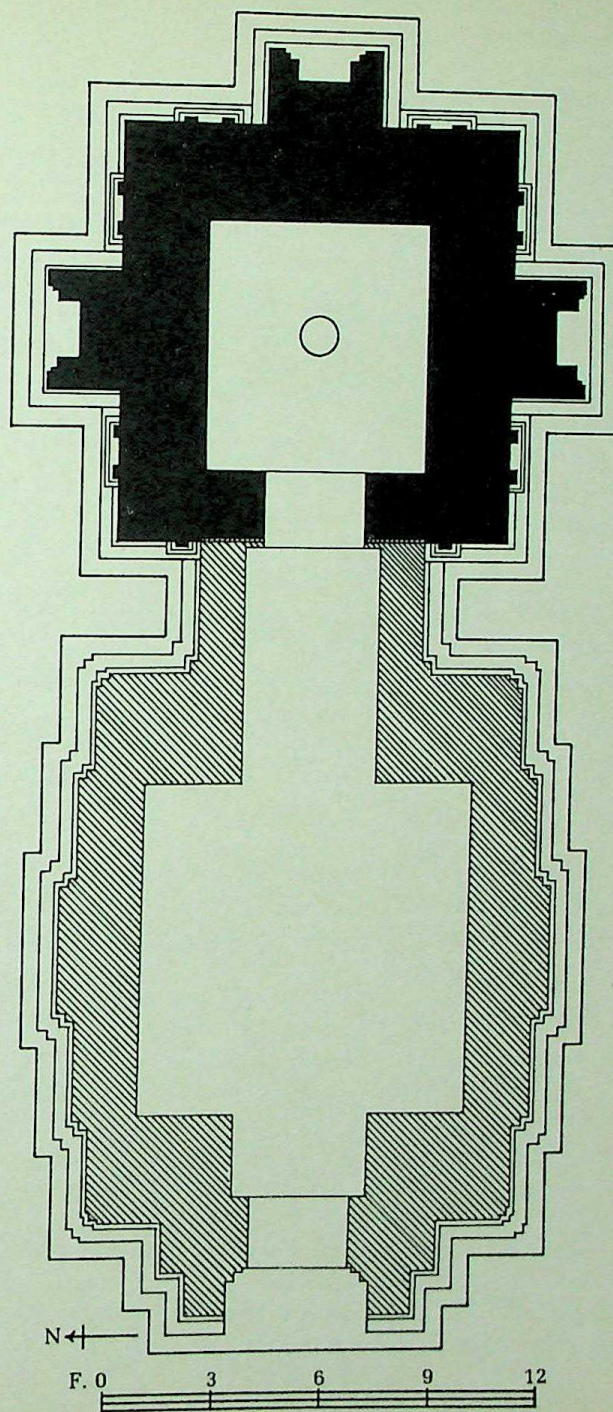
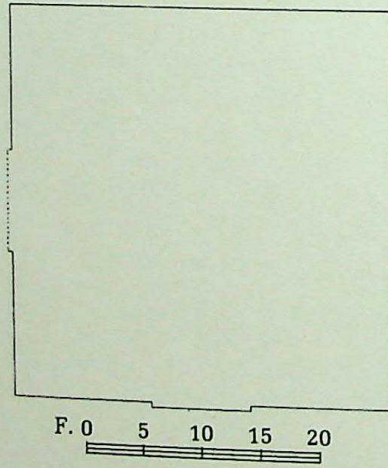
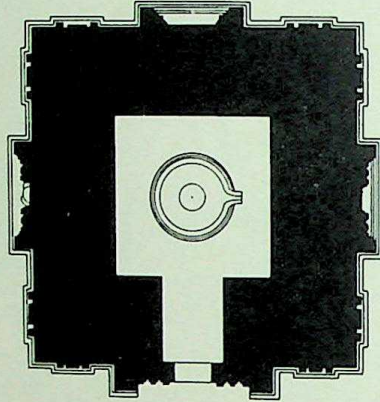
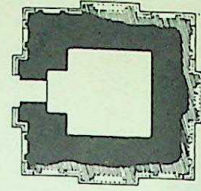
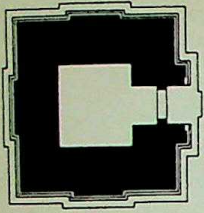


Fig. 107. Āmangai. Paścimēśvara temple, plan.





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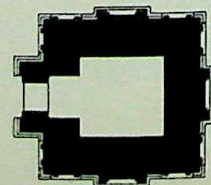
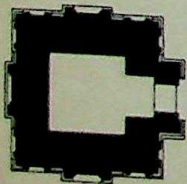


Fig. 108. Kuālō. Kanakēśvara temple complex, plan.



adorned with a latā of candraśālikās; the anurathas have discrete udgama pediments. The shoulder course is broken and crowning members are missing.

The garbhagrha doorway has plain śākhās and leads to a Śivaliṅga inside.

*Bhuvanēśvara, Tālēśvara temple* (Fig. 110d; Plates 577-579)

This east-facing temple, erected on the bank of a now dried-up tank, has lost a major part of its śikhara and jaṅghā (Plate 579). Built above a high pīṭha, its vēdibandha (Fig. 110d) is interrupted by a lower set of mouldings supporting the niches on the bhadrās; these consist of khura-kumbha, tulāpīṭha, ūrdhvapadma, and narrow paṭṭa supporting a pair of broad Rucaka pilasters embellished with ghaṭapallava and patravallī that act as frame for the niche itself. The northeast kārṇa niche is intact, with an image of Aja-Ēkapāda (Plate 579), and rests on an ūrdhvapadma above an ornate tulāpīṭha; its framing pilasters have ghaṭapallavas at the base and top, patravallī on the shaft, and support an eave and a crowning pediment that contains a seated figure of Pārvatī and a head of Śiva in the gāḍhas of the gavākṣas. Images of Lakulīśa and Ardhanaṛīśvara from kārṇa niches of this temple are now in the State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

The varaṇḍikā's rūpakaṇṭha contains figures alternating with chequer-pattern without a crowning kapōtapālīkā. Only the first bhūmi of the śikhara partly survives; the core of the śikhara, made of well-dressed ashlar courses, however, is preserved to a greater height.

The garbhagrha doorway (Plate 578) has a broad śākhā carved with luxuriant patravallī with three minor plain facets within. The pēdyās had Śaiva pratihāras and the lintel shows Gajalakṣmī on the lalāṭabimbā. Flanking stambhaśākhās showed a graceful figure of Yamunā, attended by a chatradhārīnī, on the left, Gaṅgā on the right, and were embellished with ghaṭapallavas at both base and top, patravallī on the shaft, and still support an architrave carved with Aṣṭagrahas seated in niches and an ornate kapōtapālī; above is a plain kaṇṭha and ornate paṭṭikā forming a base for a śukanāsa, now lost.

This temple has somewhat advanced beyond the early group represented by the Paraśurāmēśvara, Svarṇajālēśvara, and the Śatrughnēśvara complex in its architectural organization, iconographic program, and decoration — anticipating the next phase — and may be assigned to the early eighth century A.D.

*Kuālō, Kanakēśvara temple* (Figs. 108, 111a; Plates 580-587)

Kuālō, District Dhenkanal, is the ancient Kōḍālaka mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śulkis, feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara kings, as a city of temples. Three Śulki chiefs, Kañcanastambha, Kalahastambha, and Raṇastambha, are credited with the construction of numerous temples to Sadāśiva. An inscription of Raṇastambha describes the city and its lofty temples in glowing terms.

The pañcāyatana temple complex (Fig. 108; Plate 581), outside the village of Kuālō in the Brahmani valley, consists of the Kanakēśvara temple at the centre with four subsidiary temples at the corners: the Lōkanāthēśvara (SE), Paścimēśvara (SW), Vaidyanāthēśvara (NW; Plate 586) and Kapilēśvara (NE; Plate 581). Made of khondalite, all are dedicated to Śivaliṅgas and were originally enclosed by a stone compound-wall with a tank to its west.

Outside the enclosure is an old dilapidated temple called the Svapnēśvara and a modern improvised structure called the Kanaka-Durgā shrine, which is covered by a thatched roof. The image of Kanaka-Durgā (actually Mahiṣāsura-mardinī) is old.

The main temple, known as Kanakēśvara (Plate 583), is now practically a shell of



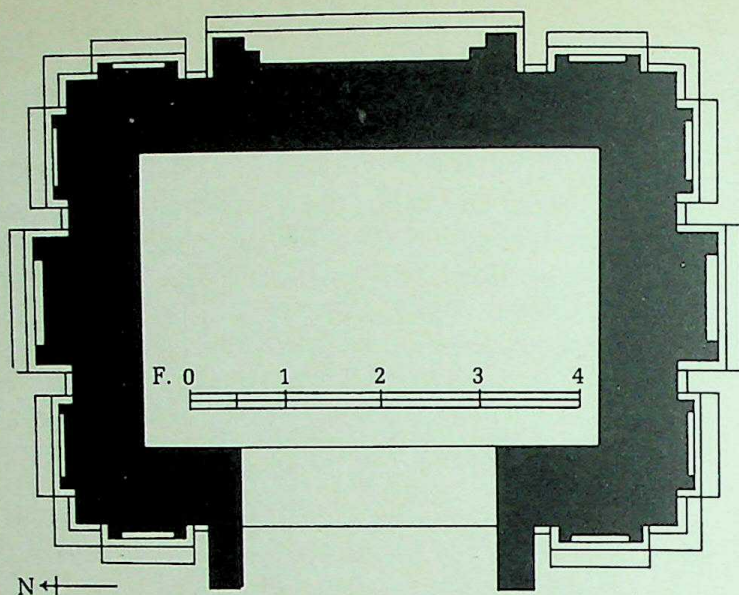


Fig. 109. Rāmēśvara. Durgā temple, plan.

what was once a temple of great magnitude. Enough remains to demonstrate the rich character of its embellishment. The dating of this temple is difficult in view of the lack of any foundation inscription and the conservative character of Orissan architecture, but the *kārṇa* niches of the *jaṅghā* (Plates 582, 584) seem more developed, even stylized, and the doorframe (Plate 585) abandons the earlier "T"-format. On overall consideration, the temple appears no earlier than the eighth century A.D.

East-facing, the Kanakēśvara temple is still *dvi-aṅga*, with *vēḍibandha* mouldings interrupted by *bhadra* niches but still supporting the *bhadra*'s cantoning pilasters (Plate 582); the *bhadra* niches rise from a shallow base comprising *khura-kumbha*, ornate *tulāpīṭha*, and *ūrdhvapadma*, and are framed by three *śākhās* embellished by *patravallī*, ornate *stambha*, and *śrīvṛkṣa*. Only the *bhadra* niche on the south is reasonably well-preserved, enclosing an image of Gaṇēśa (Plate 582). *Kārṇa* niches of the *jaṅghā* rise from an ornate *tulāpīṭha*, *ūrdhvapadma*, and ornate *paṭṭikā* above the *vēḍibandha*. Framed by broad *Rucaka* pilasters crowned by an elaborate *udgama*, they contain Gaṅgā and Yamunā (E; Plate 580), Kārttikēya (S), Ardhanārīśvara (W), and Pārvatī and Paraśudhārī-Śiva (N; Plate 584).

The *garbhagrha* doorway (Plate 585) has five *śākhās*, embellished with *ratna*, *patra*, *padmalatā* with human figures in the meanders, *stambha*, and *śrīvṛkṣa*; Śaiva *pratihāras* stand on the *pēdyās*. The *Rucaka* *stambhaśākhās* are elaborately ornamented and support a *kapōtapālī* eave and a lintel divided into *khaṇḍa*-like segments ornamented by *udgamas*.

The *garbhagrha* enshrines a huge Śivaliṅga on a *pīṭhikā*. Above the passage leading to the *garbhagrha* is a corbelled space intended to relieve the load over the ceiling. This ceiling is reinforced by two iron beams.

The ceiling of the sanctum, made of two slabs, rests above 27 corbels stepping in from the vertical masonry walls.

The four corner shrines were roughly similar to each other. Among them, the Vaidyanāthēśvara in the northwest corner (Plate 586) is the best-preserved. Of three



kārṇa niches that have survived, one shows a river-goddess (possibly Gaṅgā), another Ardhanārīśvara, and a third Śiva or Harihara. Of bhadrā-images, only that of ten-armed Mahiṣāsura-mardini has survived (E). The rūpakaṇṭha on the south shows elephants.

The śikhara appears to have had five bhūmis, of which three are extant on the southeast corner. The garbhagrha doorway had three śākhās carved with gaṇas, inhabited padmalatā, and "śrīvṛkṣa," Gaṇalakṣmī on the lalāṭabimbā, and a lintel relieved by a scene of Śivaliṅga worship. The doorway is framed by ornate Rucaka pilasters supporting a kapōtapālī and a recessed frieze showing a battle.

Above the varaṇḍikā's rūpakaṇṭha on the south (Plate 586), a shallow śukanāsa shows Naṭarāja in its śūrasēnaka and the bust of Mahēśvara in the gavākṣa above.

Of the Pāścimēśvara shrine on the southwest corner, only the vēdibandha has survived.

The north-facing Lōkanāthēśvara shrine to the southeast preserves its jaṅghā, with Mahiṣāsura-mardini (E), Gaṇēśa (S), and Kārttikēya (W) in its bhadrā niches. The

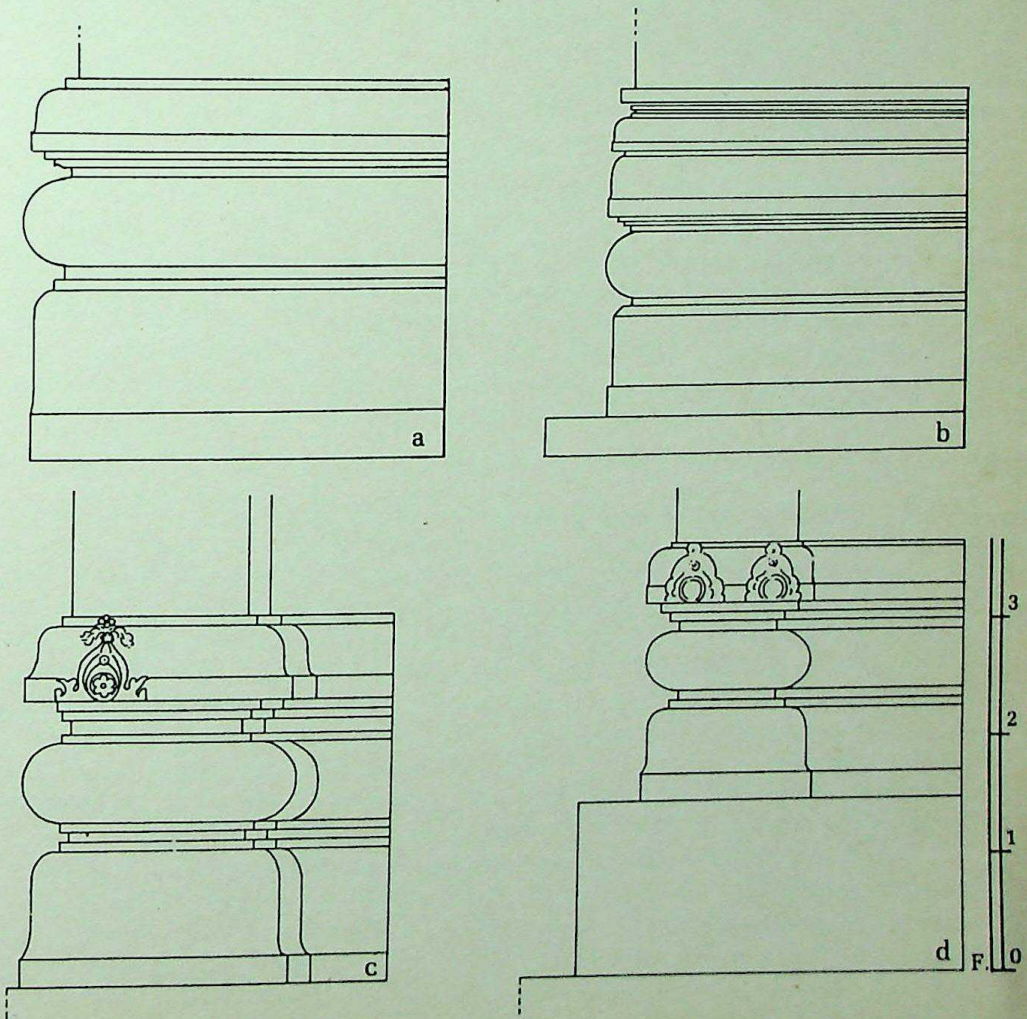


Fig. 110 Vēdibandhas, Bhuvanēśvara:

a. Mōhinī; b. Uttarēśvara; c. Bhavānī-Śaṅkara; d. Tālēśvara.



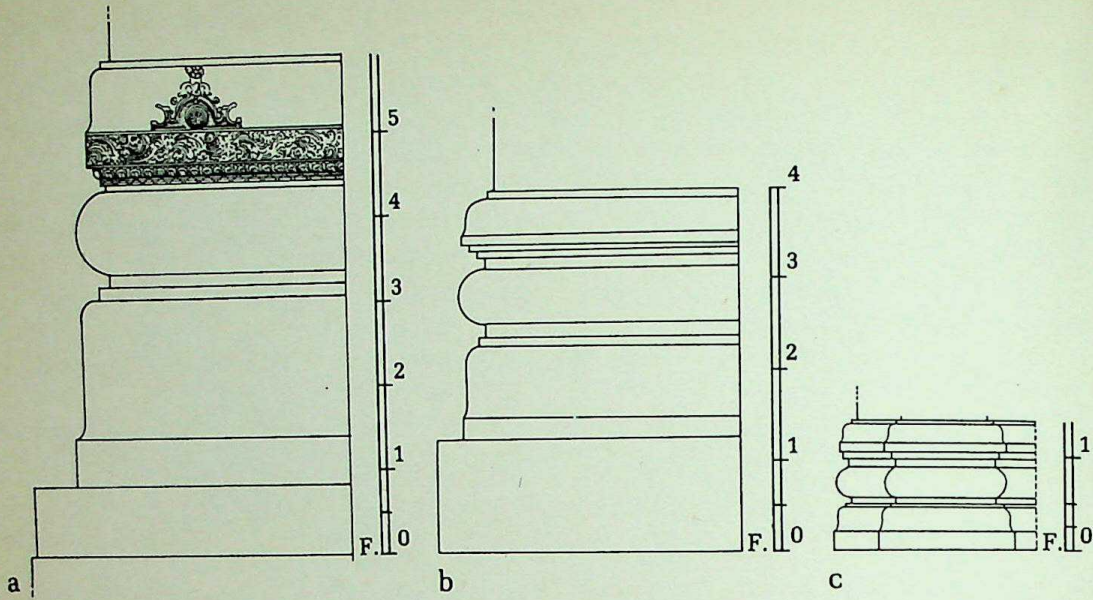


Fig. 111. Vēḍibandhas:

a. Kuālō. Kanakēśvara; b. Āmangai, Paścimēśvara; c. Rāmēśvara. Durgā.

garbhagṛha doorframe shows two śākhās carved with patravallī and ornate stambhas, the latter carrying a lintel embellished with Aṣṭagrahas.

The northeast Kapilēśvara shrine has lost its facing stones above the jaṅghā. Surviving karṇa figures include a river-goddess (possibly Yamunā, south), Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara (?), and Pārvatī. The parivāradēvatās in bhadra niches are standing Kārttikēya (W), Gaṇēśa (N), and Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī (E). The garbhagṛha doorframe has two śākhās, the inner one carved with patravallī, the outer, a stambhaśākhā supporting a lintel embellished with grahas (of which only the heads of two have survived).

Rāmēśvara, Durgā temple (Figs. 109, 111c; Plates 588-590)

Located at the foot of a hillock on the south bank of the Mahānadī near Baidēśvara village, District Cuttack, this Durgā temple is constructed of khondalite, with a rectangular interior plan (Fig. 109), "Khākharā" (Valabhī) roof, and faces west. The temple is only 11 ft. 2 in. high, dvi-aṅga externally (Fig. 109; Plates 588-90), with vēḍibandha mouldings (Fig. 111c) projecting below both bhadra and karṇa niches. These rise above the vēḍibandha, with karṇa niches resting on a base of tulāpīṭha, ūrdhvapadma, and ornate paṭṭikā, and bhadra niches on a plain ūrdhvapadma. The bhadra niches have lost their images; the karṇas preserve Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī and a river-goddess (N), Aja-Ēkapāda and Kārttikēya (E), and Gaṇēśa and Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī (S). Bhadra niches are surmounted by a plain broad kapōtapālī with a śimhakarṇa and series of śūrasēnakas rising into the śikhara above.

The lower part of the śikhara (Plates 588-590) takes Nāgara form, consisting of three broad kapōtapālīs embellished with candraśālās, with khaṇḍas on the corners crowned by bhūmi-āmalakas. The upper part of the śikhara constitutes the Valabhī roof, the lower level of which is marked by śūrasēnakas on the ends of the barrel-vault that harbour Andhakāsūravadhāmūrti (N; Plate 589) and Aja-Ēkapāda (S; Plate 590); the upper gavākṣas show Naṭarāja (N) and Gaṇēśa (S). On the longer two sides, both levels of the Valabhī roof are plain but are underscored by a narrow puṣpapatṭī and mukulikā buds (Plate 588).



The garbhagr̥ha is entered through an otherwise plain doorway and enshrines a later image of Mahiṣāsūrmardinī.

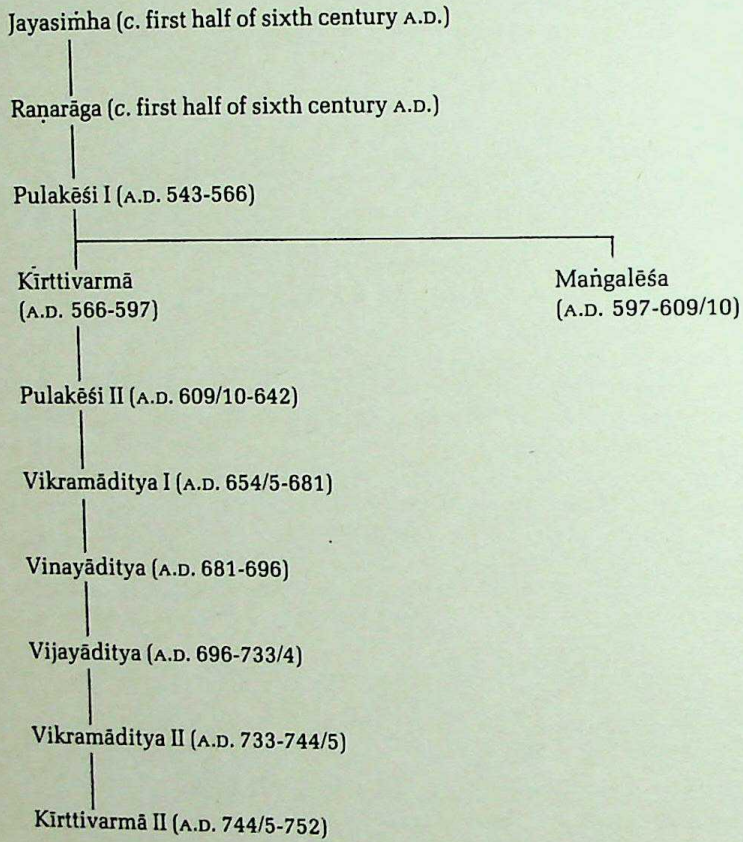
Debala Mitra

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### Genealogical Table: Calukyas of Bādāmi





## CHAPTER 20

II.E.I.a.

Varieties of North Indian style: Karnāṭa style,  
Nāgara phase, c. A.D. 620-750

## Calukyas of Bādāmi: Karnāṭa

### Historical Introduction

The Calukyas were feudatories to the Kadamba dynasty until they usurped their power, land, and even lineage affiliations. As had the Kadambas, this new power in the Deccan described itself as Vaiṣṇava, as sons of Hārītī, nourished by the Seven Mothers, protected by Kārttikēya, belonging to the family of Manu. These epithets repeatedly appear in their copper-plate grants. Varāha became the dynastic seal on rings binding copper-plate records and on gold coins.

The Calukya's native tongue was Kannaḍa, and this script as well as language were sometimes used in Calukya inscriptions. More often Sanskrit was used, written in Kannaḍa script. Inscriptions were recorded in some regions in both Kannaḍa and Telugu scripts. Such linguistic evidence and Calukya similarities to the preceding indigenous Kadamba rulers would tend to refute theories that the Calukyas were originally from the north, or even from present Āndhradēśa and descended from the Ikṣvākus.

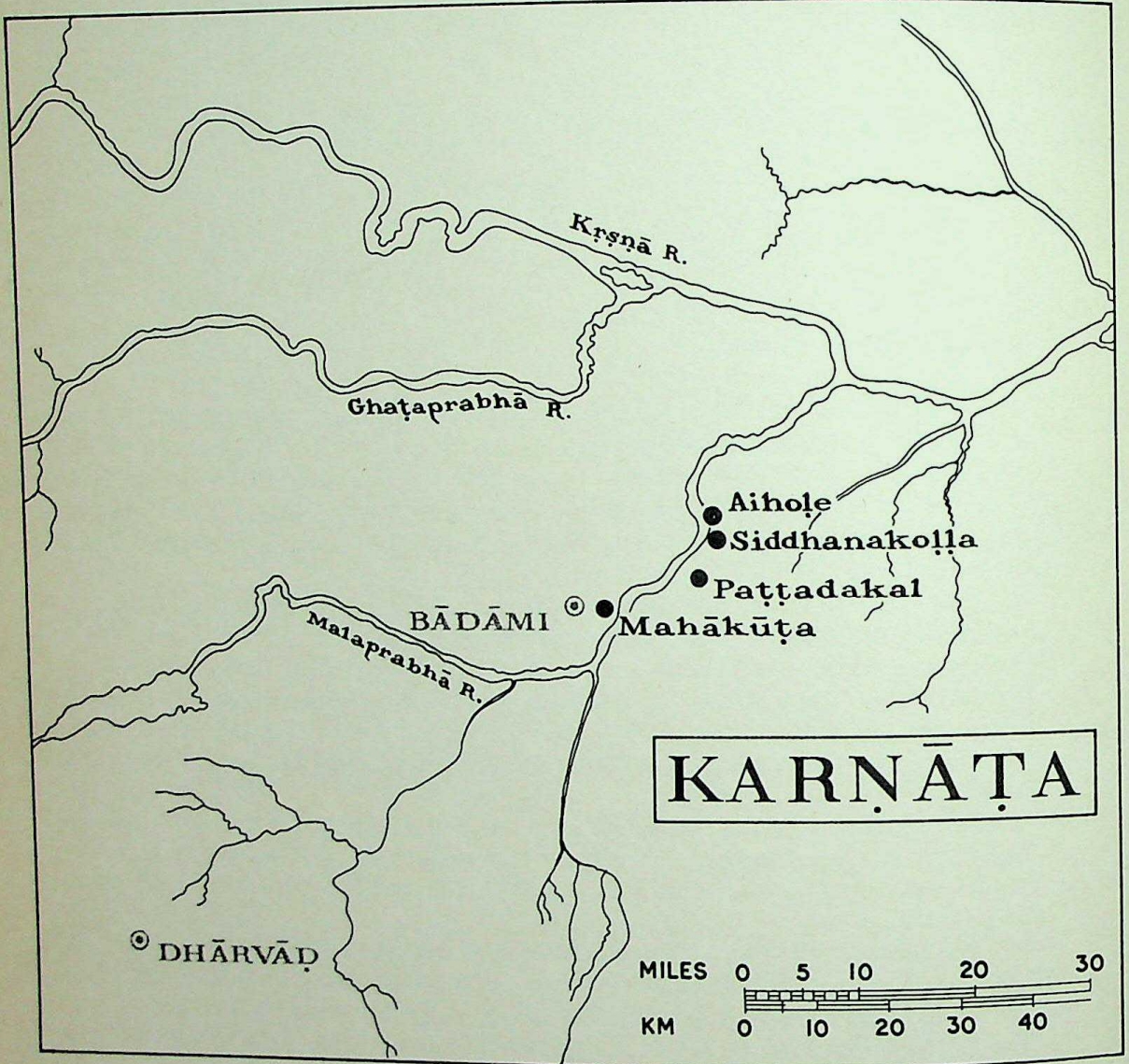
Calukya copper-plate lineage accounts name Jayasīmha and Raṇarāga as the earliest Calukya kings, but no record survives from their period. This may be a matter of Pulakēśi I honouring his father and grandfather in order to implant more firmly his right to rule.

The earliest reliable Calukya inscription is high on a cliff in the village of Vātāpi (Bādāmi). It records that in Śaka 465/A.D. 543 the Calukya king Vallabhēśvara (identified as Pulakēśi from later records), performer of the horse sacrifice and other Vedic rites, made the best hill of Vātāpi (the north hill) into a citadel invincible from top and bottom for the prosperity of the Earth.

The Mudhol copper-plate grant of c. A.D. 550 records the grant of a village to Varāha made by Pulakēśi's son, Pūgavarmā. This son apparently predeceased his father, and Kīrttivarmā, Pulakēśi's second son, succeeded his father.

Kīrttivarmā's reign began in A.D. 566/7. Maṅgalēśa's Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of A.D. 602 records that he and his father had sponsored a grant of land to Makuṭēśvaranātha Śiva. Kīrttivarmā's son, Pulakēśi II, called his father the "First Maker of Vātāpi." He is also called the "Night of Death" for Nala, Maurya, and Kadamba clans, indicating either their defeat in battle or subjugation to his power. Kīrttivarmā ordered excavation of the Vaiṣṇava rock-cut temple no. 3 at Bādāmi. His younger half-brother, Maṅgalēśa, consecrated it in A.D. 578 as recorded in an inscription on a wall of the cave. The earliest dated Calukya copper-plate grant is also from A.D. 578 and grants





Karnāṭadēśa: Calukyas, Karnāṭa-Nāgara sites.



land to a brahman. An undated stone inscription of Kīrttivarmā's reign records a grant to a Jaina temple by Kīrttivarmā. Kīrttivarmā died in A.D. 597/8 while his son was still a minor.

Maṅgalēśa (A.D. 597-610), who took rule as regent for his nephew, Pulakēśi II, was known before his coronation by the name of Ereya. It was soon obvious that he wanted to make the crown secure for his own son. After defeating the Kalacuri King Buddhārāja in battle, Maṅgalēśa inscribed a dharmajayastambha in A.D. 602 to record a supplemental grant of ten villages to the god Makuṭēśvaranātha. Now in the Bijapur Museum, it once stood at the sacred site of Makuṭa near Vātāpi. The exiled Pulakēśi II killed Maṅgalēśa in A.D. 609/10 on the Elpattu-Simbbhige battlefield in Nāḍanūru with the support of the feudatory Bāṇa clan.

Pulakēśi II (A.D. 610-642) is considered the greatest of Calukya kings. He greatly expanded the area of Calukya domination, conquered Banavāsī, capital of the Kadambas, and made them his feudatory, ruled Rēvatīdvīpa, dominated the Gaṅgas in the southern Deccan, the Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇa, parts of Mahārāṣṭra, Lāta, and Mālava in the north, and conquered the Naḷas. He married a woman from the allied Sēndraka family. Before A.D. 612 he repulsed an attack by the North-Indian king Harṣavardhana (A.D. 606-647), after which he was called "Paramēśvara." Expansion of his rule to the east and to parts of Orissa followed. By A.D. 616 he had conquered Piṣṭapura, near Veṅgī, and defeated the Viṣṇukuṇḍīs. He also defeated the Pallavas, winning Guntur and Nellore from Mahēndravarmā (c. A.D. 580-630). His rule by then had reached both coasts. In A.D. 624, Pulakēśi II placed his younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana, in power over the eastern coastal section of his vast empire.

Pulakēśi's son Jayasīmha governed the Lāta branch. By A.D. 631, Viṣṇuvardhana had become king of an independent dynasty (now often called "Eastern Calukya") that included Guntur and Nellore Districts of present-day Andhra Pradesh, with Veṅgī as capital.

In A.D. 634 the Jinēndra temple (now popularly called Meguṭi) in Aihole was dedicated with a long inscription composed by the court poet, Ravikīrtti, who likened himself to Kālidāsa. He called Pulakēśi II "Bridegroom of Vātāpi" suggesting the king's love for his capital. The inscription states that the Kōsala, Kaliṅga, and Pallava clans were afraid of Pulakēśi II and that he had created the prosperity of the Cōḷa, Kēraḷa, and Pāṇḍya clans. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang recorded that he met Pulakēśi in Nāsik in A.D. 641. Pulakēśi II's sons, Ādityavarmā and Candrāditya, ruled in Bellary District of eastern Karnataka as his viceroys.

In A.D. 642 Pulakēśi II was apparently killed in battle defending Vātāpi from a Pallava attack led by Narasīmhavarmā Mahāmalla. The Pallavas left an inscription recording their victory on a rock at Bādāmi. A Pallava inscription of Viṣṇugōpavarmā also records the event: "Like the Saint Agastya, Narasīmha destroyed Vātāpi and captured the pillar of victory set up by Pulakēśi in the city." The Pallavas seem to have devastated Vātāpi and taken away the wealth needed to restore its glory, leaving the Calukya dynasty in obscurity for c. 12 years.

In this interregnum between A.D. 642 and 654, records are obscure. Ādityavarmā is called Mahārāja in a grant from Kurnool District (which may date to A.D. 643); he praises Varāha for saving the Earth. After the death of Ādityavarmā, his wife, Vijayabhāṭṭārikā, seems to have ruled as regent for their son, Abhinavāditya. The Khaira grant of A.D. 643, issued by the Gujarat branch of the family, mentions no paramount ruler, suggesting that this was a time of confusion without a proclaimed king. There is no evidence of temple building between A.D. 642 and 654.



Vikramāditya (A.D. 654-681) finally began to re-consolidate power by reconfirming grants that had been made to temples. The Agunti copper-plate grant says "by daring, assisted by intellect, he (Vikramāditya) regained the power of his family . . . praise to Viṣṇu." Thereafter, Vikramāditya is reputed as "the unrepulsed" who "conquered the hostile kings and was supreme lord" and "restored the fortunes of his family." The Talamanci and Gadvāl grants say that he "re seized his ancestral kingdom which had been eclipsed by the three kings, regained his hereditary royal glory, and proclaimed himself the supreme lord of the kingdom." In A.D. 655/6 he terrorized Ujjain. His record of payment to his guru for Śivamaṇḍala dīkṣā is dated April 30, in A.D. 660. Vikramāditya broke with family tradition to become Śaiva. His conversion took place in present Andhra. On July 13, A.D. 660, he made a land-grant to another guru, Śrīmēghācārya.

About A.D. 670, Vikramāditya defeated the Pallavas in alliance with the Gaṅgas. He supported his cousin and uncle, Dharāśraya Jayasimha, who ruled the Gujarat branch of the family, as mentioned in the Navsārī plates. Between c. A.D. 670-675 the Pallavas retaliated and defeated Vikramāditya in battle.

All records of this period are from Āndhradēśa, which suggests that the eastern area of the kingdom was used for retreat after the fall of Bādāmi in A.D. 642.

At Ālampur, an inscription on the Arka-Brahmā temple records a grant of a village to a brahman by Vikramāditya's queen on the occasion of the consecration of the Śivaliṅga in the temple of Mahādēva. The temple is likely to have been built after Vikramāditya's conversion to Śaivism in A.D. 660.

Vikramāditya's son, Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-696), had been active in affairs of state while a prince. Most of his land grants were issued from and referred to land granted in present Andhra Pradesh. By A.D. 687 he had subdued the Pallavas, Kalabhras, and others. By A.D. 692 he had defeated the Pallavas and also subdued Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa, and Kēraḷa kings. During his reign, the Svarga-Brahmā temple at Ālampur was built; its inscription states that the temple was constructed by Lōkāditya-Ēlā-Arasa in honor of Vinayāditya's queen Mahādēvī.

Vinayāditya's son, Vijayāditya, was active as a prince and had the power to allow a government official to build the Rāmaliṅgēśvara temple at Satyavōlu. Vijayāditya also received consent from his father to issue land grants on his own behalf.

The Belagamve stone inscription of the time of Vinayāditya records a duty leviable in the event of a man dying without a son, and also mentions establishment of several temples. After 15 years, Vinayāditya passed the crown to his son.

Even during his father's reign, Vijayāditya had led military campaigns to the north and conquered a king from whom he captured standards with the auspicious emblems of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. These he delivered to his father, from at least whose time such images seem to have found their place on Calukya temples.

Though active as a prince in the eastern regions (Āndhra), Vijayāditya as king focused his religious patronage in Karnāṭa. His rule began in A.D. 696/7. In A.D. 699, his mother, Vinayāvatī, consecrated the images of the Hindu trinity in the Bādāmi temple now called Jambuliṅga, recorded in an inscription on a porch pillar. This may have been the first temple built in the old capital after its sacking in A.D. 642. Vijayāditya built a temple at Paṭṭadakal called Vijayēśvara; his mistress, Viṇāpoṭiḡal, made a gift to the Mahākūṭēśvara temple at Mahākūṭa and had the deed recorded on a porch pillar.

From other grant records, we know that in A.D. 703 Vijayāditya made the kings of Kāvēra, Simhala, Pārasika, etc. pay tribute to his father, Vinayāditya. In A.D. 704, while camped at Ēlāpura (Ēllōrā) he made a grant to a local svāmī. He made a gift of oil for



use in the Aihole Huccimalli temple in A.D. 708; in A.D. 713/4 the enclosure wall at Ālampur was built at his command — perhaps to protect the temples his father, grandfather, and great grandfather had built there. (The large inscription recording the act was written in Kannaḍa and repeated in Telugu script.) Vijayāditya also built temples at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, and he returned the centre of government to the west. He possibly brought architects and sculptors from Ālampur into Karṇāṭa.

Vijayāditya's sister, Kuṅkumadēvī requested him to make grants to Jaina temples. The king made many grants to temples whose names are recorded, but which are not known to exist today, including some grants requested by his son, Vikramāditya II.

Vikramāditya II, assuming his grandfather's name, was crowned in A.D. 733/4. He was famed for having defeated Kāñcīpuram, the Pallava capital, three times (one raid was actually led by his son, Kīrttivarmā II). During one raid, he saw the Rājasimhēśvara temple, to which he returned captured wealth, recording the act in an inscription. Inscriptions ascribed to his reign are found on the Aihole Durga temple and the Mahākūṭa Mahākūṭēśvara temple. An inscribed stone in the Jyōtirlinga group at Aihole may be of his period. An inscription by a subordinate that refers to the reign of Vikramāditya II is found on a temple at Bhadrānāyika Jālihāl.

Vikramāditya married two sisters of the Kalacuri family, Lōkamahādēvī and Trailōkyamahādēvī, and they had the two major Paṭṭadakal temples built in his honor, each called by the donor's name. The building of such vast temples embellished with sculpture may have exhausted the resources of the kingdom, leaving it vulnerable to attack. The senior queen, Lōkamahādēvī, bore no son, so rule passed to the son of Trailōkyamahādēvī, the junior queen.

Although Kīrttivarmā II took rule in A.D. 744/5, he seems not to have been accepted as king by his Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories, who rose against him to claim power. He did, however, make some grants to temples and collected taxes. His most recent copper-plate grant is dated February 6, A.D. 757, although already in A.D. 753 Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga had claimed overlordship of the Deccan. No temples can be attributed by inscription to the reign of Kīrttivarmā II. In A.D. 754, however, he raised the Lakṣmī-kumbha pillar at Paṭṭadakal. Its inscription mentions three temples at the site and states that it was carved by an artist from the north bank of the Gaṅgā. By A.D. 780, Dhruva, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, had built and inscribed a gateway on the west side of the compound at Ālampur. The Jaina temple at Paṭṭadakal may have been built about the same time. Such construction in Rāṣṭrakūṭa style at former Calukya sites indicates the total usurpation of Calukya power and the end of the dynasty.

### Architectural Features

Calukya temples are remarkable for their architectural diversity. Sāndhāra and niraṇdhāra plans are elaborated through disposition of pillars, creating aisles. Many temples are unique, as for example the Lāḍ Khān and Durga temples at Aihole, though others are somewhat related. There seems to be little correlation between plan and choice of Nāgara or Drāviḍa superstructures, and temples that otherwise suggest Nāgara formulas may not have had Latina śikhara.

Features typical of Calukya Karṇāṭa-Nāgara temples, though found in various combinations, include an open, four-pillared porch leading to a triple-aisled gūḍha-maṇḍapa, with pillars and lit by pierced stone windows, and a single-doored garbhagṛha generally c. 6.5 ft. wide. The garbhagṛha often has a single niche centered on the exterior of each wall. The horizontal outline of a Calukya temple is created by the



typical flat clerestory of the maṇḍapa and flat roof of the porch. The roof often slopes over the side aisles and pradakṣiṇāpatha, and a heavy kapōta forms an awning around the porch roof. The wall itself terminates in a curved eave (kapōta). Base mouldings typically consist of upāna, gala, kumuda, and kapōta. The wall frieze may be plain or may be divided by pilastered niches intended to bear images. The Nāgara śikhara in this region is composed of horizontal tiers of kapōtas divided into bhadra- and karṇa-latās. These are ornamented with gavākṣajāla and karṇāmalakas and rise with a slightly curved outline to an upper vēdī supporting the crowning āmalaka. With a low, more gently curved outline, the earlier śikharas are more organic in effect than later śikharas. The spire is usually triratha, and the śukanāsa on its front face corresponds to the antarāla within.

The maṇḍapa pillars are typically Rucaka with a taraṅga, tālapatra, or variant type of bracket. These support lintels joined above by cross-beams that often support carved samatala vitānas.

Kakṣāsanas are found on temples built after c. A.D. 700, and seem to have been added to several earlier temples at about that time, evident from awkward jointing and a difference in stone types and sculptural style. (Other modifications and expansions to these temples cannot be distinguished so readily.)

Calukya temples tend to become larger as time goes on. There are, however, exceptions throughout the period; many small chapels stand outside the general flow. Size in itself cannot indicate date. Modest temples (including only a porch and a sanctum) generally measure c. 20-30 ft. in length, their width about half that. Medium size temples are c. 52-62 ft. long and form the largest group. The grand temples, built after A.D. 700, are over 65 ft. long.

Sculpture forms an important aspect of Calukya temples. Pillars often bear mithunas and interior ceilings are elaborately carved.

The first four Calukya kings did not build Nāgara temples. The earliest, modest urge toward the use of Nāgara style may be found at Mahākūṭa in the small Bhadravaliṅga temple on the north side of the compound. This temple has a Phāṁsanā type of roof, with two levels, that rises over what may have been an open four-pillared pavilion (now filled in by plaster walls). An āmalaka that lies nearby seems once to have crowned the temple. The fluted pillars are carved in a style found in the rock-cut cave-temples, and the Bhadravaliṅga shrine may date as early as c. A.D. 600.

True use of the Nāgara Latina śikhara seems to have begun in Karnāṭa on a temple, dedicated to Viṣṇu, that is located diagonally southwest of the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Mahākūṭa. This small structure may date to c. A.D. 654-660 and seems to have been the model for the Saṅgamēśvara itself (c. A.D. 660-675). The Mahākūṭa Kalakalēśvara (c. A.D. 678-685) and Pinākapāṇī (c. A.D. 690-700) temples seem to have been built in imitation of the exquisite Saṅgamēśvara. The Aihole Cakra temple, in its original modest form before expansion, seems also to have emulated the Saṅgamēśvara model (c. A.D. 675-680). Also to this early group belong the Aihole Sūryanārāyaṇa temple (c. A.D. 665-675), the Galaganātha temple at Paṭṭadakal (c. A.D. 685-696) that clearly imitates Ālampur, and the Lakuliśa temple at Siddhanakollā (c. A.D. 690-696). The earliest Nāgara temple in Āndhra is the Kumāra-Brahmā temple at Ālampur (c. A.D. 654-660).

Calukya construction of Nāgara superstructures in Āndhra and Karnāṭa seems to have followed the re-establishment of Calukya rule in A.D. 654. During the 12-year eclipse of Calukya power (A.D. 642-654), there had been a hiatus in architectural production. Vikramāditya may have been motivated to adopt the North Indian style of



curvilinear spire for his temples in order to suggest the breadth of his paramountcy. Some of the Latina Nāgara śikharas built in this period do not have a śukanāsa. Several temples use three-bay entrances to their maṇḍapas, as found in excavated cave-temples. Some repeat the triple-bay design also for maṇḍapa windows, inserting a simple grille.

Sculpture on these early temples is modest in quantity. Some temples have no sculptured niches. Where niches have images, they are few in number, in many cases three only on the sanctum walls. The images are small and usually two-armed. They bear general sculptural affinity to Vākāṭaka or Gupta images. The recessed bands in the doorway are not always carved. Where there is doorway carving, there are few lalāṭa figures and no river-goddesses.

During the reign of king Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-696), temples reached a full maturity of form, and sculpture became an important part of temple construction. Vinayāditya remained in Āndhra during most of his rule, but returned to Karnāṭa near its end. He concentrated his patronage on temples at Ālampur but temples were also built during his reign at Ittagi, Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, Mahākūṭa, Nāganāthakoḷla, Siddhanakoḷla, Kūḍavēli, and Satyavōlu. Calukya temple-building at Ālampur ended with his reign.

Ālampur temples first developed the rich wall-fabric that characterizes the later temples in Karnāṭa. Multiple niches on maṇḍapa and vimāna walls were not a feature common to temples built by Vinayāditya's father, Vikramāditya. The Bāla-Brahmā and Arka-Brahmā temples at Ālampur for the first time had exterior niches to hold images of the Ādityas. In later temples, the number of niches quickly expanded to 22. Images then were added between niches, directly on the wall, until a profusion of figures enlivened the surface.

The late-seventh-century period is, in fact, perhaps the most interesting in the history of Calukya architecture because it was a time when many figure-types and placements were first invented.

Some important features appear at this time: a fully formed superstructure becomes a standard part of the temple. Latina Nāgara śikharas become elegantly carved and have śukanāsas, most often bearing an image of Naṭarāja. The triple-bay entrance of earlier temples is narrowed to a single bay. Enclosure walls and paired subshrines in front of the temple increasingly appear, necessitated by changing rituals of worship.

Temples built between A.D. 681-696 do not have bedrock foundations, a departure from previous construction. Ālampur temples are raised on jagatī terraces and have a low plinth. Most Aihole temples have no jagatī but stand on a high adhiṣṭhāna. At Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, such adhiṣṭhānas often mimic North Indian vēdībāndha mouldings, but the floor level of the temple is at the top of these mouldings, as in most Drāviḍa temples, not at their base, as in North Indian Nāgara examples.

Some features of Ālampur temples were never brought west to Karnāṭa, such as angular eave and plinth parts and images of the Ādityas; many, including mithunas, portico and window designs, horned dvārapālas, elephant busts above interior beams, etc. were brought west. Such elements appear especially on the Galaganātha and Pāpanātha temples at Paṭṭadakal.

Of 19 temples datable to the reign of Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733/4), only a few are dated by inscription: the Paṭṭadakal Vijayēśvara temple (now called Saṅgamēśvara) is reign-dated and was named after the king; the Bādāmi Jambuliṅga temple was dedicated in A.D. 699 by Vijayāditya's mother; the Aihole Huccimalli temple is recorded as having been given a gift of oil by the king in A.D. 708; and Vijayāditya's concubine,



Viṇāpoṭigal, made a gift to the Mahākūṭēśvara temple during his reign. 18 temples of this reign period were built in Karnāṭa, while only one was built in Āndhra, suggesting a return of the Calukya's power-base to the western region. There was, apparently, little royal patronage but an increase in private patronage. Private patronage may indicate a thriving, steady, economy and an increased popularity of temple patronage. The result, however, is also a slight debasement in the quality of architecture. The Vijayēśvara and Jumbuliṅga temples, which had royal support, are continuations of the Vinayāditya temple-style and quality. After c. A.D. 700 there seems to be an architectural change.

Temples in this period are of a fairly standard size. The medium-sized Huccimalli, Galaganātha, and Mallikārjuna temples at Aihole form a group by the absence of exterior niches (perhaps representing an economic choice?). The Vijayēśvara and Durga temples are multi-niched and both seem to have been influenced by the style of the Kūḍavēli Saṅgamēśvara temple (window and entablature patterns are similar, though the Kūḍavēli temple seems a provincial version). Subsequent, large, Paṭṭadakal temples follow the style of Durga-temple images but with a less vibrant excellence.

Vijayāditya's reign sees the last use of a Phāṁsanā roof, now with nine tiers. Pratōlis for the first time appear, at Sūlebhāvi and beside the Durga temple.

The lotus meander is used repetitiously on temple beams; the makara-tōraṇa entablature of exterior niches becomes flamboyant with long bushy tails cascading to either side; geometric pierced windows become rectangular. (Whereas earlier windows often have pierced grilles with lotus-pattern relief, subsequent windows become extremely imaginative, with floral or animal designs. During Vijayāditya's reign, windows have geometric, sometimes complex, patterns within a tall, rectangular frame.)

Maṇḍapa ceiling-panels in this period consistently form sets of three, and sculptors focused on creating excellent images in this location. In subsequent temples, perhaps because of increased height, ceiling panels become monotonous by comparison.

River-goddesses are standard on doorways during this period. Dvārapālas are moved to nearby pillars, enlarged, and a new type of figure, often horned, armed with a bulbous mace, and dressed with an increasingly complex sash arrangement across the thighs, appears. The majority of the temples of this period seems to have had a separate, small, Nandi-maṇḍapa with Nandi before the entrance. Only three temples, the Durga, Huccapayya, and Huccapayya-maṭha, have mithuna figures on their pillars.

Narsōbha, the architect whose name is given in an inscription on the Huccapayya temple, created a monument that sculpturally is one of the finest of Vijayāditya's time (c. A.D. 730); it is nirandhāra in plan and has a Nāgara śikhara. This artist may also have created images found on the Paṭṭadakal Virūpākṣa temple.

During this period, other architects and sculptors also begin to be identified in inscriptions. Besides Narsōbha, we know of Rēvaḍi Ōvajja, who claimed responsibility for portions of Paṭṭadakal's Pāpanātha temple, and of Guṇḍa, Baladēva, and Āditya, who worked on the Virūpākṣa temple.

The small number of temples created under the final two Calukya kings, Vikramāditya II and Kīrttivarmā II (A.D. 733/4-757), may be interpreted as a sign of the distress of the dynasty, or it may be argued that the last kings preferred to build a few very large temples, while citizens built small devotional shrines.

The earliest part of the Pāpanātha temple may date to a previous period, but most of the present structure and sculpture were created in this period. It also seems likely that the incomplete addition to the Paṭṭadakal Vijayēśvara (Saṅgamēśvara) temple was undertaken in this period. The king, perhaps for financial reasons, seems to have been



motivated to enlarge pre-existing temples.

Temples in this period are of three types: royal showpieces (Lōkēśvara, Trailōkēśvara), additions to earlier king's temples (Vijayēśvara, Pāpanātha), or somewhat architecturally debased efforts made by local patrons (Kuntigudi N.W., Bhadrānāyaka Jālihāl, Kēlūr).

The royally patronized temples (Lōkēśvara and Trailōkēśvara) sponsored by Vikramāditya's two queens are the finest of this period. They are vast and their walls present an encyclopaedia of religious imagery, with many decorative innovations and new iconographic schemes, locations, and image types.

There is much more sculpture on the interior than before. Rāmāyaṇa narratives and other themes are represented on maṇḍapa pillars, and mithunas, which had previously adorned the temple exterior, are found in quantity within the maṇḍapa. Within Calukya sculpture, there was a tendency in this period toward greater linearity and sleekness and more interest in the display of mastery, evident in extremely detailed jewelry, crowns, and sashes and in the fact that some sculptors signed their images.

#### Mahākūṭa, Viṣṇu temple (Plates 591-592)

Many small temples exist at Mahākūṭa that have only a porch and garbhagrha. The largest of three, small, east-facing temples on the west side of the present Hosa Mahākūṭa compound has often been identified as a Śaiva temple. The misleading liṅga in the sanctum and the Naṭarāja in the śukanāsa are not original. The Vaiṣṇava dedication of the temple is evident from its bhadrā images of Varāha (S; Plate 592) and Ugra-Narasimha (N).

The śukanāsa is not original. Iconographically and sculpturally, the Naṭarāja and śukanāsa are Calukya, but of the eighth century; the śikhara itself is among the earliest surviving Nāgara examples built by the Calukyas and dates to c. A.D. 654-660.

The tank in front of this temple is known as "Viṣṇu Puṣkariṇī," the Lotus Pool of Viṣṇu, yet all temples at Mahākūṭa now enshrine Śivaliṅgas. This temple, on the central axis of the tank, may have been the earliest temple built at new Makuṭa. The tank is a twin of that at nearby Cikkamahākūṭa (Hale, or old Makuṭa) and the construction of both, along with their axial temples, may have been close in time.

In the tank is an open, four-pillared pavilion that now shelters a caturmukhaliṅga. This liṅga is not Calukya in style and not the original image of the shrine, which might possibly have been the image of Garuḍa now kept in the Kittur Museum.

The four, heavy, Rucaka porch-pillars (Plate 591) of the Viṣṇu temple have curved and cusped brackets, a small hexagonal neck between richly carved medallions, a band with haṁsa, peacock, etc., and a festoon band. The kakṣāsanās between the pillars are not original, probably dating to the early eighth century.

The shrine door is notably simple. It has no lalāṭabimba. The entablature bears miniature shrines supported by pilasters. The outer śākhā has lotus-petal pattern, the next bears pūrṇaghaṭas, the recessed inner bands are uncarved, and there is no nāga band. The pēdyā groups are iconographically similar to those of the Malegitti Śivālaya temple at Bādāmi. The right jamb includes a woman, a tree, and a dvārapāla; the left jamb bears a mithuna, a tree, and a ṛṣi with matted locks who watches the mithuna. River-goddesses do not appear.

The temple's adhiṣṭhāna-base (Plate 591) consists of upāna and jagatī in the form of the khura-kumbha of a North Indian vēdibandha, multifaceted kumuda, a kandhara with gaja and vyāla busts as galapādas, and a mahāpaṭṭī with vājana and ūrdhvakampa. As in South India generally, the floor is at this level.



The vimāna walls have central bhadra niches framed by pilasters and with images; these are flanked on the karnas by shallow recessed niches, with no carving, over which are eaves each supporting a complex udgama. Over the bhadra niches are gaṇa-bearing garland friezes.

The four-armed Varāha image on the south bhadra (Plate 592) is close to those of the early cave-temples at Aihole and Bādāmi. The particular type of tassel necklace worn by Varāha is found on the Bādāmi cave no. 1 image of Gaṇeśa.

The Ugra Narasimha image on the north wall has four arms (holding the wheel and conch above, while he eviscerates the demon with his lower hands).

The west-wall image of a four-armed standing male figure is iconographically unique. He holds the cakṛa and conch of Viṣṇu above, a writhing snake in his lower right hand, and places his lower left hand on his hip. The lotus halo and the umbrella overhead are unusual in Calukya sculpture.

The wall is capped by a large kapōṭa, above which is a vyālapaṭṭi and upāna (as at the base of the wall) and a short vēdikā supporting the triratha Latina śikhara. This has three bhūmis marked by corner āmalakas; each khaṇḍa in the vēṇukōśa is made up of two kapōṭas.

This small, elegant, and gorgeously carved temple could have been a royal chapel, built soon after restoration of the kingdom in A.D. 654. A loose image of Narasimha may have been the temple's original deity. If built by the order of Vikramāditya I between A.D. 654 and 660, it would seem to reflect his modernity and self-confidence in experimenting with a new temple-style, richly and vigorously carved.

#### Mahākūṭa, Saṅgamēśvara temple (Plates 593-597)

The Mahākūṭa Saṅgamēśvara temple (Plates 593-594) seems to have set a style both in architecture and iconography that was imitated repeatedly at Mahākūṭa and Aihole. Dedicated to Śiva, this east-facing temple stands on the north side of the tank. It has an open porch with four pillars supporting a flat roof, and a vimāna with a Nāgara śikhara. The śikhara had a śukanāsa with an image of Umā-Mahēśvara now kept in the Kittur Museum.

The bhadra niches are flanked by floating udgamas on the karna faces, a feature shared by the Aihole Sūryanārāyaṇa temple and the Huccapayya-maṭha. Carving on the porch pillars of the Viṣṇu temple, Saṅgamēśvara, and the Garuḍa-maṇḍapa in the tank all share both motifs and a lively manner of carving. The pillars support taraṅga brackets (Plate 595).

The base mouldings of the Saṅgamēśvara (Plate 595) more closely resemble those of a North Indian vēdibandha than do those of the Viṣṇu temple. They consist of khura-kumbha, tripaṭṭa kumuda, and kapōtapālī decorated with gavākṣas. The wall is topped by a varaṇḍikā of kapōtapālī, plain antaraṭṭa, and kapōṭa surmounted by a very narrow galapāda, upāna, and antaraṭṭa beneath the Nāgara śikhara.

The Saṅgamēśvara temple's śikhara (Plate 595) is similar to that of the Viṣṇu temple but with the important addition of a śukanāsa. It is the only Nāgara śikhara with an original śukanāsa at Mahākūṭa. Other small Mahākūṭa temples substitute a Phāmsanā roof and duplicate the three bhadra images introduced on the Saṅgamēśvara (seen on the Durga, Candrakēśava, and Pinākapāṇi temples).

The Saṅgamēśvara images are flanked by tall pilasters with taraṅga pōtikās. Their square shafts have an octagonal necking and are decorated with large lotus medallions and with maṇibandha and muktāmālā bands. The bhadra images of Harihara (N), Ardhanārīśvara (W), and Śiva Paśupati (S; Plate 596), are among the finest examples of



early Calukya sculpture.

The pēdyās of the garbhagṛha doorway were carved with figures now badly damaged and obscured by a new floor. There is no lalāṭabimba, pilasters, or prastara in the design. One śākhā is carved with maṇibandha pattern.

An original image of Nandi lies on an elevated platform east of the temple (Plate 597). The liṅga in the garbhagṛha appears to be original. The porch kakṣāsana, carved with erotic mithunas, is a later addition.

The Saṅgamēśvara is the first temple at a Calukya site to introduce an image of Śiva Paśupati (Plate 596). The temple may be dated c. A.D. 660-675.

Aihoḷe, Sūryanārāyaṇa temple (Fig. 112; Plates 598-599)

Northeast of the Lāḍ Khān temple at Aihoḷe is the Sūryanārāyaṇa temple. It is architecturally similar to the nearby Cakra temple, and has a plain gūḍhamaṇḍapa broader than its dvi-aṅga vimāna (Fig. 112; Plate 598). Its Nāgara śikhara has mostly fallen. It is based on a varaṇḍikā of kapōta, vēdikā, and seemingly straight-edged chāḍya. It uses three kapōtapālīs for each khaṇḍa and the gavākṣa patterns on the madhyalātā cross two kapōtas. A detached śukanāsa with a figure of Sūrya sits on the roof in front of the śikhara but is not necessarily original to the temple. The outline of a śukanāsa can be seen on the śikhara but it seems of a different size.

Vēḍibandha mouldings show khura-kumbha, kalaśa (or "vṛtta kumuda"), and kapōtapālī, following northern convention. On the maṇḍapa, the kumbha is somewhat shorter and kalaśa is replaced by a broad, plain antarapaṭṭa.

Bhadra niches are empty; karṇa faces of the jaṅghā show isolated udgamas. The open porch of four uncarved pillars in front of the maṇḍapa has kakṣāsanas that are not original, and a restored ceiling. The maṇḍapa's entrance originally was triple-bay, like those of the Cikki, Kumāra-Brahmā, Lāḍ Khān, and Sandūr Pārvatī temples, but this was later filled in and śākhās carved after the alteration. Above the narrowed doorway can still be seen a band of the original doorway's carving with a makara fighting a kinnara.

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa is windowless, with four pillars and eight pilasters defining three aisles. The garbhagṛha also has four interior pillars. The large image of a standing Sūrya in the sanctum can be dated to c. ninth century by style and is not Calukya. The original dedication of the temple is not certain. Two fragments of two ceiling panels survive; the carving on these is rich.

The five śākhās of the doorway (Plate 599) utilize designs common to Gupta and Vākāṭaka doorways but unique in Calukya work. The bāhyaśākhā is a palmette-like design as one sees on the doorways of the Maḍhiā and Dēvgaḍh temples. Next is a stambhaśākhā with hexagonal necking, ghaṭapallava at the top, and plain, curved brackets that support paired kapōtas with addorsed udgamas and a cross-lintel with tulās and merlon pattern below and a central śimhakarṇa harbouring a seated figure of Sūrya holding two lotus buds. Next is a śākhā with a highly ornamental maṇibandha pattern; inside this is a nāgaśākhā and a floral meander with a small yakṣa at the base from whose navel the stalk grows. On the pēdyās are dvārapālas inside "keyhole" frames. A garuḍa holding nāga tails acts as lalāṭabimba; he is strongly characterized, with a hooked beak and hair alive with curls.

The artists who worked here were clearly more aware of North Indian designs than those who worked on other Calukya temples. Some scholars would use these sculptural connections to suggest a date near the beginning of the seventh century, within the reign of Pulakēśi II. Architecturally, the temple seems to this author in the



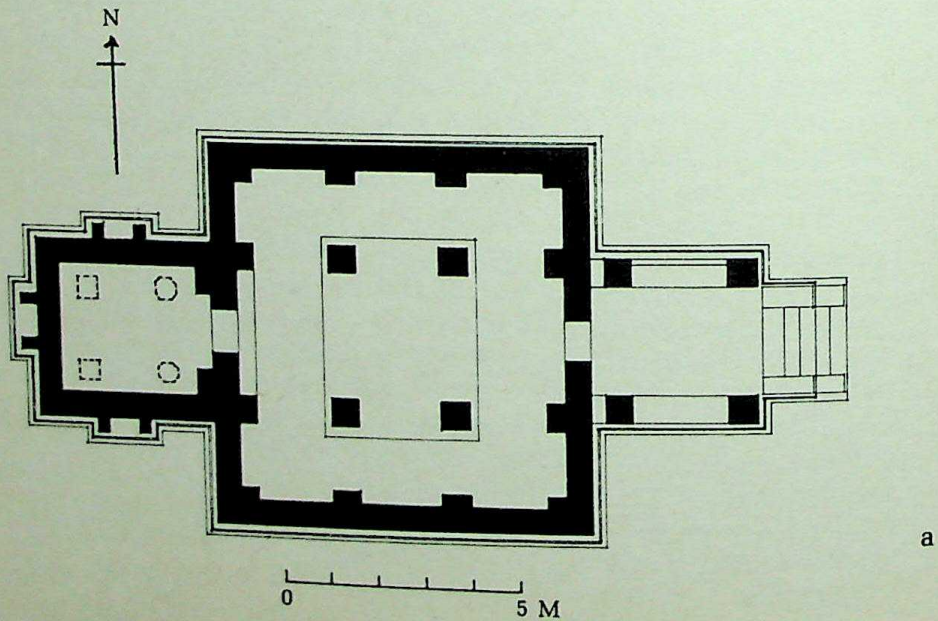
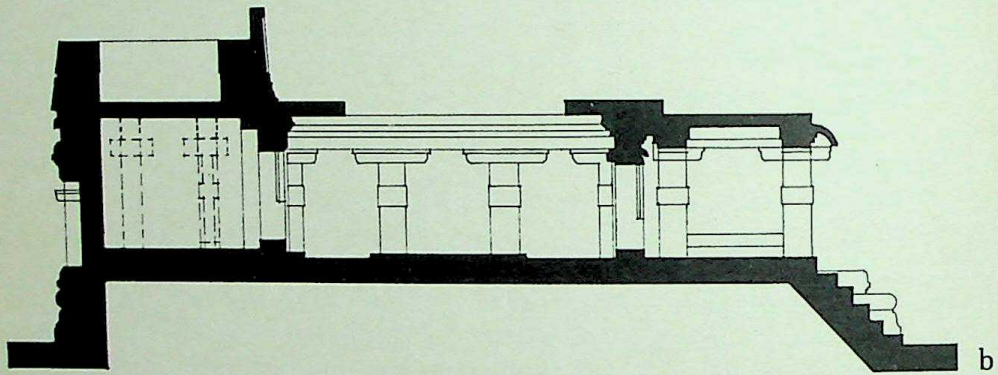
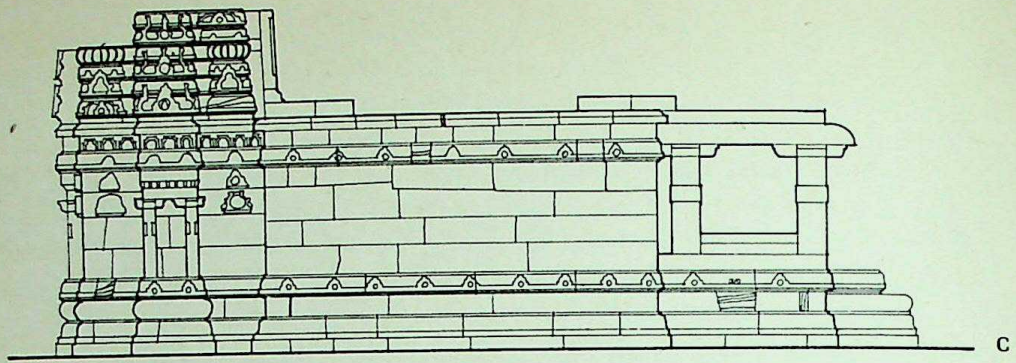


Fig. 112. Aihole. Sūryanārāyaṇa temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



same class as the Mahākūṭa Saṅgamēśvara and Aihole Cakra temples, suggesting a date as late as c. A.D. 665-675.

*Aihole, Cakra temple (Fig. 113; Plates 600-601)*

The Cakra temple at Aihole stands south of the Gauḍarguḍi; it is partially ruined. This east-facing nirandhāra temple (Fig. 113; Plate 600) bears a triratha Nāgara śikhara very similar to that of the Mahākūṭa Saṅgamēśvara temple. Pillars of what was once a broad gūḍhamandapa still stand, but where there may have been a porch before the mandapa there is now a later, large, Cālukya maṇḍapa (of c. tenth or 11th century). The three bhadrā niches are empty. They are framed by Rucaka pillars set against the wall. There are decorative udgamas on the karṇa faces as on Mahākūṭa's Saṅgamēśvara and Durgā temples and on Aihole's Sūryanārāyaṇa and Huccapayya-matha. Base mouldings, varaṇḍikā, and śikhara elements strongly resemble the Mahākūṭa Saṅgamēśvara.

The sanctum doorway shows a bāhyaśākhā with lotus-petals, a mithunaśākhā of the type also found on Hosa Mahākūṭēśvara and Aihole Huccimalli temples, a Rucaka stambhaśākhā, mālāśākhā with maṇibandha, single nāgaśākhā, and lotus meander

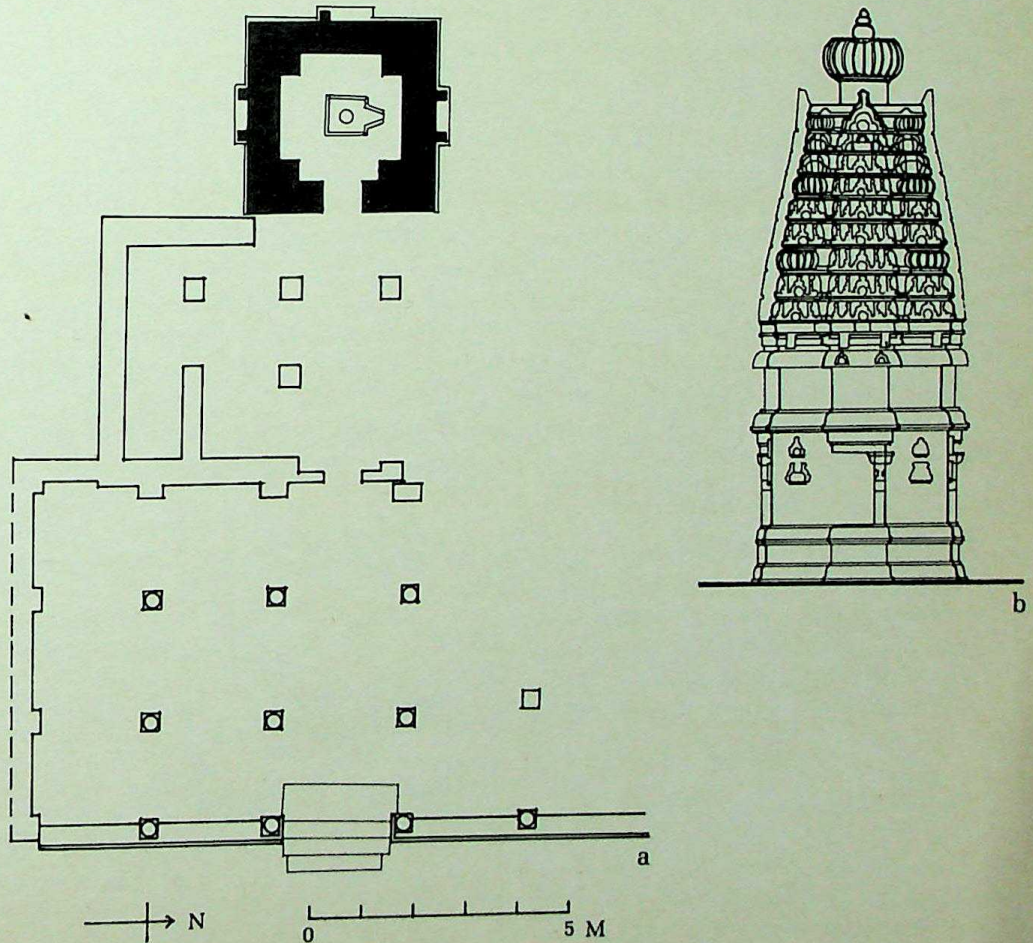


Fig. 113. Aihole. Cakra temple: a. plan; b. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



(Plate 601). The stambhaśākhās support an eave, above which there are blocked-out shrines. Garuḍa acts as lalātabim̐ba, holding nāga tails. Garuḍa wears kirīṭamakuṭa as he does on the Aihole Mallikārjuna and Sāraṅgī temples. On each pēdyā stands a female figure, who may not be a river-goddess, accompanied by small male and female attendants.

The temple's similarities to the Saṅgamēśvara at Mahākūṭa are considerable but the doorway mithunaśākhā and a few other features suggest a slightly later date, perhaps c. A.D. 675-680.

An inscription mentioning Yuvarāja Vikramāditya was recently discovered in the temple, referring to Vikramāditya I, not II, according to K.V. Ramesh. This could suggest an earlier date for the temple, if Vikramāditya was raised to the status of crown prince by Pulakēśi II himself.

#### *Mahākūṭa, Kalakalēśvara temple (not illustrated)*

Just north of the Viṣṇu temple in the Mahākūṭa compound's west row of small temples is an east-facing temple now called the Kalakalēśvara (see Plate 593). It has an open, four-pillared mukhamaṇḍapa, with a flat roof, and a slightly wider vimāna sharing the same adhiṣṭhāna; the five-tier Phāṁsanā roof was crowned by an āmalaka, now displaced. The central bhadra in the wall is carried up the śikhara. The garbhagṛha doorway is uncarved; the sanctum houses a liṅga. The porch pillars are carved with darpaṇa pattern. Lower on the shaft is a raised cube carved with pearl festoons. A very similar temple stands to the north of the Viṣṇu temple (Plate 602).

The walls of these temples have plain karna faces and bhadra niches, each niche capped by a kapōta supported by small Rucaka pilasters (pilasters and image carved on one slab and inset into an indentation in the wall). The unfinished Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara images in the north and west niches copy the images on the nearby Saṅgamēśvara temple. The now displaced image from the south wall was standing Lakuliśa, as on the Saṅgamēśvara. A loose image of Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardini in the Mahākūṭa compound could have been the temple's original sanctum-image, judged by its stylistic resemblance to other figures here.

This temple may have been built late in Vikramāditya's reign, c. A.D. 678, or early in the reign of Vinayāditya, c. A.D. 681-685.

#### *Mahākūṭa, Candrakēśava temple (Plate 602)*

On the west side of the Mahākūṭa compound, to the south of the Viṣṇu temple, is the east-facing Candrakēśava temple which, like the previous temple, consists of a four-pillared porch and a slightly larger vimāna with five-tier Phāṁsanā roof. The gables between the śikhara's kapōtas show vēdikā pattern. The sanctum doorway is uncarved, a liṅga appears in the garbhagṛha.

The unfinished bhadra images follow Saṅgamēśvara images.

#### *Paṭṭadakal, Galaganātha temple (Fig. 114; Plates 604-607)*

The partially ruined Galaganātha temple stands east of the Jambuliṅga and north of the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal. The temple is the only one in Karnāṭa to be raised on a jagatī terrace (Plates 604-606), decorated with vēdikā design, as at Ālampur. It had originally both mukha- and gūḍhamaṇḍapas, antarāla, a pradakṣiṇāpatha, and pillared porticos to north, west, and south. The garbhagṛha supports a curvilinear śikhara with a śukanāsa over the antarāla. The triratha śikhara is identical to that of the Ālampur Viśva-Brahmā temple both in profile and details such as the bālapañjara in



broad recesses.

Bhadra niches are flanked by "blind" niches on the karṇa faces, each with a tulāpīṭha crisply carved with adoring nāgas and pūrṇaghaṭas.

Most of the outer wall of the maṇḍapa has fallen; its base up to the level of the niche-tulāpīṭhas is intact and indicates the presence of 22 niches.

The south portico of the vimāna retains an Andhakāntaka image (Plate 604). An image of Naṭarāja now kept in the Kannada Research Institute Museum, Karnatak University, seems to be by the same hand.

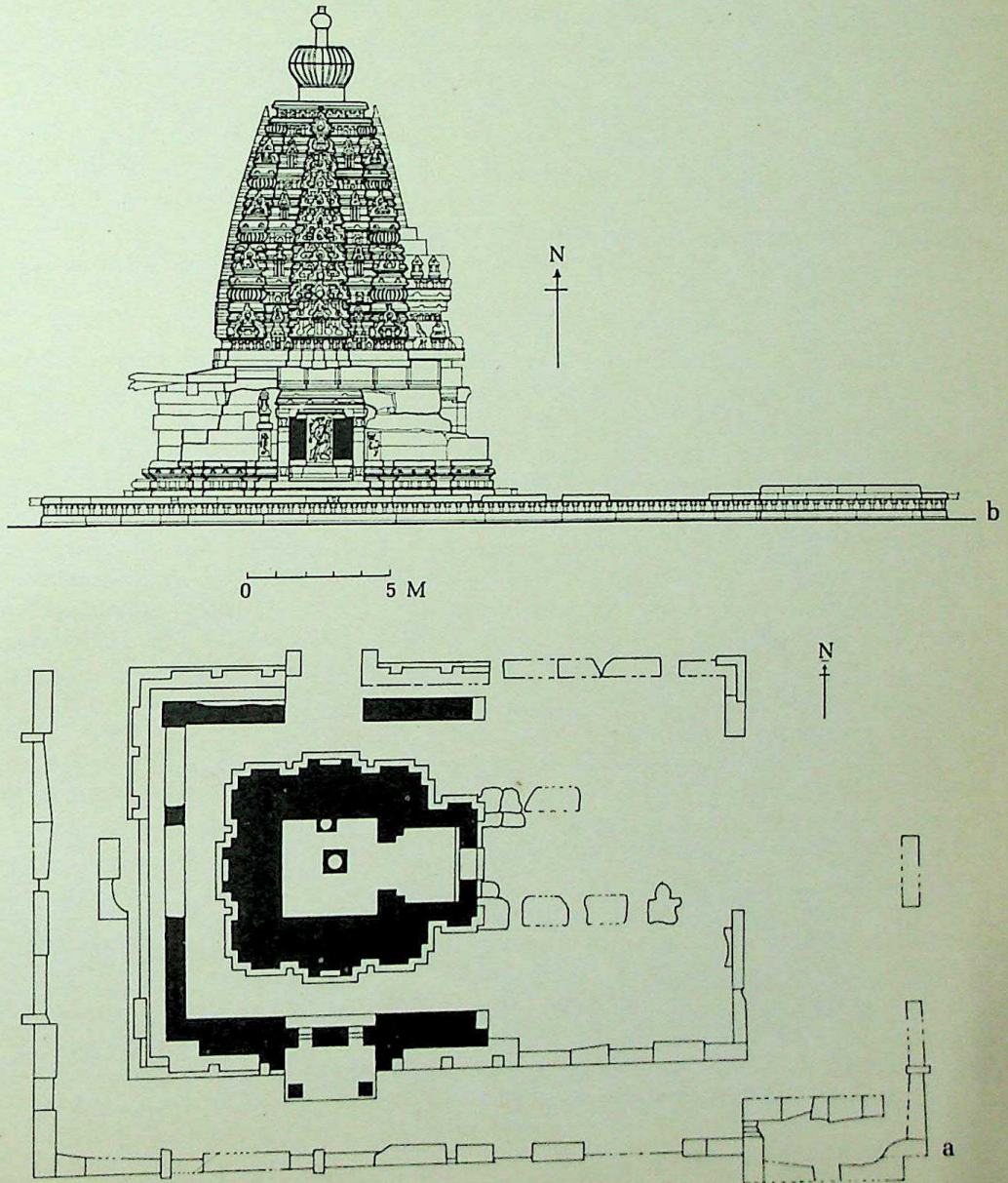


Fig. 114. Paṭṭadakal. Galaganātha temple: a. plan; b. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



East of the temple lie several, loose, carved slabs, one with a lotus that may have been a maṇḍapa ceiling-panel. Three loose pillars may have been original porch pillars; one is carved with an inscription. Two other loose pillars bear mithunas.

The antarāla doorway has four śākhās (Plate 607): a "T"-shaped band carved with vine meander, stambha-, padma-, nāga-, and puṣpavallīśākhā. The damaged lalātabim-ba figure was of four-armed Śiva-Tāṇḍava. The damaged threshold groups each held one river-goddess, a gaṇa holding a chatra, and one other figure. On the left-hand side is a palm tree.

Aihoḷe seems to have been the original Calukya centre for architectural experimentation. The plan of the Cikki temple was imitated at Ālampur in the Kumāra-Brahmā temple. Ālampur architects, however, produced an evolution of architectural form more easy to follow there than elsewhere. Such consistent development is untypical of Karnāṭa sites, where succeeding temples seem virtually unique.

The Ālampur style was duplicated at Paṭṭadakal in the Galaganātha temple. It is likely that Vinayāditya, after first concentrating his patronage at Ālampur, returned to the western kingdom and brought Ālampur architects with him. The addition of pillar mithunas at Paṭṭadakal, however, reflects the incorporation of an Aihoḷe invention.

The Galaganātha temple can be dated to Vinayāditya's reign, c. A.D. 685-696.

#### *Siddhanakollā, Lakulīśa temple (Fig. 115; Plate 603)*

In an isolated mountain glen about 2.5 miles south of Aihoḷe is this medium-size Lakulīśa temple. The four Rucaka pillars of its mukhamaṇḍapa have curved brackets, raised shaft bands, and uncut medallions; the two pilasters are of taraṅga style. The beams are blocked out but left uncarved. There are no ceiling panels, niches, or vātāyanas. The plan is nirandhāra. The sanctum doorway also is blocked out but uncarved. Its lintel bears outlines of three simhakarṇas, those on either side capped with an āmalaka. Within is a liṅga. The vimāna bears a Nāgara śikhara of four bhūmis (the top portion is a modern addition). The ribbed āmalaka lies fallen on the temple's north side, broken into two. The maṇḍapa doorway is uncarved. The plinth is visible on the north side, showing upāna, gala, and kapōtapālī. The small śukanāsa shows an image of Lakulīśa standing. The image is two-armed, holding a club (left) and snake (right), and is accompanied by four figures. This is the only instance of Lakulīśa on a śukanāsa of a Calukya temple.

There are two subshrines related to this temple. One to the northeast is structural and houses Saptamātrkās. The other is an Aditi shrine to the southeast. Aditi, here known as Lajjā Gaurī, is carved in relief in the living rock, lying on her back beneath an overhanging cliff. The cliff itself forms the subshrine. The goddess has a broad lotus-head and holds a lotus bud in either hand; a cloth is woven through her thighs and behind her back. Her jewelry consists of bangles, anklets with tassels, and a channavīra. Her feet, as in other Aditi images, are turned to show the soles. Her legs are drawn up (uttānapada) exposing her pudenda. During an annual festival held on January 14th, she still is ritually worshipped by women seeking fertility. The sculpture is contemporary with the temple. (On the path leading up the mountain to reach the site, another Lajjā Gaurī, which seems later in style, is carved in the rock.) Nearby is a liṅga which seems to be post-Calukya; the liṅga is bathed by spring water dripping out of the cliff.

The structural subshrine housing Saptamātrkās has low walls and curved eave; the shrine roof is flat, but bears remains of a hāra-like wall. The plinth is buried.

To either side of the main temple's doorway are Dakṣa dvārapālas leaning on



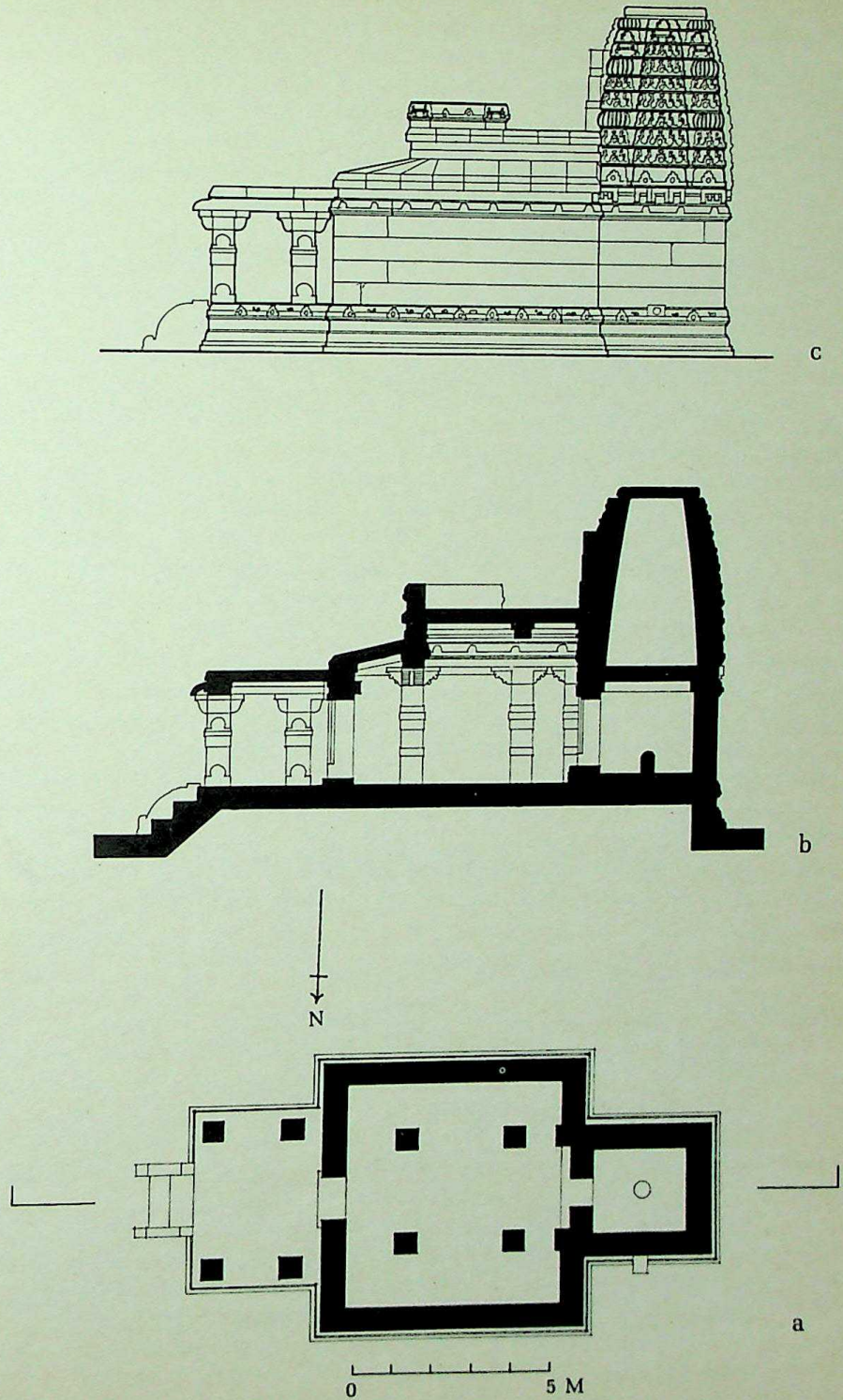


Fig. 115. Siddhanakollā. Lakulīśa temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



sticks: that on the left is goat-headed; that on the right, ram-headed. (At Ālampur there are similar goat-headed sentries.) The figures are set into recessed niches. The way in which these sentries lean on their sticks, the type of stick, and the type of dhōṭī worn are like Agastya and Tolkappiyar figures at Sandūr and Mahākūṭa.

The association of Dakṣa with Lajjā Gaurī and Śiva with Dakṣa is ancient.

The relationships of the figures at Siddhanakoḷḷa revolve around the mythology and symbolism of procreation represented by Lakulīśa, Aditi, Dakṣa, and the Sapta-mātrkās. Like the Śiva temple at Nāganāthakoḷḷa, the Siddhanakoḷḷa temple seems to have been built as place of fertility worship.

The Siddhanakoḷḷa temple may have been built as part of a fertility cult during the reign of Vinayāditya in response to a tax imposed on sonless couples. A date of c. A.D. 690-696 seems probable.

#### Mahākūṭa, Pinākapāṇi temple (not illustrated)

A small west-facing temple on the east side of the Mahākūṭa compound is called Pinākapāṇi. It has an open, four-pillared porch and a larger vimāna with a five-tier Phāmsanā roof with āmalaka. The porch roof is lost and only two porch pillars remain. These are ornately carved, with lotus medallions above and below a hexagonal neck and a band below carved with foliage and pearl festoons. The porch kakṣāsanas carved on the outer side with mithunas are a later addition. The garbhagrha door has a plain bāhyaśākhā, patraśākhā, and an inner nāgaśākhā; below, the pēdyās are carved with figures. A small female stands with an umbrella overhead to the outer side of a four-armed dvārapāla, who holds lotus and conch(?) in his upper hands. A dwarf stands between the male and female figures. The female figure in the box on the proper right of the doorway stands on a makara. The other female has no vāhana. Garuḍa acts as lalāṭabimba. There is a liṅga in the garbhagrha.

The vimāna bears a niche on each wall. Śiva-Paśupati occupies the south niche; on the north is four-armed Harihara; the now obscured east niche probably held Ardhanārīśvara.

These images are a poor rendition of types common at Mahākūṭa, which suggests that these are possibly uninspired copies. The temple may date to the late seventh century.

#### Aihoḷe, Huccimalli temple (Fig. 116; Plates 608-610)

The temple called Huccimalli (temple of the crazy lady) at Aihoḷe faces west near a large "T"-shaped tank. The tank's rim is carved with figures that seem later than the temple; they may be of the same date as the pūrṇakumbhas and erotic figures added to the back of the mukhamaṇḍapa's kakṣāsana.

An inscription dated A.D. 708/9 on the west wall of the temple records a gift of oil to the temple made by Eltugoḷugāsani with the sanction of Vijayāditya. The inscription provides a *terminus ante quem* for the temple's construction.

The Huccimalli temple (Fig. 116; Plates 609-610) has a four-pillared, flat-roofed porch, a gūḍhamaṇḍapa with eight pillars, and a garbhagrha with an enshrined liṅga. The pradakṣiṇāpatha is illuminated by four, small, square windows (Plate 610), two in the east wall and one each on north and south. The garbhagrha has no niches; its well-carved vēdibandha is topped by a kapōtapālī ornamented with inhabited gavākṣas and a peacock, snake charmer, and kinnaras between. A kapōtapālī also tops the wall. The śukanāsa of the temple's Nāgara śikhara bears an image of Śiva-Naṭāśa (the śukanāsa is not properly attached to the śikhara). The style of this sculpture seems



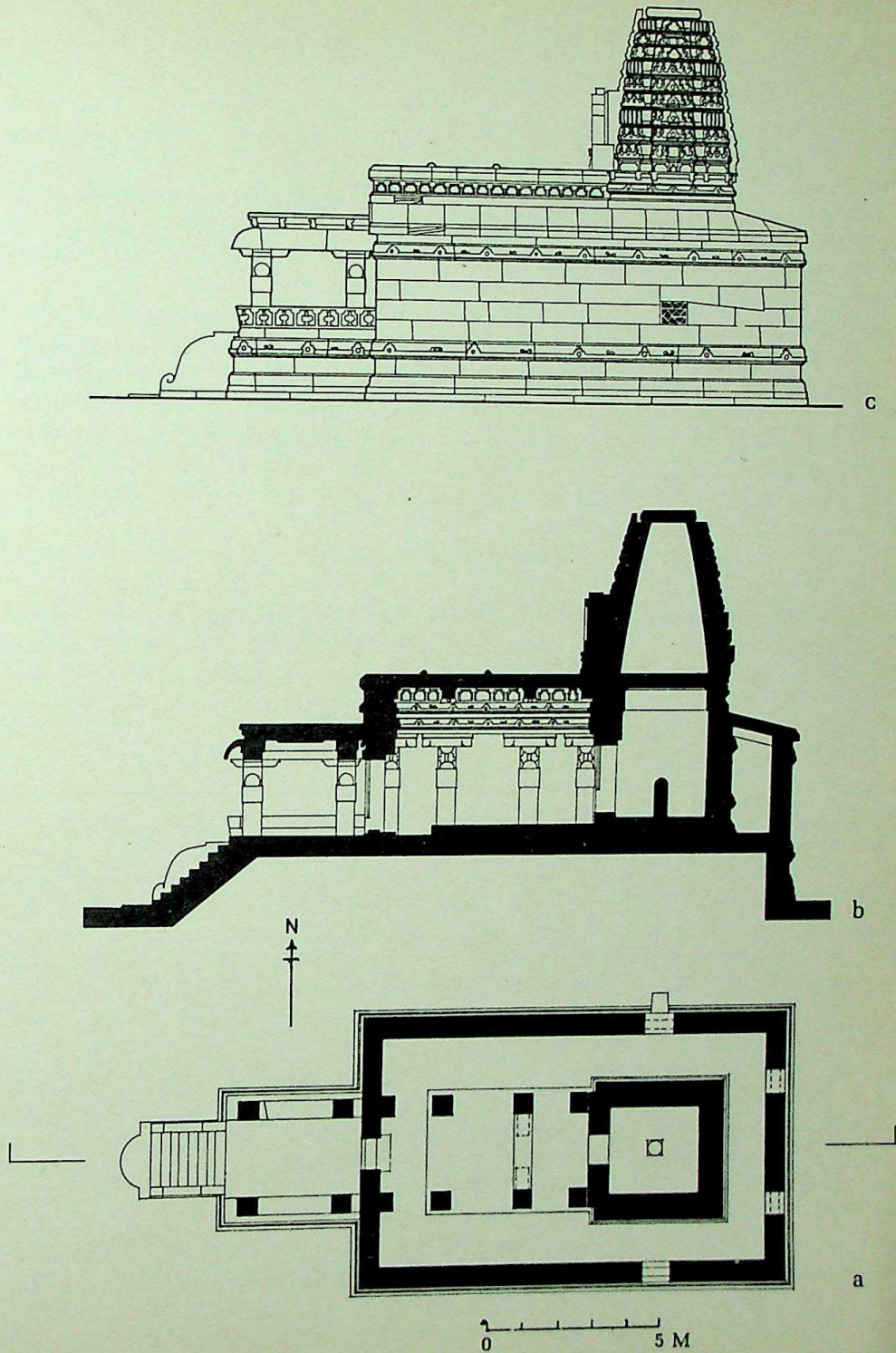


Fig. 116. Aihole. Huccimalli temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



later than that found in the maṇḍapa's interior, which might support the opinion of those who affirm that the śikhara was added later in the Calukya period. The stone of the śikhara differs from that of the temple's walls. The crowning āmalaka now lies northeast of the temple. The first cornice of the śikhara bears small images of Sūrya, Brahmā, and a third, now damaged, divinity. Other Calukya temples with images on the śikhara are the Vijayēśvara, Virūpākṣa, and Mallikārjuna temples at Paṭṭadakal, of Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II's period.

The maṇḍapa doorway has padma-, stambha-, ratna-, nāga-, and patraśākhās; a garuḍa forms the lalāṭabimba and a kapōta appears above. The pēdyā groups are compositionally and stylistically almost identical to those of the Aihole Sāraṅgi-maṭha. Vāhanas in both instances are not completely carved.

Maṇḍapa pillars bear tālapatra brackets like those of the Cikkiguḍi but the shafts' bands and details are not carved. Large atlantes resemble those in the Tārappa temple.

The lintel of the sanctum doorway has three shrine-models with tall simhakarṇas that contain figures of Brahmā (left), Naṭarāja, and Viṣṇu (right). The arrangement of the doorway is the same as that of the Cikkiguḍi and Tārappa temples. The outer śākhā has erotic mithunas similar to those on the Cakra temple. Garuḍa as lalāṭabimba is only a bust. The pēdyā boxes hold small figures of the river-goddesses on their vāhanas with smaller mithunas behind them.

The liṅga in the sanctum seems original, though the pīṭha is lost. The north exterior wall retains an excellent makara prajāla.

Four ceiling panels in this temple provide interesting carving: the porch ceiling has an image of Tārakāri Subrahmanya, on his peacock, stepping on the fallen demon (Plate 608), Tārakāsura (the style of carving is quite close to that of the dramatic Nāgarāja of the Durga temple's porch ceiling); the ceilings just inside the maṇḍapa door and before the garbhagṛha have lotus panels; between these two is a panel with a large central lotus, four corner lotuses, bands of lotus-rosette pattern dividing these, and four, cardinal, rectangular areas filled with images of Śiva and Pārvatī on Nandi (W), Indra on Airāvata (E), Brahmā on haṁsa (N), and Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (S).

Similarities of pillar-type and of this ceiling's composition to those in the Cikkiguḍi have led some to associate the two temples in date; the association of the pēdyā groups with those of the Sāraṅgi and Mallikārjuna temples, śākhās with the Cakra temple, and of ceiling-panels to those of the Durga temple, however, warrant a later date. The inscription assures that the temple pre-dates A.D. 708/9. A date of c. A.D. 690-705 seems appropriate, with the śikhara possibly added as late as A.D. 710-720.

#### Paṭṭadakal, Jambuliṅga temple (Fig. 117; Plates 611, 614)

Located behind the Galaganātha temple at Paṭṭadakal, the small Jambuliṅga temple (Fig. 117; Plate 611) has a constricted gūḍhamaṇḍapa and slightly larger garbhagṛha without pradakṣiṇāpatha; both stand on an adhiṣṭhāna consisting of upāna, tripaṭṭa kumuda, segmented gala, and kapōta. A second, larger, maṇḍapa stood to the east, of which only part of the base remains. The heavy, low, śikhara has lost its crowning āmalaka. The śukanāsa has an image of Śiva-Tāṇḍava.

The three bhadra niches bear images of Viṣṇu (N), Sūrya (W), and Lakulīśa (S). The elaborate entablature over these niches (Plate 614) is more complex than that on any other temple yet discussed; an even more complex form, however, will be found on temples of the early eighth century. The elements found here develop and elaborate those found on the Kūḍavēli Saṅgamēśvara temple in Āndhra. The niche-pilasters are carved with vertical bands of patravalli, festoon-designs, and Maṇibandha. The temple



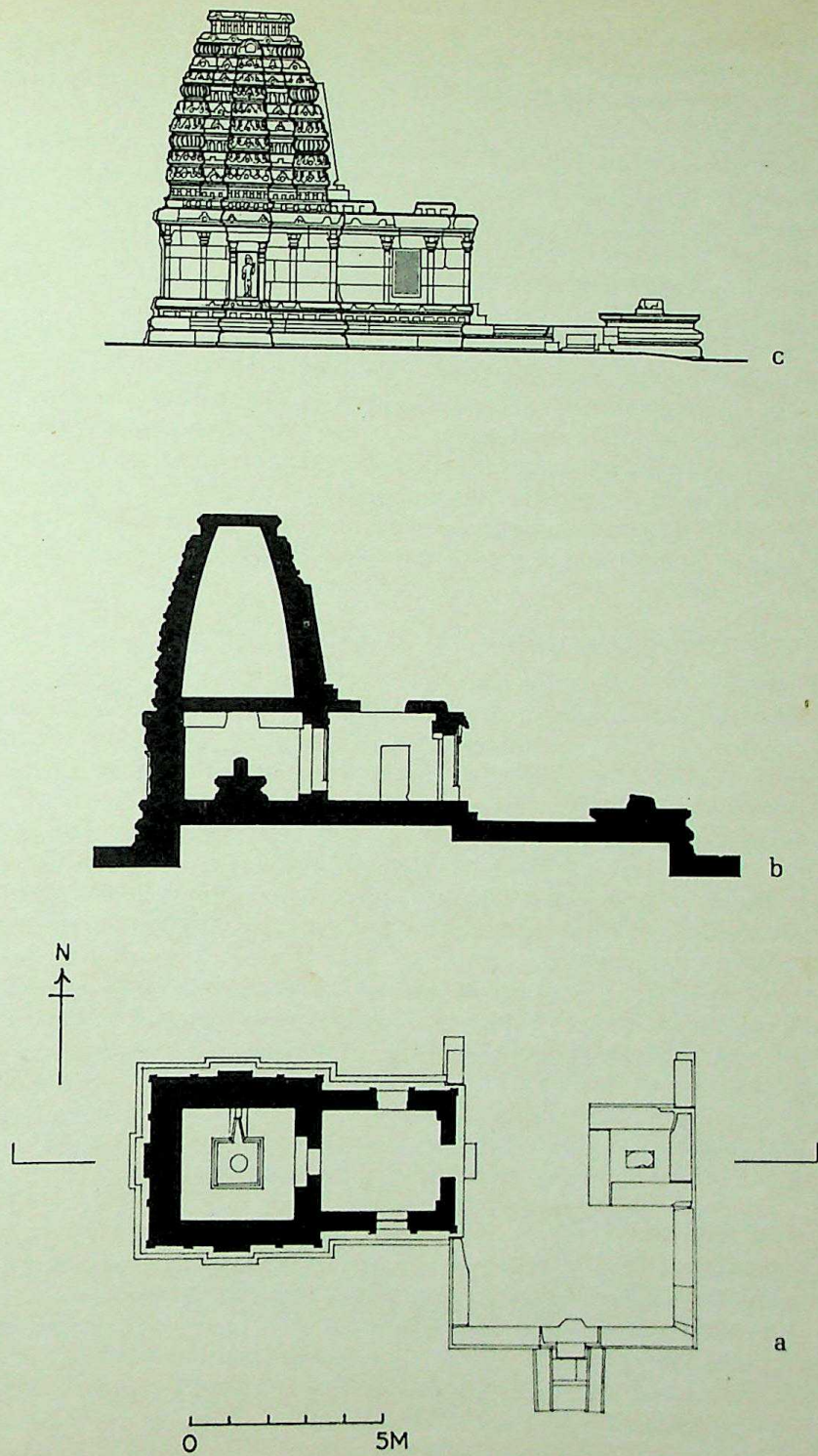


Fig. 117. Paṭṭadakal. Jambuliṅga temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



walls are cantoned by somewhat simpler pilasters.

The gūḍhamandapa was lit by two, large, rectangular vātāyanas, that on the north now lost; that on the south is patterned with a crossed grille with small lotuses at the junctures (Plate 611).

The mandapa doorway is carved with patra-, ratna-, stambha-, and ratnaśākhās; haṁsamālā appears below the upper kapōta, which supports five shrines forming a hāra (a liṅga inside the central shrine). Dvārapālas fill the narrow pēdyā boxes.

A well-carved Śiva-Tāṇḍava fills the gāḍha of the śukanāsa (Plate 611), with Nandi behind him and Umā to this left. Adoring nāgas flank the base of the śukanāsa as at Ālampur and Satyavōlu.

The squat śikhara springs from a broad recess filled with vēdikā above essentially Dravidian prastara mouldings (including vyālamālā). The śikhara is of only three bhūmis, with discrete cornices and no bālapañjara in the recesses between vēṇukōṣa and madhyalatā, as at Aihole; a plain vēdī platform sits at the top of the śikhara, as became a convention also on some of the later temples at Ālampur.

The mouldings of the pīṭha within the garbhagrha match those of the temple's plinth. The black liṅga in the sanctum may be original.

This temple is contemporary with the Kaṣasiddhēśvara and may be dated to c. A.D. 696-720.

*Paṭṭadakal, Kaṣasiddhēśvara temple (Fig. 118; Plates 612-613)*

The northernmost temple at Paṭṭadakal is the small Kaṣasiddhēśvara. Its gūḍhamandapa has lost its roof; the nirandhāra vimāna has a tribhūma śikhara, which has lost its āmalaka. The damaged śukanāsa once showed dancing Śiva. The adhiṣṭhāna mouldings consist of khura-kumbha, tripaṭṭa kumuda (replaced by kalaśa on the bhadras), a broad antarapaṭṭa with galapādas, and kapōtapālī.

The images in the bhadra niches were carved into the masonry, not set in; they consist of Ardhanārīśvara (N), Harihara (W), and Lakulīśa (S). Each niche is topped by an udgama; the niche pilasters are carved with vine and pūrṇakumbha. Kīrttimukha-ornamented brackets and the mālavidyādhara band below the cornice of the wall are both features found at Ālampur.

The gūḍhamandapa's doorway is flanked by life-size, horned dvārapālas leaning on clubs (Plate 612), with heavy roll-brackets above their heads. The śākhās are padma, vṛtta-stambha, ratna, and patra. The pēdyā and lintel figures are destroyed. The sanctum doorway's śākhās are bāhya, mālā (with triangular foliage design), stambha (with diamond pattern), ratna (changed to patra on the right side), nāga, and a plain paṭṭikā (Plate 613). Śiva seated with Pārvatī on Nandi acts as lalāṭabimba.

The Kaṣasiddhēśvara temple may be dated to c. A.D. 695-720.

*Aihole, Durga temple (Plate 615)*

The Durga temple at Aihole (its current name comes from "durg" meaning "fort" not from the goddess Durgā) displays an amplitude and grandeur that heralds the eighth-century Paṭṭadakal temples. Noted for its apsidal plan, the temple carries what some consider an anomalous Nāgara śikhara. The mature Calukya synthesis of elements from both Drāviḍa and Nāgara traditions found in this temple has been discussed in Volume I, part 2, of this *Encyclopaedia*. Here we shall address primarily the presence of a Latina śikhara over the apsidal garbhagrha.

There has been some question of whether or not the śikhara was planned for construction or was an afterthought. While there may seem some awkwardness in the



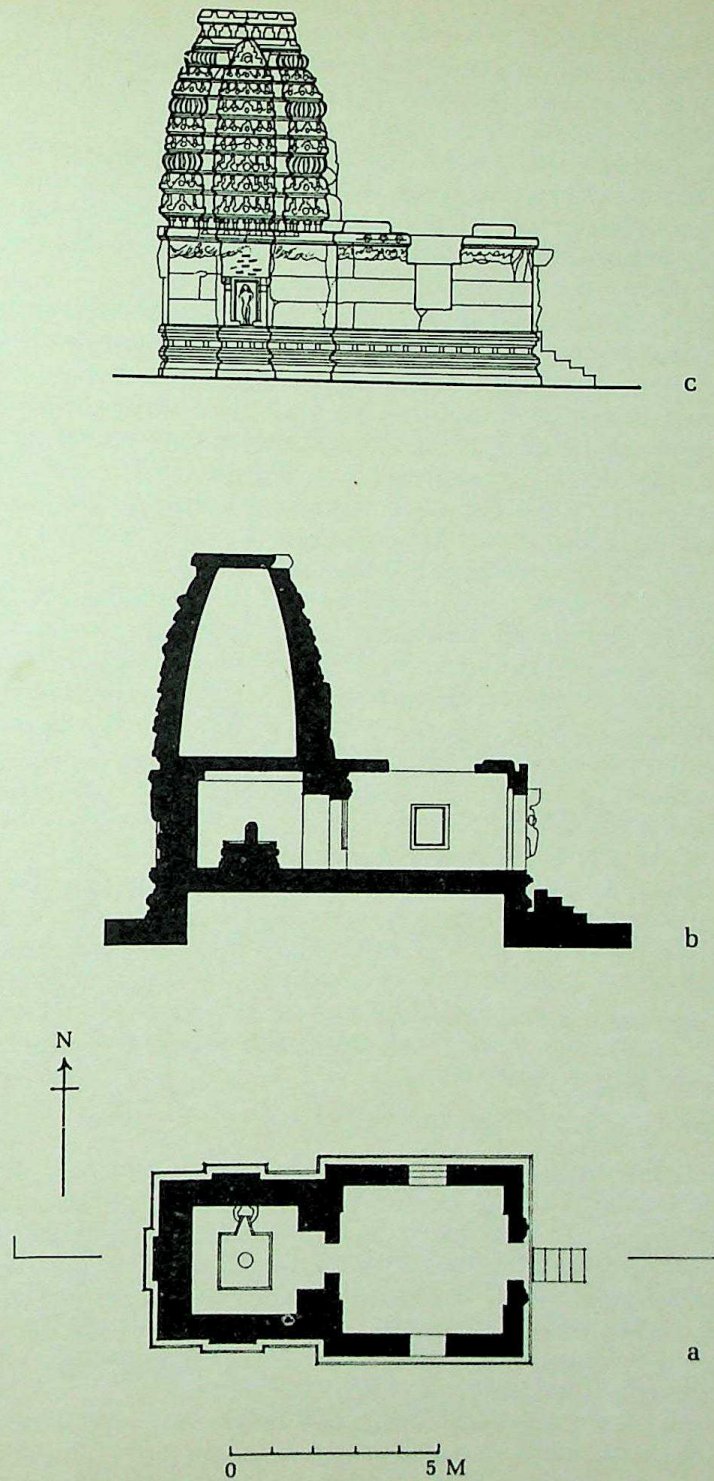


Fig. 118. Paṭṭadakal. Kaṣasiddhēśvara temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation.  
(Courtesy: Michell.)



planning of its square base in relation to the curved rear of the temple, and though, like that of the Huccimalli temple, the śikhara may have been added shortly after completion of the base, the śikhara and the clerestory platform that extends from it over the maṇḍapa seem integral to an original phase of the temple.

The śikhara is triratha, with a now largely destroyed śukanāsa. The outline of the elevation of the śikhara is somewhat harsh, with perhaps more in common with spires (such as that of the Tārappa temple) that date from the seventh or early eighth century. In this instance, gavākṣa patterns cross two cornices on the madhyalatā, unlike earlier examples and appear on the bhūmikhanda of the vēṇukōśa.

The fact that the porches have original rather than added kakṣāsanās may suggest a date for the temple as late as c. A.D. 700 as there does not seem to be a temple built before this time provided with kakṣāsanās. Around A.D. 700, this feature seems to have been added during renovation of the Gauḍa and Lāḍ Khān temples at Aihole and the Viṣṇu and Saṅgamēśvara temples at Mahākūṭa. Another feature that seems to suggest a date of c. A.D. 700 for the Durga temple is the double staircase by which one enters. This seems to have been a new feature for temples of a late-seventh-century date. A double stairway was added to the Gauḍa temple (a lower staircase with frontal approach has been excavated beneath the added stairway).

Southeast of the Durga temple are a deep stepwell and a large pratōlī. The gateway is positioned on the axis to the lateral staircase. The pratōlī consists of a central passage with a high flat roof and sloped roofing on either side over an elevated inner platform. The entrance doorway of the gateway has śākhā details identical to those of the temple's maṇḍapa doorway, suggesting that they were contemporaneous. A pratōlī in association with the Durga temple sets an architectural trend; in amplified form, a similar pratōlī appears before the Paṭṭadakal Virūpākṣa temple in the eighth century.

Cousens had thought this temple to be Vaiṣṇava, dedicated to Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. On the north wall of the pratōlī, however, is an inscription, dated by Fleet to the reign of Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-744), which has recently been retranslated by K.V. Ramesh to read "the gift made to the God Āditya of the temple of Kōmarasēngana by Rēvadi who was administering the baddaraul tax." In his supporting argument for the temple's dedication to Sūrya, S.V. Padigar cites two detached Sūrya images from the area of the temple, the Sūrya image opposite the maṇḍapa door on the architrave, the inscription, the rectangular socket of the round pīṭha, designed to receive an image rather than a liṅga, and pillar figures of Sūrya and Chāyā.

Aihole, Mallikārjuna temple (Fig. 119; Plates 616-618)

This nirandhāra temple at Aihole (Fig. 119; Plate 616) has an open four-pillared porch, a gūḍhamāṇḍapa divided into three aisles by four pillars and four pilasters with taraṅga brackets, and a sanctum preserving an original liṅga and pīṭha. A large tank survives to the southeast and the base of a Nandi-māṇḍapa to the east. The walls of the temple are plain. The temple's Phāmsanā roof (Plate 617) has seven tiers of vēdikā with crowning cornice above a varaṇḍikā with two cornices with plain antaraṇḍapa between; the śikhara is capped by an āmalaka and vījapūraka finial. On the śukanāsa fronton is an unfinished image of Umā-Mahēśvara.

Rucaka porch pillars are carved with medallions holding mithunas, Ardhanārīśvara, seated Narasimha, nidhi, and a dancing female figure.

The maṇḍapa and sanctum doorways are carved in a style and composition similar to those of the Sāraṅgi-maṭha and Huccimalli temples. The door takes a slight "T"-shape, with heavy kapōta and hāra above (Plate 618). The doorways of the



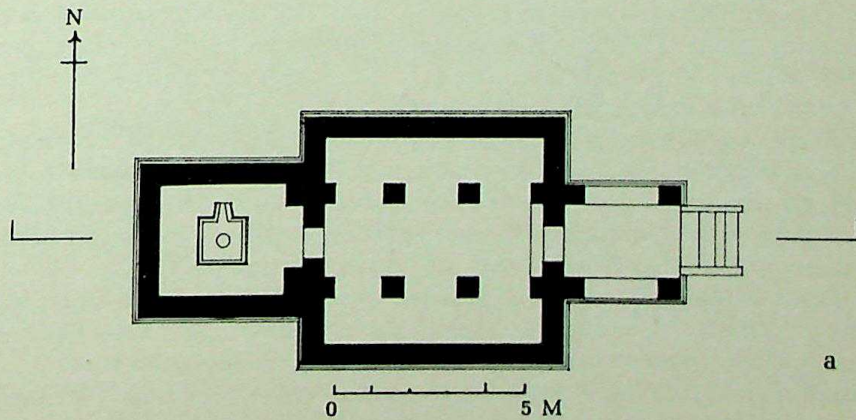
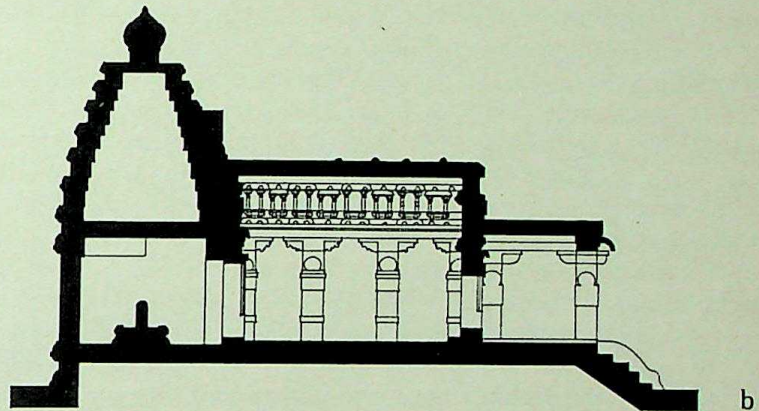
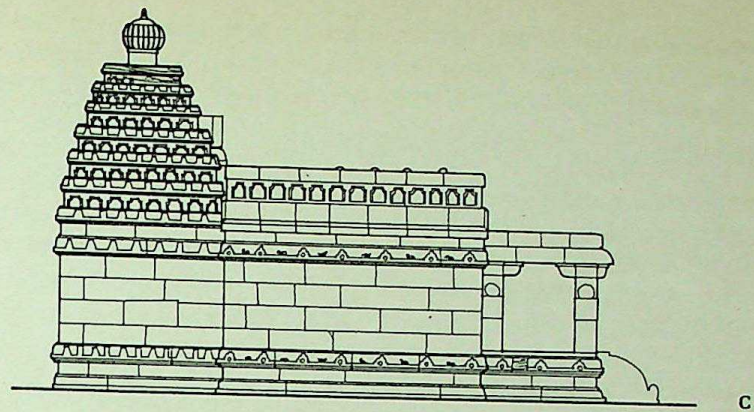


Fig. 119. Aihole, Mallikārjuna temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



Sāraṅgī-maṭha, Huccimalli, and Mallikārjuna temples seem to be the work of one artist, or copies. This version seems to be the least zestful, and perhaps is the latest, although it is still of high quality. The temple may date to c. A.D. 700-715.

*Aihoḷe, Tārappa temple* (Fig. 120; Plates 619-621)

The Tārappa is the northernmost temple at Aihoḷe; it faces east with a tank to its northeast, is nirandhāra, and has a mukhamaṇḍapa and a gūḍhamaṇḍapa with four central pillars and four pilasters, lit by two small windows (Fig. 120; Plate 619). The brackets are curved and cusped, as are those in the Mallikārjuna temple. The bhadra niches (Plate 620) are empty and framed by attached Rucaka pillars with a constricted neck (as at Kūḍavēli). The karṇa walls are also cantoned by narrow Rucaka pilasters. The śikhara bears a śukanāsa fronton with Śiva-Naṭeśa shown.

Adhiṣṭhāna mouldings consist of khura-kumbha, dhārāvṛta kumuda (replaced by tulā-ends on the bhadra), and kapōtapālī; the maṇḍapa mouldings replace kumuda by broad antarapaṭṭa.

The wall pilasters support a heavy kapōta, broad vēdikā recess, and a second kapōtapālī. The śikhara above has horizontal cornices with unintegrated gavākṣa and ardha-gavākṣa patterns across each layer, marked into three bhūmis by karṇāmalakas on every third layer. Above the top bhūmi rests a discrete vēdī platform, with vēdikā, as on only a few other temples at Aihoḷe, Paṭṭadakal, and Ālampur.

The temple has little other ornament. The maṇḍapa and garbhagṛha doorways (Plate 621) are blocked out, but not fully carved. Vyālas leap to either side from stambhaśākhās on the garbhagṛha doorway; the kapōtapālī above bears three shrines, with Śiva at the centre, Viṣṇu on the right, and Brahmā on the left, as on the Huccimali temple's doorway. A figure of Gaṇeśa is carved to the left of the sanctum doorway; his presence in this location becomes more formalized in the Huccapayya temple, as in the large Paṭṭadakal temples where he gains a separate shrine.

The garbhagṛha has a liṅga on a broken pīṭha set between the four interior pillars.

*Aihoḷe, Galaganātha temple* (Fig. 121; Plates 622-623)

Facing east near the Malaprabhā river, this is the major temple of a group of temples southwest of Aihoḷe. In front is a small Nandi-maṇḍapa; the temple's porch is a later replacement. The gūḍhamaṇḍapa has six pillars, with two pilasters to either side of the sanctum. The temple's plan is nirandhāra (Fig. 121). The garbhagṛha contains a liṅga on a fragmentary pīṭha. The three bhadra niches had attached pillars that are now lost. The śikhara follows Phāṁsanā formulas. Five tiers show vēdikā; the sixth tier also shows karṇāmalakas supporting the final vēdī.

Carving on the gūḍhamaṇḍapa doorway postdates construction of the temple. The garbhagṛha doorway has śākhās of patravallī, stambha (supporting a hāra with three prominent shrines), and ratna. Garuḍa as lalāṭabimba has snake-heads in his hands. Pēdyā groups show river-goddesses on their vāhanas, one hand on a dwarf's head, then two mithunas and another dwarf.

The beams in the gūḍhamaṇḍapa show both meander and lotus patterns similar to those in the Huccapayya temple. Each bay of the central nave originally had a ceiling panel. Brahmā is shown on a panel set near the sanctum; Umā-Mahēśvara on a panel in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is probably from this temple; a third panel now rests on the maṇḍapa roof, against the śikhara, showing four-armed Viṣṇu sitting on Garuḍa (Plate 622). The dry, angular style of the figures is characteristic of Aihoḷe, c. A.D. 720-740.



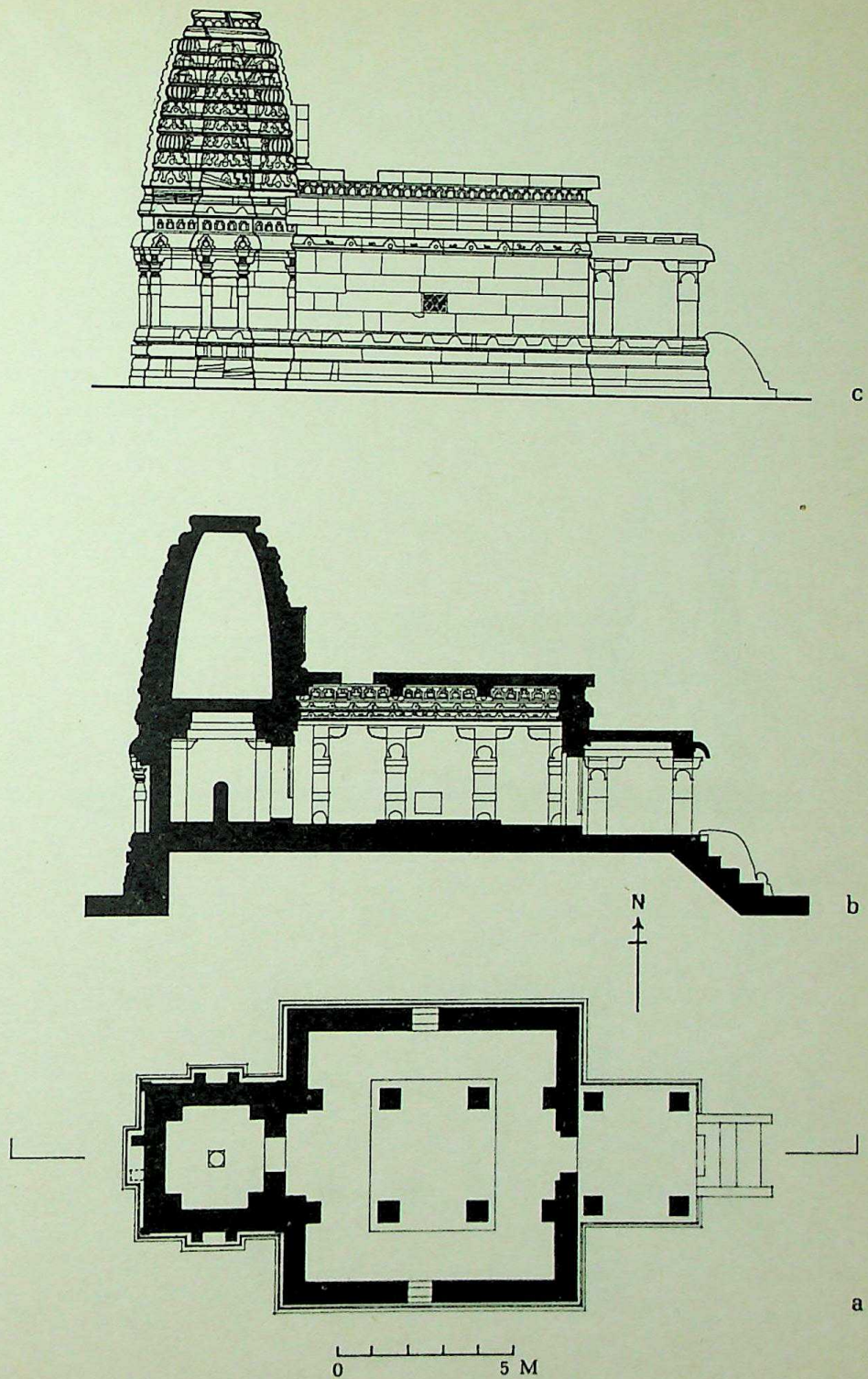


Fig. 120. Aihole. Tārappa temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



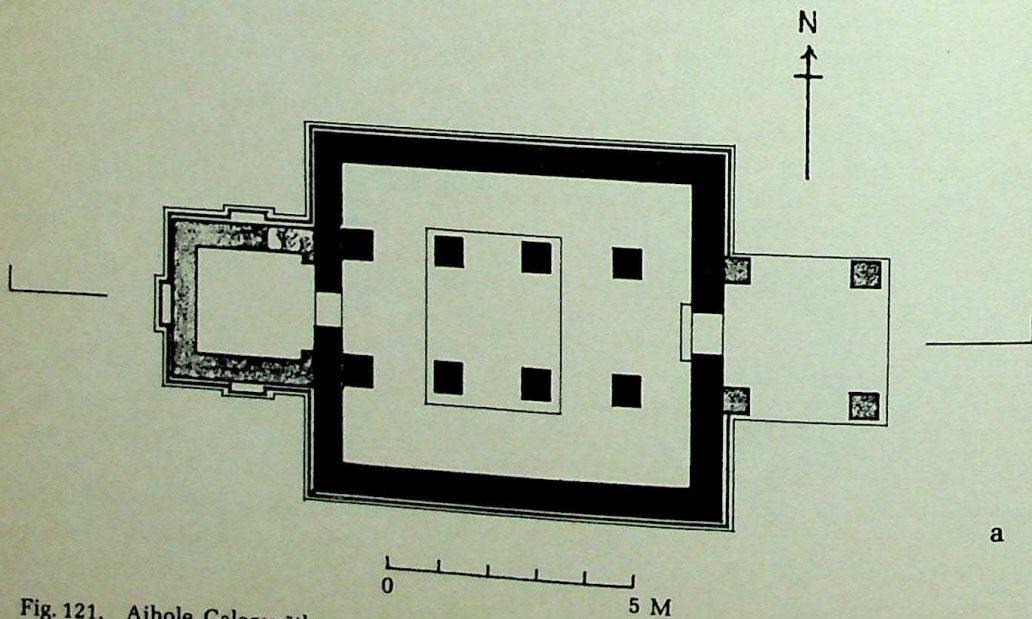
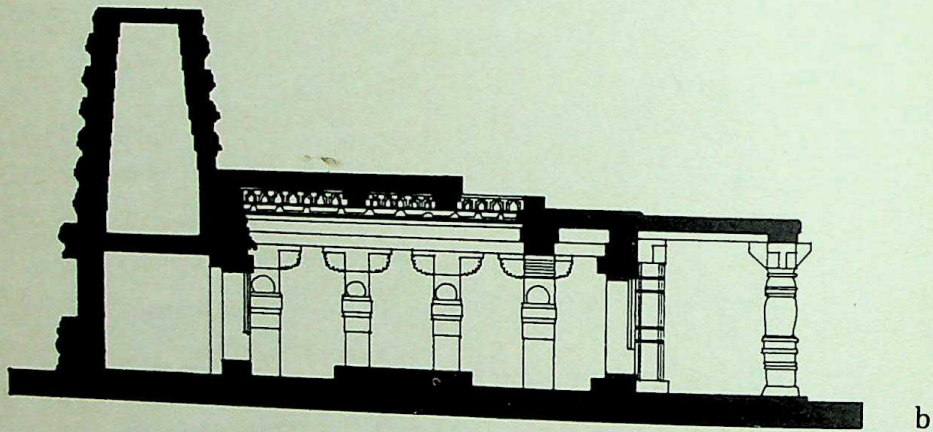
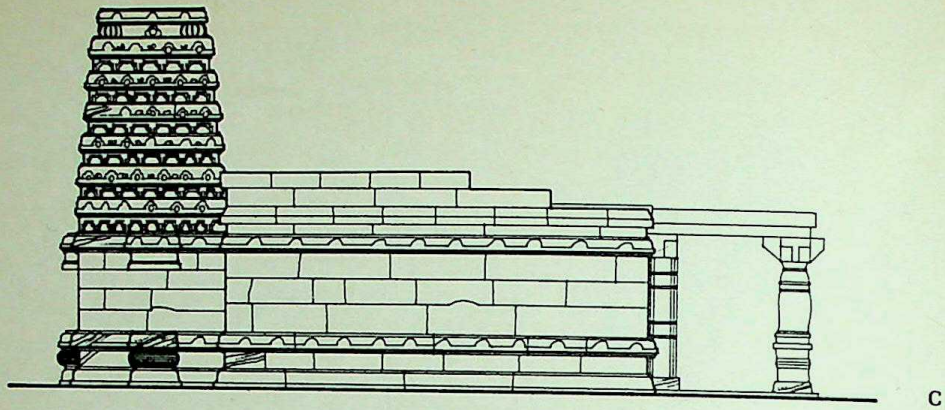


Fig. 121. Aihole. Galaganatha temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



*Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha temple* (Fig. 122; Plates 624-627, 629)

The Pāpanātha temple consists of a mukhamāṇḍapa, large gūḍhamāṇḍapa, and a garbhagṛha surrounded by a narrow pradakṣiṇāpatha (Fig. 122). The curvilinear Nāgara śikhara (Plate 624) is like that of the Paṭṭadakal Jambuliṅga temple; the tall śukanāsa is like that of the Kāśivīśvanātha. A Dravidian hāra surrounds the top of the wall.

The temple seems to have undergone major architectural alternations at least twice. The original temple probably consisted of a garbhagṛha with a maṇḍapa in front, like the Paṭṭadakal Jambuliṅga temple. A remnant of this early maṇḍapa's wall is present, partially blocking entry to the later pradakṣiṇāpatha. This maṇḍapa may have been removed before the present maṇḍapa was added. New walls were constructed close to the sanctum walls, making performance of pradakṣiṇā difficult. This second stage was modeled on Ālampur, with three exterior porticos holding images of Śiva between window screens. The maṇḍapa's wall-niches held images of the Ādityas, still found on the north (a pattern found on the Svarga-Brahmā at Ālampur). Soon this second plan was also remodeled by the addition of a larger eastern maṇḍapa and porch.

These hypothetical stages of construction of the Pāpanātha temple might place initial construction in c. A.D. 720-730 under king Vijayāditya, stage two in c. A.D. 730-734, and the final stage in c. A.D. 735-750. Niches and windows were carved on the added maṇḍapa's walls to match older ones, each niche surmounted by a different udgama. These three stages can be discerned by differences in sculptural styles, seams on the roof, and seams in the north and south walls running from hāra to base.

An inscription on the exterior north wall of the west maṇḍapa records "the misery of one who has received gifts, but not sufficient ones, and who therefore has the face of a hog." (It could be understood as the patron's lament for not having enough funds to finish the temple, located as it is at a point in the wall where there is a break where work stopped.) Bhadra images of Naṭarāja, Gajāntaka, and Andhakāntaka in the second-phase porticos suggest that by c. A.D. 734 the temple was Śaivite. The earlier dedication we cannot determine from available evidence.

By comparison to other Calukya temples, this temple's exterior is particularly encrusted with sculpture. The Ālampur Viśva-Brahmā temple, also elaborately ornamented, seems simple by comparison, yet established the pattern for sculpture and ornament followed on the Pāpanātha. Artistically speaking, however, the Pāpanātha seems a degeneration from former models; there is a lack of a coherent scheme and an overabundance of sculpture on the walls. The quality of the sculpture is also uneven.

There are 34 niches plus three bhadra porticos that house images of Naṭeśa, Andhakāntaka, and Gajāntaka. Niches are distributed four east, two west, seven north, and seven south of the east maṇḍapa; four each on the north and south walls of the west maṇḍapa; and six on the karṇa faces of the vimāna. There also are sculptures between niches. Vātāyanas are particularly advanced, as a pierced pattern composed of small mithunas, another of mounted vyālas, and paired nāgas with intertwined bodies forming a svastika (Plate 625) can exemplify. The simplest of these windows resembles the most developed found on the Virūpākṣa temple.

The mouldings of the bhadra porticos include an animal frieze of fighting lions and elephants much like those found on the Aihole Huccapayya and the Paṭṭadakal Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna temples. Although the plan is Ālampur-like in type, the temple has not been made by Ālampur craftsmen. Portico pillars have relief figures of gods, such as Viṣṇu on Garuḍa and Trivikrama, which are not like Ālampur examples



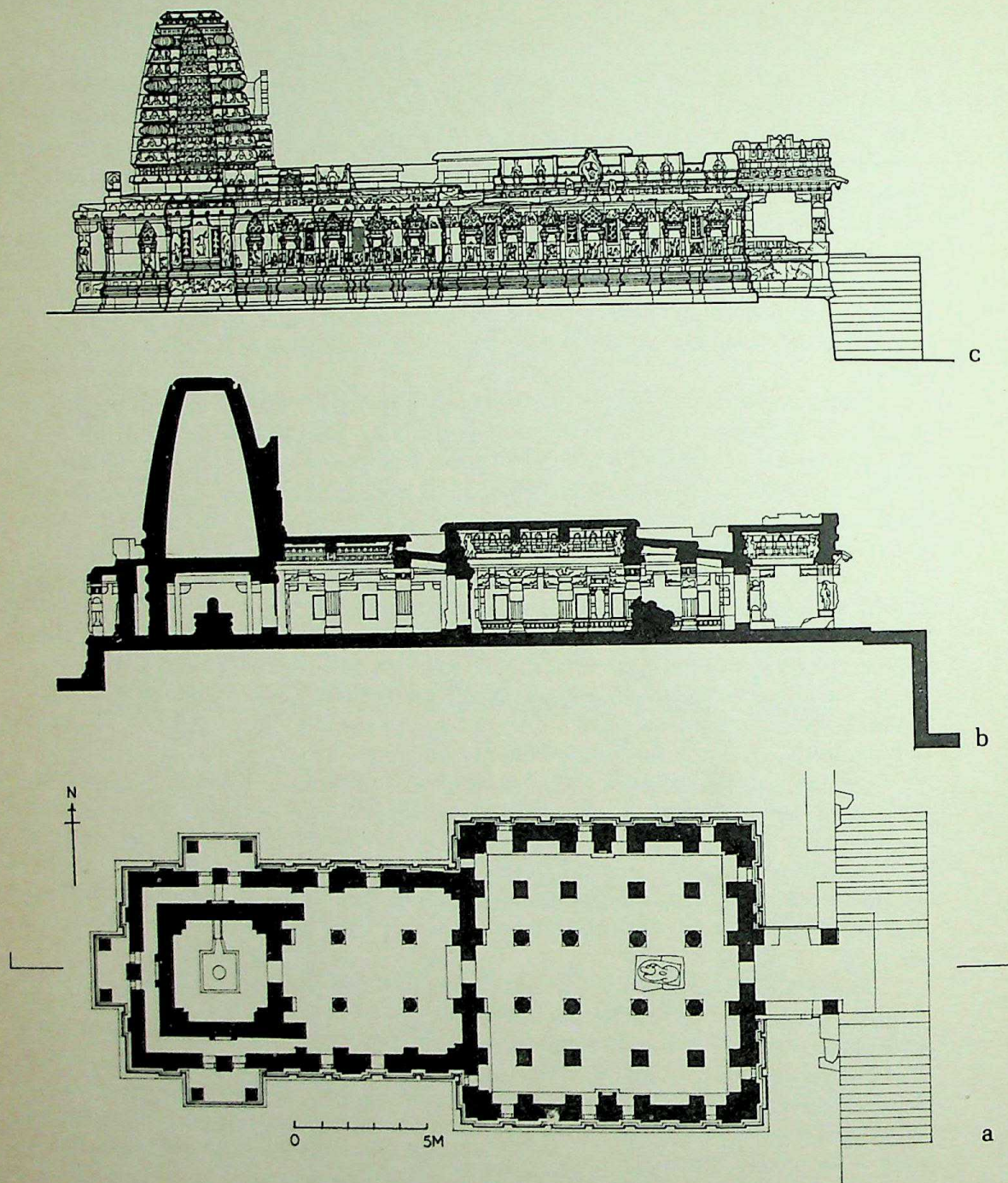


Fig. 122. Paṭṭadakal. Pāpanātha temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



but reflect the iconography found on the Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna temples.

The western maṇḍapa's walls carry images of Ādityas between, rather than inside, the niches as was typical at Ālampur; niches hold images of Narasiṃha, Mahiṣāsura-mardīnī, and various Rāmāyaṇa episodes.

The eastern maṇḍapa has images of archers on the north and complex narrative scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa on the south and east, as well as on the south sides of the porch pillars. Rāmāyaṇa scenes previously had appeared on maṇḍapa pillars of the Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna temples.

Distinct differences are found in the decoration of the two maṇḍapas: the western maṇḍapa has no mālā band at the top of its wall; the kumuda in its adhiṣṭhāna has six facets, while the east maṇḍapa has a 16-sided kumuda. There is also some change in the hāra.

Among the many inscriptions found on this temple, none of which mention a king, are several labels which name artists. One, located near Agni on the southwest wall, is of an architect named Rēvaḍi Ōvajja, grandson of Silēmuḍda, who describes himself as a member of the jāti of the Sarvasiddhi ācāryas, the same jāti as the builder who signed the Virūpākṣa temple. He calls himself "taṅkana dēsaya madidōr" which can be translated as "maker of the southern side" of the temple. The same name is found on the Virūpākṣa and Pāpanātha temples.

To the west of the vertical "joint" on north and south, niches are framed by two pilasters; to the east, niches are also framed by cantoning pilasters on the wall. On the interior, ceilings appear in each maṇḍapa. In the western maṇḍapa, in front of the garbhagrha, is a fine Nāgarāja ceiling lit by a pierced clerestory. The crossbeam in front of the sanctum is carved with Gajalakṣmī. A second ceiling-panel in the western maṇḍapa is of four-armed Śiva-Tāṇḍava; two other Naṭeśa images appear in the temple, one as a porch ceiling, the other in the śukanāsa. The bhadra niches of the garbhagrha house Sūrya (W), Lakulīśa (S), and Viṣṇu (N), repeating the scheme of the Paṭṭadakal Jambuliṅga temple. Dvārapālas stand on engaged columns by the doorway.

In the west maṇḍapa, two-foot-tall mithunas appear on the wall-pilasters. The eastern maṇḍapa has somewhat more heavily set mithunas, which are duplicated on the porch.

Pillars in the western maṇḍapa (Plate 629) are of an unusual Calukya type, with square base, faceted shaft, square block, and a cusped, curved bracket. This type of pillar is found as niche-pillar at Satyavōlu and at Ālampur on the Garuḍa-Brahmā temple.

Pillars of the eastern maṇḍapa (Plate 626) are like those of the Kāśīviśvanātha, with a square base, octagonal shaft, large block (here uncarved), lotus facets, fluting, and a round cushion below a large, cusped bracket carved elaborately with kīrtti-mukhas. The leaping vyālas, lions, and elephant-lions below the beams are no longer merely busts, but full-bodied animals (a feature known from no other Calukya temple).

The eastern maṇḍapa has four ceiling-panels of padma, Viṣṇu on Ananta, Nāgarāja, and Gajalakṣmī. The Viṣṇu panel is signed by Baladēva, who says he is "devoid of fear." Baladēva also signed the scene of Śūrpaṇakhā's nose being cut off by Lakṣmaṇa and the dvārapāla of the south porch; his work is also known from the dvārapāla on the Virūpākṣa's south porch.

The east maṇḍapa has a Gaṇeśa shrine at the centre of the south wall. Opposite, Mahiṣāsura-mardīnī is similarly enshrined (the human form of the demon seems to have become favored in the reign of Vikramāditya II).

The porch is supported by two pillars and two pilasters. The entrance doorway (Plate 629) is ornate and very like that of the Virūpākṣa garbhagrha.



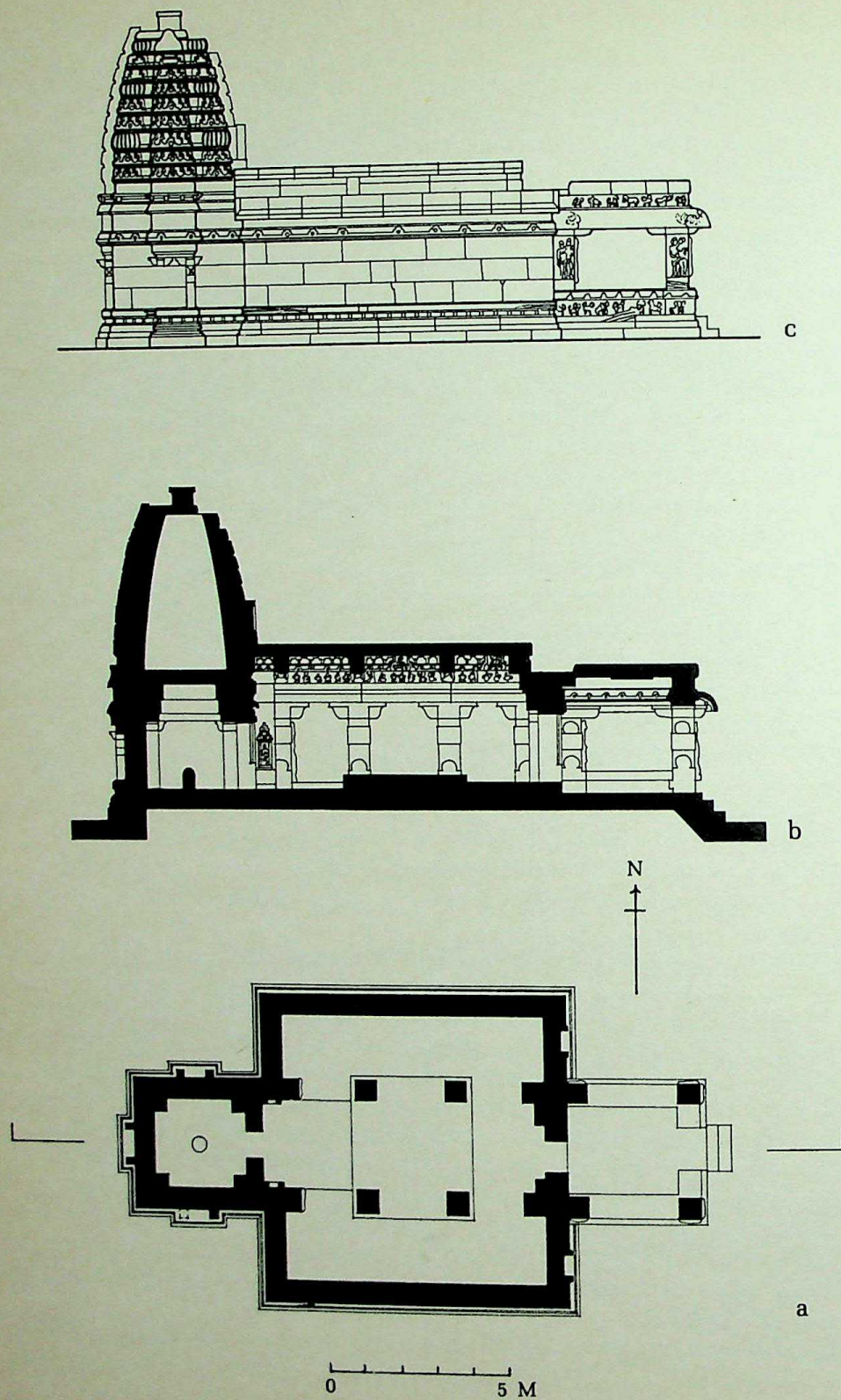


Fig. 123. Aihole. Huccapayya temple: a. plan; b. section; c. elevation. (Courtesy: Michell.)



*Aihole, Huccapayya temple (Fig. 123; Plates 628, 630-634)*

The Huccapayya temple stands near the Malaprabhā river south of Aihole. The temple is composed of a four-pillared porch, a triple-aisled gūḍhamaṇḍapa, and a nirandhāra sanctum (Fig. 123; Plate 631). The Aihole-style Nāgara śikhara has lost its crowning āmalaka. Two of the three bhadra niches retain images. On the east, empty niches with makara-tōraṇas frame the porch.

The base of the mukhamaṇḍapa has a frieze of lions and elephants; six mithunas appear on the porch pillars, dvārapālas and nidhis by the entrance. Both doorways are carved (Plate 630); dvārapālas (Plate 628), Gaṇēśa, and Durgā flank the sanctum entrance. The śukanāsa bears Naṭēśa. The gūḍhamaṇḍapa beams are carved with gaṇas, dikpālas, and other divinities (Plate 632). Three ceiling panels of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Umā-Mahēśvara from this temple are now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. A Naṭēśa panel survives in the porch ceiling (Plate 633).

An inscription on the southwest porch-pillar says in Kannada: "Hail! There has not been and there shall not be in Jambhudvīpa, any wise man proficient in the art of building houses and temples equal to Narsōbha." The inscription is in seventh/eighth-century script; Narsōbha was the temple's architect.

Gajāntaka Śiva occupies the north bhadra niche of the vimāna, and Narasimha the west niche. In the Aihole site-museum an image of Varāha in the style of these two images could once have filled the south niches.

The makara-tōraṇas on the east have bushy tails that drop low to the sides of the niche, a characteristic of Paṭṭadakal's eighth-century temples. Other features that relate to elements of the Paṭṭadakal Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna temples are the porch-plinth frieze, the original kakṣāsanas, the flying brackets under the porch kapōta, and the porch dvārapālas.

Gaṇēśa is carved to the right of the garbhagṛha entrance inside a niche framed with pilasters and topped with a śimhakarṇa design. This proto-vestibule subshrine is similar to that in the Tārappa temple and anticipates those at Paṭṭadakal where Gaṇēśa and Mahiṣāsura-mardini are given separate subshrines in a similar location.

The outer śākhā of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa doorway has a new flame-pattern, the next is plain, then stambhaśākhā, triangular zig-zag pattern, nāga, and plain (Plate 630). Pēdyā blocks are left uncarved. Garuḍa as lalāṭabimba has a furrowed brow, a bird beak, and holds up nāga tails. The lintel entablature bears udgamas and gandharva-mithunas. The garbhagṛha doorway is blocked out but was not carved except for the garuḍa and nāgas. The entablature has three storeys of shrines harbouring liṅgas and divine busts.

The maṇḍapa beams are carved with fine figures; above vyāla and gajavyāla brackets are lotus creepers, lotus-yielding-lotus design, and a frieze of gaṇa acrobats (Plate 632). Above is a miniature kapōta with śimhakarṇas (framing high-relief images of dikpālas on leaping vāhanas, with their consorts) and other gods such as Narasimha battling Hiranyakaśipu.

The madhyalātā of the śikhara on the west is crowned by a śimhakarṇa with an image of Varuṇa. Other crowning figures have been lost. Such placement of deities on the śikhara is a practice seemingly begun only in the third decade of the eighth century. The Huccapayya temple, which continues earlier Nāgara conventions at Aihole, while showing considerable sculptural interaction (even possibly sharing artists) with the Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna at Paṭṭadakal, may have been created during the reign of Vijayāditya around A.D. 730.



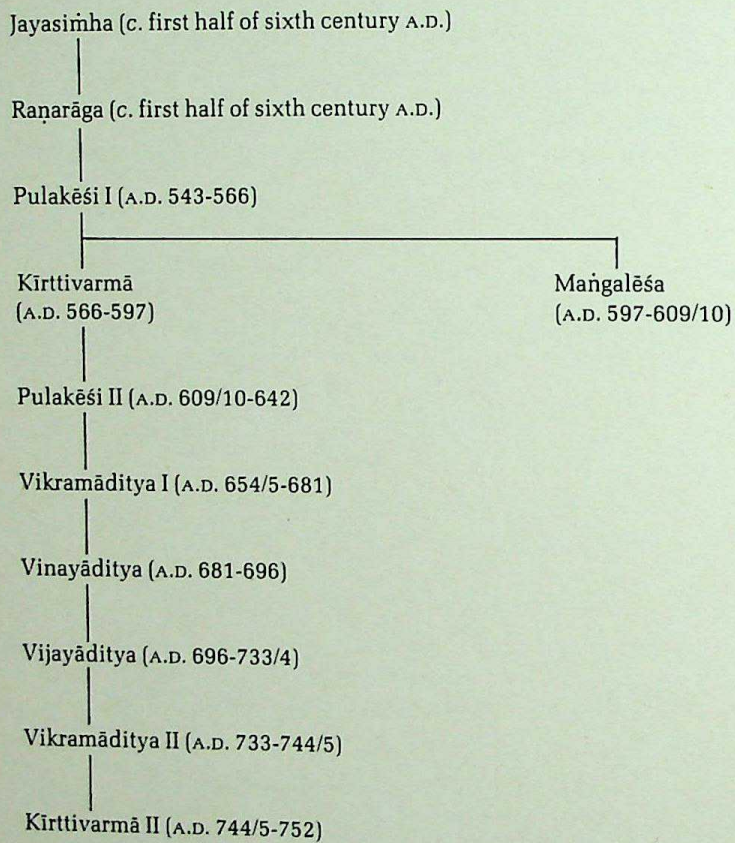
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## CHAPTER 21

II.E.1.b.

Varieties of North Indian style: Karṇāṭa style,  
Nāgara phase, c. A.D. 620-750

## Calukyas of Bādāmi: Āndhradēśa

### Historical Introduction

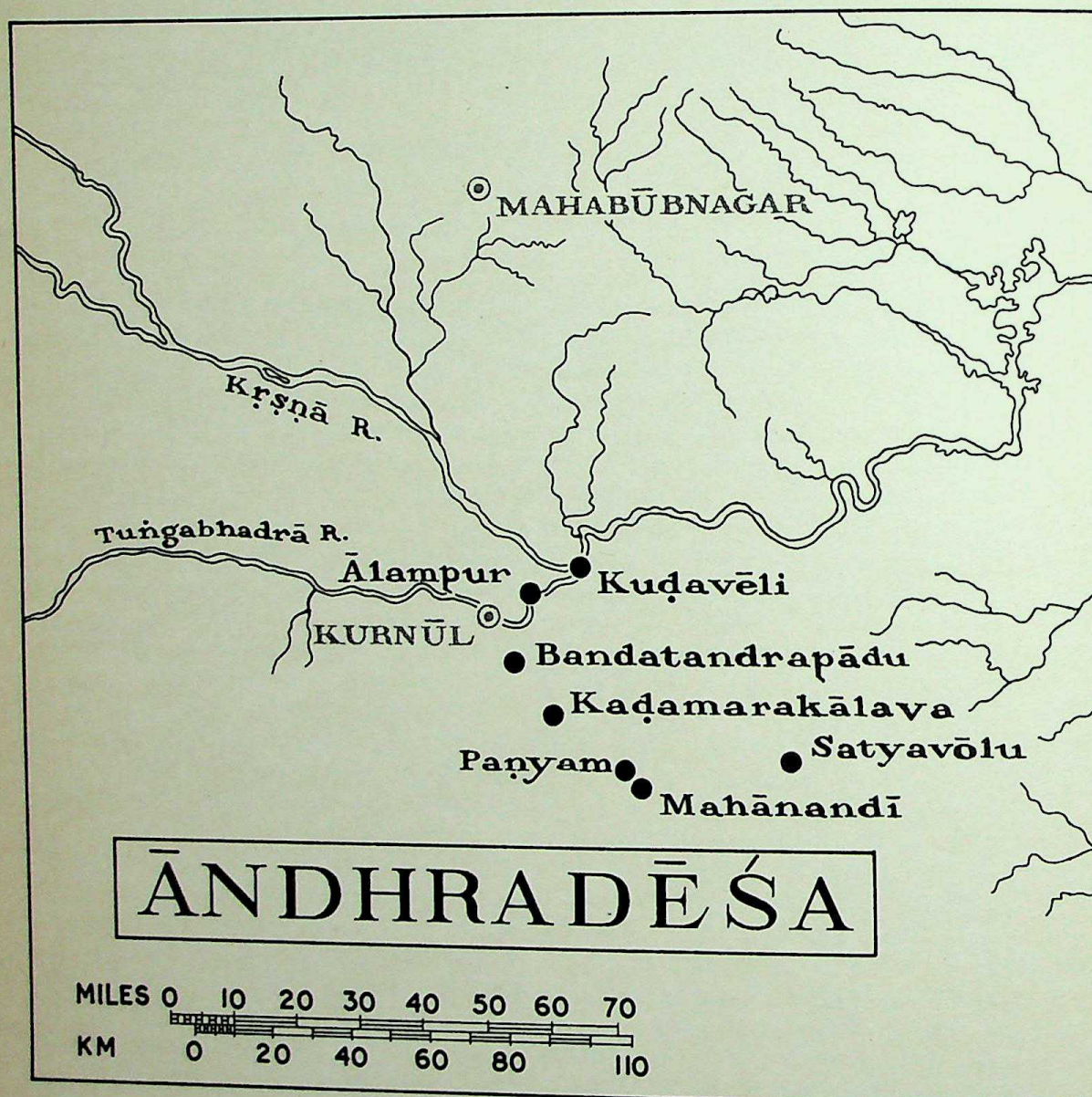
The rule of the Calukyas, with their capital at Bādāmi (ancient Vātāpi), which began in A.D. 543, forms an important landmark in the political and cultural history of Karṇāṭa and Āndhradēśa. Pulakēśi I, the founder of the Calukya dynasty, first fortified the hills at Bādāmi. Kīrttivarmā I, son of Pulakēśi I, ruled from A.D. 566; during his period the authority of the Calukyas was acknowledged by the Kadambas, Nalas, and Mauryas. The extension of Calukya power into the Bellary-Kurnool region after the vanquishing of the Nalas marks the beginning of Calukya influence in Āndhra. Maṅgalēśa, who succeeded Kīrttivarmā I (as a regent to the minor prince Pulakēśi II) scored decisive victories over the Kalacuris, which paved the way for the extension of Calukya influence to the north and west. The efforts of Maṅgalēśa to put his own son on the throne led to a civil war in which Pulakēśi emerged victorious.

Pulakēśi II began his eventful reign in c. A.D. 610. From the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi, it is known that he defeated the Kadambas of Vanavāsī, Ālupas of south Canara, western Gaṅgas, Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇa, Lāṭas, Mālavas, and Gurjaras. Harṣavardhana of Kanauj was defeated when he tried to invade the Deccan; his power and influence remained confined to north of the Narmadā. Pulakēśi then subdued south Kōśala and Kaliṅga; further south, the Durjayas and Viṣṇukunḍis were vanquished. Pulakēśi then invaded the Pallava dominions and put pressure on Mahēndravarmā I, resulting in an extension of Calukya authority to Nellore, Guntur, Cuddapah, Chittoor, and Anantapur Districts of present Andhra Pradesh.

A new branch of the dynasty was founded to rule the east coast by Pulakēśi II under his brother Viṣṇuvardhana in A.D. 624. This new dynasty in fact outlasted the parent line. Pulakēśi's copper-plate grants in western Āndhra (especially the Tummayemuru grant) refer to the Calukya viṣaya and to the Lord Saṅgamēśvara at the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadra. Pulakēśi became again immersed in wars with the Pallavas, and on the testimony of the Kuram plates the Pallava Narasiṃhavarmā scored victories over Pulakēśi at Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala, and Śūrmāra. The forces of Pulakēśi were pursued, and Pallava Narasiṃhavarmā left an inscription dated A.D. 642 behind the Mallikārjuna temple at Bādāmi that proclaims Pallava sway.

The death of Pulakēśi II occurred around the same time, followed by anarchy and the loss of southern Calukya territories, especially in the Cuddapah, Chittoor, and Kurnool regions. This interregnum in Calukya rule ended in A.D. 654/5 when Vikramāditya, son of Pulakēśi II, succeeded, with the help of Gaṅga Durvinita (his maternal grandfather), to drive the Pallavas from the Bādāmi region and ascended the throne.





Āndhradēśa: Calukyas, Karnāṭa-Nāgara sites.



In the early years of Vikramāditya's reign, he again established Calukya authority over Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur, and Nellore regions. His inscriptions from Amudalapadu, Talamanchi, and Turimella attest to his control of this region. Vikramāditya also came into conflict with Pallava Mahēndravarmā II, resulting in the latter's death, and inflicted a defeat on Pallava Paramēśvaravarmā, proceeding as far south into Pallava territory as Uṛaiyūr, where the Pallavas were finally able to defeat the Calukya forces. A separate branch of the Calukyas was set up in Gujarat, with its capital at Navasārī (Nāgasārikā), in this period.

Vinayāditya, who succeeded Vikramāditya in A.D. 681, had a peaceful and prosperous reign. Dynastic inscriptions refer to his expedition to the north during which the Calukyas vanquished "Vajraṭa," whose identity is not clear. Inscriptions at Ālampur and other places in Andhra record the religious endowments of Vinayāditya.

Vijayāditya, the son and successor of Vinayāditya, ascended the throne in A.D. 696. He associated his son, Vikramāditya II, in the administration of his empire throughout his long rule. Paṭṭadakal in his reign received greater patronage than did Bādāmi and the Vijayēśvara temple was erected there by Vijayāditya. An inscription at Ālampur dated A.D. 718 records his stay.

Under the yuvarāja, Vikramāditya, the Calukyas invaded Kāñcī in A.D. 731, and levied tribute. Vikramāditya II succeeded his father in A.D. 733. He contained an Arab invasion on the north. In A.D. 741/2, his son Kīrttivarmā II invaded the Pallava kingdom; his inscription in the Rājasimhēśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram proclaims his hold over the city and mentions gifts of gold to the temple. From a Calukya inscription at Paṭṭadakal, it seems that Kīrttivarmā may have conquered Kāñcī thrice.

Kīrttivarmā II, the final Calukya king, ascended the throne in A.D. 744. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga already held the Ēllōrā region in A.D. 742 and slowly undermined Kīrttivarmā's authority over all the northern provinces. Around A.D. 752, Dantidurga conquered Bādāmi and proclaimed himself sovereign ruler. Kīrttivarmā continued to rule for a few years, from his own territory, but Calukya rule had ended by c. A.D. 756.

Temple-building in the Calukya period was due both to the systematic organization of religious sects in this period and to a general theistic attitude of the community. The temple became the nucleus of socio-religious and cultural activities in which both royalty and merchants played an important role.

Inscriptions record Vikramāditya I's and Vinayāditya's patronage of the construction of the Arka-Brahmā and Svarga-Brahmā temples at Ālampur. The support of the royalty for Pāśupata Śaivism in Āndhra is evidenced also from the Amudalapadu plates, which refer to Sudarśanācārya as the initiator of Calukya Vikramāditya I into the Pāśupata sect through the ceremony of Śivamaṇḍaladīkṣā. The Pāśupata order was firmly established through the construction of the temples at Ālampur; its growing popularity is attested to by the fact that Vinayāditya's queen founded the Svarga-Brahmā temple. Vinayāditya's successor, Vijayāditya acted as patron for the construction of a prakāra around the Ālampur group of temples in A.D. 713. The prominence of the Pāśupatas is further indicated by an inscription from Bhairavakōṇḍā in Kurnool District, by names of Pāśupatācāryas inscribed on temple walls at Ālampur and Mahānandī, and by the depiction of Lakulīśa for the first time in South India on the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Kūḍavēli. The inscriptions of the Rēnāṇḍu Cōḷas, a feudatory of the Calukyas ruling in Kurnool, Cuddapah, and Prakasam Districts, refer to Śiva as Lakuṭapāṇi. The worship of Śaṅmata deities was in vogue in this area and the iconographic scheme of temples and of the parivāra shrines show Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Kaumāra, Saura, and Gāṇapatya images.



## Architectural Features

Temples during the Calukya period in Āndhradēśa were constructed exclusively of sandstone, readily available at Paṇyam and Satanikōṭa in Kurnool District and at Satyavōlu in Prakasam District. The label inscriptions on the boulders at Satanikōṭa and the remnants of architectural members scattered there testify to the fact that it was a quarrying site during Calukya times. In the pre-Calukya period, shale and brick had been used for construction of temples, as shown by remains excavated recently at Vellala and Siddhēśvaram of temples from the Sātavāhana and post-Sātavāhana times.

Temple sites generally are located on trade routes or at administrative and pilgrim centres. Ālampur was an administrative centre and Paṇyam and Satyavōlu were both located on trade-routes. Paṇyam is associated with a large irrigation tank; Ālampur assumes greater significance by its location in the northern meander of the Tuṅgabhadra river. Kūḍavēli is situated on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadra. The temple at Mahānandī is associated with a natural spring. The temple at Kaḍamarakālava is associated with a large irrigation tank.

A temple complex generally consists of the principal shrine and one or two subsidiary shrines, a Nandī-maṇḍapa, balipīṭha, and dhvajastambha. Such a layout is encountered in temples at Ālampur and Kūḍavēli. A prākāra with pratōli is known from Ālampur and an exquisitely curved prākāra also was recently brought to light at Kūḍavēli. The temples at Kaḍamarakālava and Satyavōlu each have six subsidiary shrines. At Ālampur, a group of eight major temples was raised.

The temples at Ālampur possess a high jagatī, as the recent clearance operation has revealed, but at other sites it is difficult to ascertain the presence of jagatī.

The temples used for analysing architectural and stylistic aspects in Āndhradēśa have been dated by reference to a limited number of inscriptions. The Arka-Brahmā at Ālampur has an undated inscription of Vikramāditya I. The Svarga-Brahmā has an undated inscription of Vinayāditya which mentions the temple's construction in honour of his queen, Lōkamahādēvī. The Śivanandīśvara temple at Kaḍamarakālava has a label inscription that reads "Satyāśraya bhaṭāraka Kōnraṇcha krasumānantu" in seventh-century characters. An inscription at Ālampur records the construction of a prākāra around the temples in A.D. 713. Temples at Satyavōlu have several label inscriptions ranging from the eighth to tenth centuries A.D. Of these, the inscriptions referring to "ālampu-śīla of Santanantara-vyāli," a subordinate of "Śri Vijayāditya-dugarāja" and "Sri Utpati piḍugu" are important. On the basis of stylistic and epigraphical evidence, the temples in Āndhradēśa can be divided into two phases, an early phase (A.D. 655-681) and a late phase (A.D. 681-750).

Āndhra temples show a preference for a sāndhāra plan in contrast to examples at Aihole where nirandhāra plans were used for Nāgara temples. Temples at Satyavōlu are an exception to this norm in Āndhra. Temples in the early phase consist of gūḍha-maṇḍapa, antarāla, and garbhagṛha; the antarāla and garbhagṛha set as a unit into a rectangular hall, thus forming a maṇḍapa and pradakṣiṇāpatha. Mukhacatuṣkīs are found only on the Kumāra-Brahmā in the early phase and as part of the Svarga-Brahmā and Garuḍa-Brahmā in the next phase. Bhadragavākṣas are invariably placed on the exterior axes of the mūlaprāsāda in the later phase, an arrangement first seen on the Svarga-Brahmā. An increase in the number of aisles in the pillared maṇḍapa, and the introduction of re-entrant angles on the exterior of the garbhagṛha and prāsāda, are other noteworthy features of the later Ālampur temples such as the Garuḍa-Brahmā, Viśva-Brahmā, and Padma-Brahmā; these also are of a larger scale than earlier temples. Temples at Paṇyam, Mahānandī, and Satyavōlu also introduce bhadragavākṣas.



The adhiṣṭhānas of the Kumāra-Brahmā at Ālampur and the Śivanandīśvara at Kaḍamarakālava consist of khura, kumbha, tripāṭṭa kumuda, antarapāṭṭa, and kapōtā-pālī. The growing influence of Madhyadēśa at Ālampur is evident on the Vīra-Brahmā and Bāla-Brahmā, which discard tripāṭṭa kumuda in favour of kalaśa (a northern vēdī-bandha convention). The use of tulāpīṭha is noticed for the first time on the Bāla-Brahmā. The use of kalaśa moulding is widespread in North India from at least the fifth century; tulāpīṭha, while encountered in an early form on the Pārvaṭī temple at Nacnā and on a number of seventh- and eighth-century temples in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, was not popular in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, eastern India, or Karṇāṭa. In Karṇāṭa, vēdībandha mouldings often include a broad kandhara recess.

In the later phase, tulāpīṭha becomes a regular feature at Ālampur and Mahānandī; the persistence of tripāṭṭa kumuda can be noticed at Paṇyam and of kalaśa at Satyavōlu. The only instance in Āndhra of the broad kandhara common at Aihole is found on the Bhīmalingēśvara, a temple of a later date at Satyavōlu. Later temples adorn the tulāpīṭha with narratives of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and with kīrttimukha, makara, vyāla, musicians, dancers, and floral and vegetal patterns. Such carvings on the Viśva-Brahmā and Garuḍa-Brahmā are superb in quality and excel in workmanship those that are found on Nāgara-style temples at Aihole, Mahākūṭa, and Paṭṭadakal.

The kaṭi of temples in the early phase exhibits a gradual evolution, and both form and decoration follow Nāgara as well as Drāviḍa traditions. The earliest temple, the Kumāra-Brahmā, uses a simple pilastered wall with vātāyana and bhadraṅgālōkana that, from the time of Pulakēśi II, had been a standard format at Aihole (Sūryanārāyaṇa, Cikkiguḍi, etc.). Beginning with the Arka-Brahmā, architects at Ālampur introduced khattakas, usually three besides the bhadraṅgālōkana and vātāyana (as seen on the Arka-Brahmā, Vīra-Brahmā, and Bāla-Brahmā at Ālampur, and the Śivanandīśvara at Kaḍamarakālava). The Saṅgamēśvara temple at Kūḍavēli dispenses with bhadraṅgālōkana, incorporates vātāyanas in the khattakas, and increases the number of khattakas to nine. Khattakas are invariably projected, composed at Ālampur of a vēdī above the socle, ghaṭapallava pilasters, and a kapōta lintel crowned by a śūrasēna or śimhakarṇa (Arka-Brahmā, Bāla-Brahmā). On the Vīra-Brahmā, an elaborate udgama is displayed. At Kūḍavēli, niche-pediments employ Dravidian motifs such as makara-, citra-, and puṣpa-tōraṇas. Another significant feature of temples of the early phase is the carving of ghaṇṭamālā with flanking vidyādhara at the top of the kaṭi. This is first introduced on the Arka-Brahmā. The Śivanandīśvara temple at Kaḍamarakālava and the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Kūḍavēli use bhūtamālā and haṁsamālā. In contrast, on temples at Aihole and Mahākūṭa, neither khattakas nor ghaṇṭamālā appears. In this regard, temples in Āndhradēśa present a new design and set a new trend. The influence of the Madhyadēśa tradition is clearly evident, as in the use of ghaṭapallava pillars, tulāpīṭha, ghaṇṭamālā, and other decorative motifs.

The architects at Ālampur perfected this wall-design on the Svarga-Brahmā. The bhadragavākṣas introduced on the exterior walls become a standard feature in the later phase. The kaṭi is further adorned by udgamas on top of the vātāyanas and by mithunas, śālabhañjikās, and ghaṇṭamālā. The Svarga-Brahmā is the most ornate and evolved temple at Ālampur and was followed as a model by larger and later temples (Garuḍa-Brahmā and Padma-Brahmā) in its conscious effort to create an ordered three-dimensional projection of its architectural and sculptural elements.

Other centres than Ālampur in Āndhradēśa reveal an archaism reflecting a provincial idiom; they only selectively adopt features developed at Ālampur. The Śiva temple at Paṇyam accepts bhadragavākṣa and ghaṇṭamālā. The Rāmalingēśvara temple



at Satyavōlu uses bhadrāgavākṣa without ghaṇṭāmālā. The Mahānandīśvara temple at Mahānandī has an open pillared exterior. These temples are distinguished by the squarish form of their niches and the absence of crowning udgamas.

At Ālampur, the Garuḍa-Brahmā shows an exquisite jāli occupying the entire wall-space behind the bhadrāgavākṣa; the Viśva-Brahmā introduces kuḍyastambhas decorated with vyāla and śālabhañjikā in the recesses and figures in the upper register; the Padma-Brahmā displays an elaborate udgama on the walls of the garbhagṛha, extending from the base to the top of the kaṭi. The influence of this Ālampur-developed wall-design is clear on the Galaganātha temple at Paṭṭadakal.

The cornice moulding on the Kumāra-Brahmā — the earliest Nāgara temple in Āndhradēśa — takes the form of a Drāviḍa kapōta; on later temples, it takes the form of a kapōtapālī of Nāgara type.

The roof of the temple's hall shows horizontal slabs over the central nave and sloping slabs over the peripheral aisles. Dravidian influence is seen in temples at Satyavōlu where vyālavarī is found above the kapōta cornice at the top of the kaṭi (as found also on the Jambuliṅga temple at Paṭṭadakal).

The three-storeyed śikhara of the Kumāra-Brahmā is dvi-aṅga, exhibiting bālapañjara in the recess between vēṇukōśa and madhyalatā. Boldly carved candraśālās cross kapōtapālīs for each khaṇḍa but remain unintegrated. The salilāntara recess is decorated with bālapañjara. Undifferentiated skandha and pidhānaphalaka and the lack of a śukanāsa are other distinctive features. An āmalaka above a gala crowns the śikhara.

The Saṅgamēśvara temple at Kūḍavēli and the Śivanandīśvara temple at Kaḍamarakālava, both of Vikramāditya's reign, have śikharas that have no śukanāsa. Both are four-storeyed with some reconstruction in the upper part. These śikharas show a peculiar feature in that some khaṇḍas introduce vēdikā beneath the karṇāmalakas. The Arka-Brahmā śikhara is not extant and the Vīra-Brahmā śikhara is an addition of the eighth century.

The four-storeyed śikhara of the Bāla-Brahmā temple has a small śukanāsa and shows madhyalatās reaching beyond the skandha and pidhānaphalaka. Among temples at Aihole, only the Tārappagudi has clearly differentiated skandha and pidhānaphalaka; Mahākūṭa temples have undifferentiated skandha and pidhānaphalaka.

The four-storeyed śikhara of the Svarga-Brahmā temple has a śukanāsa almost coterminus with the third bhūmi, with an inset figure of Śiva-Naṭarāja. The madhyalatā has deeply cut layers harbouring small central candraśālās framed by what looks like an open type of simhakarṇa. A rare feature on this temple is the ākāśaliṅga finial above the crowning āmalasāraka.

The Garuḍa-Brahmā, Viśva-Brahmā, and Vīra-Brahmā temples at Ālampur, the Śiva temple at Paṇyam, and the Rāmaliṅgēśvara and Bhīmalīṅgēśvara at Satyavōlu are further examples of the developed Ālampur idiom. The Mahānandīśvara temple at Mahānandī, though belonging to Vinayāditya's period, remains conservative in the use of the madhyalatā design prevalent in the preceding decades.

Mukhacatuṣkī is not a consistent feature in the temples of Āndhradēśa. In the Kumāra-Brahmā, Svarga-Brahmā, and Garuḍa-Brahmā, the mukhacatuṣkī is a simple pillared porch without kakṣāsana. The Kumāra-Brahmā, however, uses four pillars while the Svarga-Brahmā uses six (four across).

No temple at Ālampur uses large mithunas on porch pillars as at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal. Pillars are embellished with reliefs of mithunas, gandharvas, vidyādhara, and kīrttimukhas on both mālāsthāna and pōtikās.



Temples at Ālampur, as at Kūḍavēli, have large, airy, high-ceilinged gūḍhamāṇḍapas. The temples at Kaḍamarakālava, Paṇyam, and Satyavōlu, on the other hand, have smaller gūḍhamāṇḍapas with low ceilings, which produce a cramped feeling.

Gūḍhamāṇḍapa, antarāla, and garbhagrha doorways generally are embellished with delicately carved floral, figural, and geometric motifs. The representation of human heads on the lintel of the gūḍhamāṇḍapa door in the Kumāra-Brahmā at Ālampur recalls a Madhyadēśa convention; the garbhagrha doorway of the Kumāra-Brahmā is carved with patralatā, ratnapaṭṭa, stambhaśākhā, and patralatā. Figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā as well as pratihāras at the base and of a garuḍa as lalāṭabimbā are common. The carving of the patralatā and of the pratihāra figures is reminiscent of Vākāṭaka tradition, as found also in the Gauḍarguḍi and Sūryanārāyaṇa temple at Aihoḷe. The overdoor is carved with udgamas/śūrasēnas (here with crowning āmalakas) as in the Sūryanārāyaṇa temple at Aihoḷe, but here of a less developed form. (Most Nāgara temples at Aihoḷe have either a plain overdoor or display śālā and kūṭa elements in contradistinction to temples in Āndhradēśa, which prefer udgama or śūrasēna forms.)

The influence of the Madhyadēśa tradition is also evident on the doorway of the Arka-Brahmā temple, which is a "T"-shaped doorway decorated with patralatā, date-palm motif (standing for nāgaśākhā), patralatā, stambhaśākhā, and palmette design; Gaṅgā and Yamunā appear at the base and Garuḍa as lalāṭabimbā. The stambhaśākhā is of ghaṭapallava type. Life-size dvārapāla figures flank the door. The "T"-shaped doorway became a characteristic feature of temples of Vikramāditya's period at all sites. Gaṇas and mithunas on the rūpaśākhā are a variation seen on the garbhagrha door of the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Kūḍavēli, which also introduces Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi in slit niches on either side of the gūḍhamāṇḍapa doorway. The Kūḍavēli temple represents a variant tradition, and its garbhagrha overdoor shows a Dravidian hāra of śālā, kūṭas, and pañjaras.

Pañcaśākhā "T"-shaped doorways are standard during the late phase. The Śiva temple at Paṇyam introduces a new motif of foliate curls set in a rectilinear meander on the doorway of its garbhagrha. This is an uncommon feature in Calukya temples, although it is fairly common in Madhyadēśa and in caves at Ajaṇṭā. The Rāmalingēśvara temple at Satyavōlu features a triśākhā doorway with horned pratihāras; the Bhīmalīṅgēśvara exhibits local motifs, such as four-petalled flower and ardhapadma in boxes on the jambs.

The main pillar-type in temples of the early phase in Āndhradēśa is Rucaka. The pillars of the Kumāra-Brahmā are similar to those of the Huccimalliguḍi and other early temples at Aihoḷe and the exquisite carving on the upper part of the shafts seems profoundly influenced by the Vākāṭaka tradition. The large variety of motifs represented on the pillars includes makara, mithuna, gaja, śārdula, gaṇas, Gaṇēśa, fantastic animals inset in foliage, kīrttimukhas, and vyālas. Brackets are taraṅga, citra, and tālapatra (the last less frequent). The tālapatra type, a feature of Madhyadēśa tradition, is seen at Aihoḷe only in the Cikkiguḍi but becomes common on all Ālampur temples following the Arka-Brahmā. One noticeable departure, however, is the absence of a variety of motifs on the shafts in these temples.

A Rucaka pillar with bhadra projections, surmounted by taraṅga bracket, is seen in the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Kūḍavēli. The ghaṭapallava pillar-type appears first in the stambhaśākhā of the Arka-Brahmā doorway, but was favoured as the main pillar-type only during Vinayāditya's reign. This pillar-type is uncommon in the temples at Aihoḷe and Mahākūṭa (the only instance being the Cikkiguḍi at Aihoḷe). The ghaṭa-



pallava pillar is seen on the bhadragavākṣa of the Rāmalingēśvara temple at Satyavōlu. Variations in the standard ghaṭapallava type are found in the Garuḍa-Brahmā at Ālampur where pillars sometimes lack the cubical portion and others introduce mithuna or śālabhañjikā figures on the upper portion, recalling a similar usage on the Durga temple and Kontguḍi at Aihole. A new pillar-type was introduced in the Viśva-Brahmā at Ālampur, showing seated lions at the base and an āmalaka at the top of the shaft.

The flat vitānas of the nave at Ālampur usually carry lotus and nāgarāja panels. The Bāla-Brahmā shows padmaśilā in the centre with delicately carved floral and vegetal motifs covering the rest of the vitāna (a feature recalling the Mīna-basti and Rāvaḷaphaḍi at Aihole, which in turn are reminiscent of Ajaṇṭā ceilings).

Liṅgapīṭha in the garbhagrha is square and fairly high. In the Bāla-Brahmā at Ālampur, the Saṅgamēśvara at Kūḍavēli, and the Mahānandīśvara at Mahānandī, however, the liṅga has no pīṭha.

To summarize, early Calukya temples of the Nāgara style in Āndhradēśa are concentrated at Ālampur, with some scattered at the sites of Paṇyam, Mahānandī, Kaḍamarakālava, and Satyavōlu. The temples at Ālampur belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya adopt a Latina-Nāgara śikhara to the local hall style of structure and exhibit skill in evolving a wall-design that incorporates a number of architectural motifs typical of Madhyadēśa. These include ghaṭapallava pillars, ghaṇṭāmālā, "T"-shaped doorframes with ornate śākhās, and figures of the river-goddesses. These motifs suggest a guild quite different from the one that worked on Aihole temples of the Nāgara style. Variant idioms seen in the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Kūḍavēli and the Śivanandīśvara temple at Kaḍamarakālava, however, indicate the influence of local guilds deeply rooted in the Drāviḍa tradition.

In the second phase, temples at Ālampur set a new trend, introducing bhadragavākṣas on the exterior of the mūlaprāsāda, tulāpīṭha on the vēḍibandha, a range of sculptures on the lower portion of the wall, large udgama-pediments over the khat-takas, and a somewhat more integrated pattern of candraśālās on the madhyalatā of the śikhara. These are features shared by temples at Paṇyam, Mahānandī, and Satyavōlu, though these temples also exhibit regional peculiarities.

Ālampur, Kumāra-Brahmā (Figs. 124, 128a; Plates 635, 637-638, 640-642)

Oriented to the east and raised over a jagatī, this temple measures c. 64 × 50 ft. externally and consists of a mukhacatuṣkī, gūḍhamaṇḍapa, and garbhagrha within an ambulatory passage. The vēḍibandha consists of khura, kumbha, tripaṭṭa kumuda, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī.

The kaṭi is characterised by simple masonry, with inconspicuous pilasters at regular intervals, a bhadrāvalōkana, and a vātāyana. Each bhadrāvalōkana is divided into three sections by pilasters and shows latticed windows decorated with lotuses to either side. The pillars and pilasters are Rucaka; the mālāsthāna is decorated with bands of muktāgrāsa and vallī. The taraṅga-pōtikās are embellished with delicate tendrils and ihāmṛgas in luxuriant foliate curls. The lintel is decorated with padma-latā. The vātāyanas are small and few preserve the trellis.

The top members of the wall, comprising utara, vājana, and kapōta, are of Drāviḍa vintage, though the tulāsaṅgraha of the vājana is Nāgara type.

The Latina śikhara is tribhūma and dvi-aṅga. The madhyalatā is composed of candraśālās which remain unintegrated. The karṇāṇḍakas of the vēṇukōśa mark each bhūmi. The salilāntaras display bālapanjara. The madhyalatā has an udgama at its apex. The skandha and pidhānapthalaka are not differentiated. A circular grīvā and



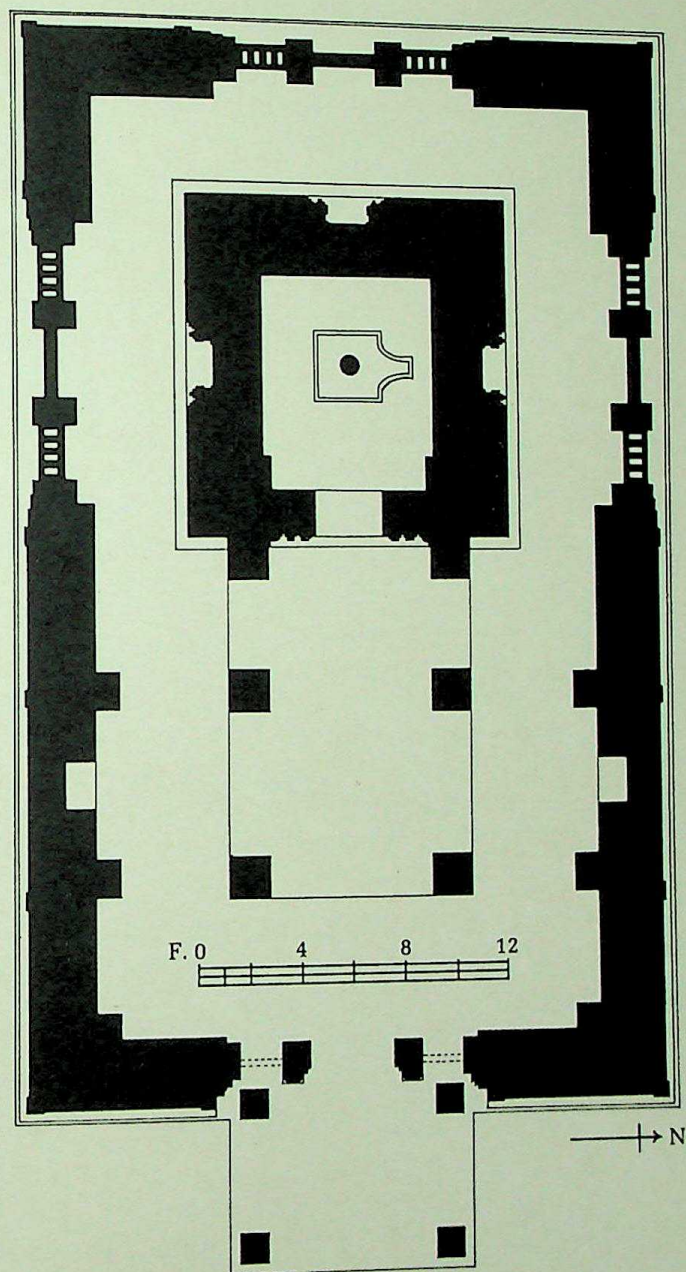


Fig. 124. Ālampur. Kumāra-Brahmā temple, plan.



āmalaka act as crowning elements. Śukanāsa is absent.

The mukhacatuṣkī has four Rucaka pillars which are devoid of base and are plain in the lower part and ornate in the upper, showing a mālāsthāna followed by an octagonal fluted section and a plain square block. The crowning bracket have a plain curved profile. The decorative carvings on the pillars include mithuna, makara and elephant in foliage, and muktāgrāsa. The ardhadarpaṇa above the mālāsthāna normally shows an ardhapadma with lotus shoots on the flanks. The top of the shaft exhibits a darpaṇa with the motifs of full-blown lotus, Śaṅkhanidhi, Gaṇeśa, mayūra, and vidyādhara. Some brackets are adorned with patralatā and vidyādhara. The vitāna is of the samatāla variety and carries a padmaśilā.

The gūḍhamāṇḍapa is entered through a doorway framed by a pair of ornate stambhaśākhās of the ghaṭapallava order. It has a plain lintel, surmounted by an architrave decorated with seven human heads (grahas?). The vātāyanas flanking the door lack trellises but the lintel above is treated with patralatā and ratnapaṭṭi.

The gūḍhamāṇḍapa has four pillars and is divided into nave and side aisles. The heavy pillars are Rucaka; motifs carved on the mālāsthāna include Gajalakṣmī, mayūra in foliage, gaṇas, vyāla, and Padmanidhi. The darpaṇa-medallion on the upper portion of the shafts is decorated with designs of birds including mayūra, padma, gaṇa, śārdula, and vidyādhara amidst foliage. The brackets are of Citra type and occasionally display tālapatra and taraṅga designs.

The nave has a high flat roof while the aisles have a lower sloping roof. The entablature consists of kandhara between a pair of kapōtas decorated with alpanāsis or candraśālās. The samatāla vitāna has padmaśilā in both of its divisions.

The square garbhagṛha has a simple vēdibandha with upāna, jagatī, and paṭṭikā mouldings and a kaṭi with empty slit-niches. The doorway consists of five śākhās embellished with patralatā, nāga, ratnapaṭṭa, stambha, and lotus-petals. Figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā and of pratihāras are carved at the base of the jambs. Garuḍa is represented as lalāṭabimba. The architrave of the doorway simulates the design of a Nāgara śikhara, showing a pair of kapōtas fronted by a śūrasēna in the middle flanked by bālapañjaras and karnāṇḍakas (represented by a pair of kapōtas addorsed by simha-karṇas and crowned by an āmalaka) at the two ends. A liṅgapīṭha stands in the centre of the garbhagṛha.

Ālampur, Arka-Brahmā (Figs. 125, 128b; Plates 636, 639, 643)

Raised over a jagatī, this temple measures c. 59 × 35 ft. and consists of a gūḍhamāṇḍapa and garbhagṛha with ambulatory. It has no mukhacatuṣkī. Inscribed on a pillar of the gūḍhamāṇḍapa is a grant made by Anivārita Vikramāditya, i.e. Vikramāditya I (A.D. 654-681). The temple is in a ruinous condition; the śikhara is lost, and the present garbhagṛha is a recent restoration, the roof of the nave is lost and the niches are badly mutilated.

The vēdibandha is composed of khura-kumbha only. The kaṭi is distinguished by khattakas, three each on the north and south walls and two on the east and west. The khattakas are completely mutilated except for the vēdī and udgama. The kaṭi is dominated by three bhadrāvalōkanas, each made of three sections showing trellises framed by pilasters. The Rucaka pilasters are carved with lotuses, elephants, and gaṇas. The upper register of the wall is embellished with ghaṇṭāmālā and is surmounted by a kapōtapālī.

The gūḍhamāṇḍapa doorframe has a "T"-shaped format and consists of five śākhās decorated with patralatā, nāga, patralatā, stambha, and palmette. The



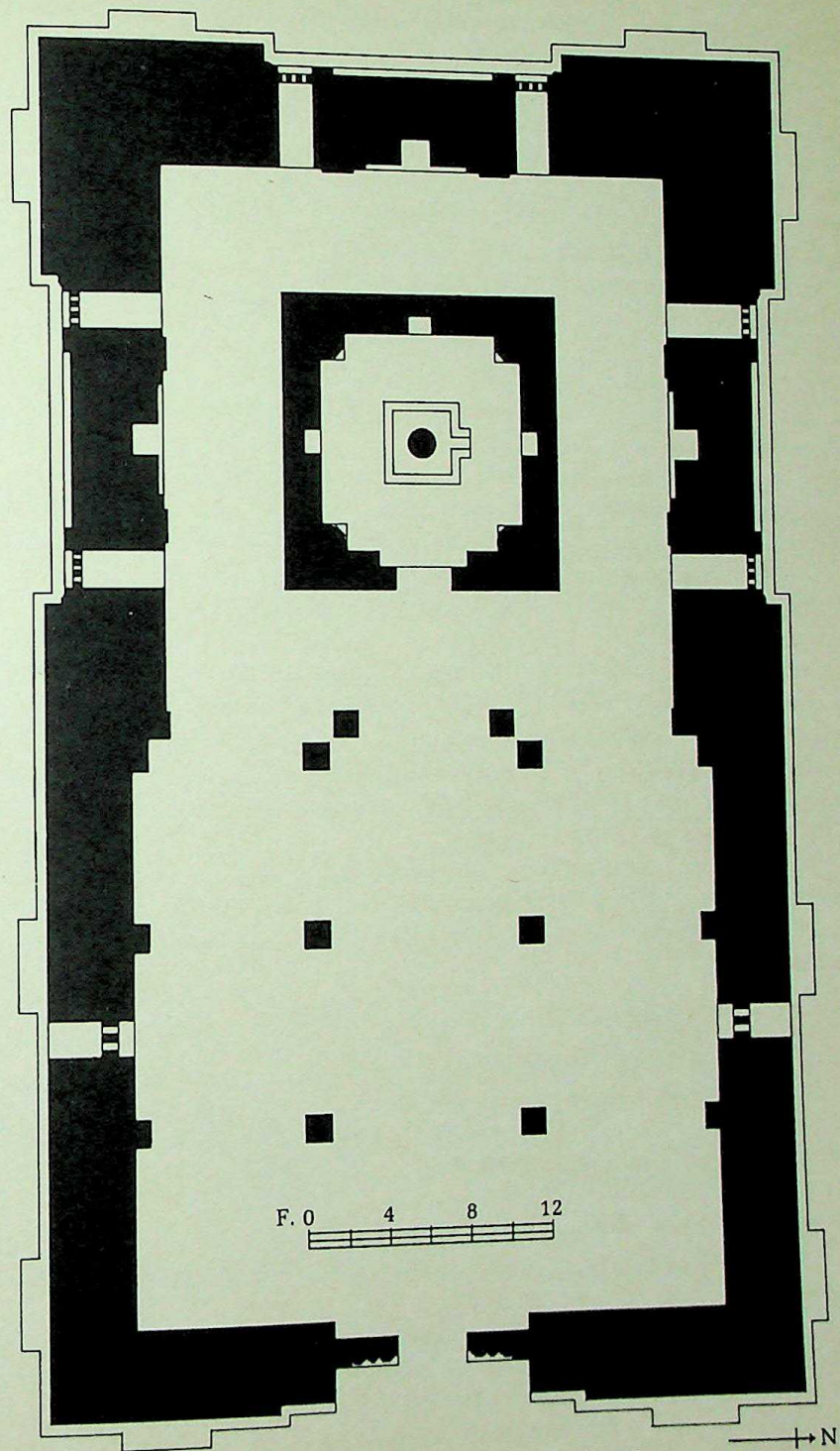


Fig. 125. Ālampur. Arka-Brahmā temple, plan.



stambhaśākhā shows ghaṭapallava at the base and top. Figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā stand at the base of the jambs; a mutilated garuḍa adorns the lalāṭa. The overdoor is flanked by mayūra figures carved in luxuriant foliate curls. The architrave represents an udgama in the middle, karṇāṇḍakas at the ends, and pañjaras between. Life-size figures of pratihāras are totally disfigured.

Inside the gūḍhamaṇḍapa, six Rucaka pillars are situated in two rows; they have little decorative carving. Motifs on the mālāsthāna include gandharva, haṁsa in foliage, and worshippers at a miniature shrine. The heavy cruciform brackets are decorated with tālapatra. The clerestory has kandhara showing framed niches bearing figures of gaṇas and dancers between two kapōtas.

The garbhagrha has four, inner, Rucaka pillars.

Ālampur, Vīra-Brahmā (Figs. 126, 128c; Plates 644-645, 647, 661)

This temple has almost the same plan as the Arka-Brahmā and even duplicates the latter's foundation inscription. Like the Arka-Brahmā, it has a simple vēḍibandha composed only of khura-kumbha.

Its east and west walls each have two elegant khattakas (Plate 645); the longer lateral walls each have three khattakas and a jālavātāyana. Each khattaka is surmounted by an elaborate udgama flanked by hovering vidyādhara. Bhadrāvalōkanas occur coaxially with the sanctum. The kaṭi terminates in ghaṇṭāmālā.

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa has two rows of four Rucaka pillars and corresponding plain heavy pilasters.

The sanctum has a "T"-shaped doorway of four śākhās adorned with patravallī, ratna, stambha, and patravallī (Plate 647). Gaṅgā and Yamunā are shown at the base and Śiva on the lalāṭa. The architrave shows a Śivaliṅga in a rathikā at the centre, crowned by an udgama, and phāṁsakūṭas surmounted by āmalakas at both ends. The garbhagrha has a bold vēḍibandha composed of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōtapālī (Plate 661).

The four-storeyed śikhara has a vēdikā separating the skandha from the pidhā-naphalaka and is more developed than that of the Kumāra-Brahmā. It approximates in form that of the Viśva-Brahmā and seems to have been added a century later during the eighth century.

Kaḍamarakālava, Śivanandīśvara temple (Figs. 127, 128d; Plates 648-651)

The Śivanandīśvara temple is fairly well preserved, with a large group of subsidiary shrines. The subsidiary shrines to its north, one to the southeast, a maṇḍapa in front of the main shrine, and 22 shrine-models are important as they show a variety of architectural forms. One of the miniature shrines bears the title of Vikramāditya in seventh-century characters.

The main temple, oriented to the east, is a sāndhāra prāsāda, measuring 28.5 × 15.5 ft. consisting of gūḍhamaṇḍapa, antarāla, and garbhagrha enclosed by pradakṣiṇāpatha.

The vēḍibandha consists of khura, kumbha, tripaṭṭa kumuda, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī. The kaṭi (Plate 649) has four khattakas and a pair of jālavātāyanas on north and south and two khattakas on east and west. The khattakas are rather squarish and have no udgamas. The pilasters used for the khattakas are Rucaka and Brahmakānta, the latter belonging to the Drāviḍa tradition. The jālavātāyanas have a kapōta-shaped lintel. The kaṭi is quite plain, surmounted by a kapōtapālī. The clerestory has a plain kandhara topped by a paṭṭikā.



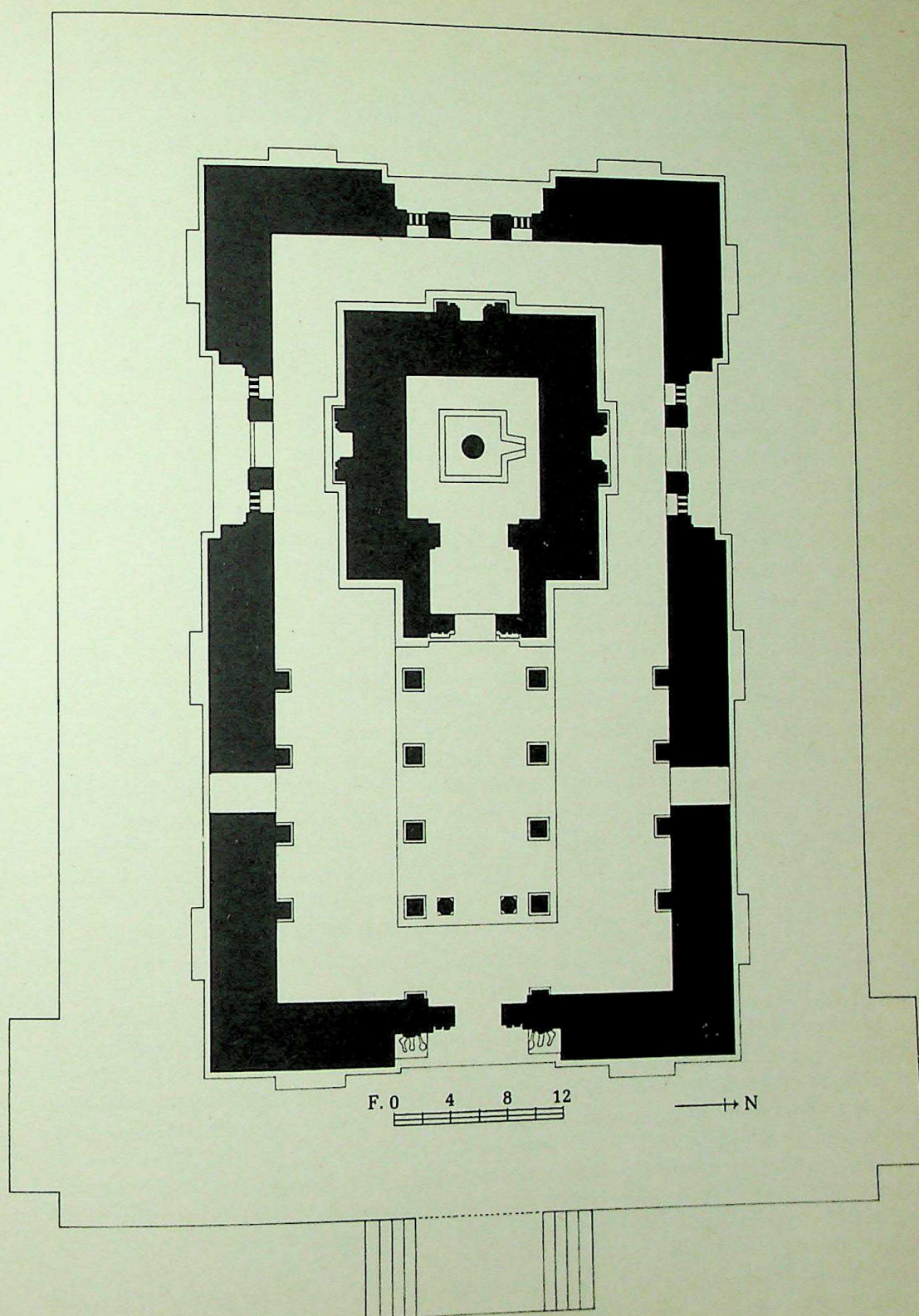


Fig. 126. Ālampur. Vīra-Brahmā temple, plan.



The sloping roof over the aisles and the raised flat roof over the nave are modern.

The śikhara is four-storeyed and dvi-aṅga (Plate 648). The first cornice of each khaṇḍa in the vēṇukōśa shows vēdikā while the remaining are carved with an udgama. The salilāntaras carry bālapañjara. The madhyalatā is decorated with broad candraśālās, which remain unintegrated. The śukanāsa reaches up to the first bhūmi and seems to be a later addition. A figure of Śiva-Naṭarāja is carved on the upper part of the madhyalatā. The skandha shows vēdikā decoration and is surmounted by pidhāna-phalaka. Āmalaka and kalaśa are the crowning members.

The doorway of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa consists of three śākhās and seems to be a later addition. Four pillars divide the gūḍhamaṇḍapa into a nave and side aisles. The pillars are Rucaka; decorative motifs carved on them include lotus-medallion, peacock, and Gaṇēśa. The mālāsthānas are carved with a dance scene and themes from the Rāmāyaṇa.

The plain entablature consists of a kandhara; the samatala vitāna panels show nāgarāja and padma.

The square garbhagṛha has a simple vēḍibandha and plain kaṭi. The doorway to the garbhagṛha has three śākhās decorated with ratnapaṭṭī, patralatā, and stambha. At the base of the jambs stand Gaṅgā and Yamunā; the lalāṭa is plain. The architrave carries a hāra of śālā, pañjaras, and kūṭas. The garbhagṛha has four, interior, Rucaka pillars one of which is carved with eight-armed Śiva and a mithuna. A square liṅgapīṭha sits at the centre.

Ālampur, Bāla-Brahmā (not illustrated)

Similar in plan and composition to the Vira-Brahmā, this temple has lost many details due to thick application of lime-wash. Its kaṭi agrees with that of the Vira-Brahmā but the udgamas crowning its khattakas are less ornate and lack flanking gandharvas. This is the earliest temple at Ālampur to introduce tulāpīṭha, which becomes a hall-mark of the developed local style. Its śikhara has the usual design but is somewhat more elongated and has a short śukanāsa. Dikpāla images appear on the corner niches of the outer walls, now within an additional covered ambulatory built over the jagatī.

The temple follows the Vira-Brahmā in date but is still assignable to the end of Vikramāditya I's reign. The distinctive rounded pillars now forming an outer ambulatory along the jagatī's edge are a later addition. A parikara wall was erected by Īśānācārya, a local Pāśupata pontiff, in A.D. 731 during the reign of Vinayāditya.

Kaḍamarakālava, subsidiary shrines (Plates 650-651)

A triratha Nāgara shrine is located to the southeast at the site (Plate 650). The vēḍibandha is partly buried; tripaṭṭa kumuda and kapōtapālī mouldings are visible. The kaṭi features a khattaka on each face. The pilasters are of Rucaka type and carry a kapōta-shaped lintel decorated with a large candraśālā. The doorway to the shrine has three śākhās embellished with patralatā and ratnapaṭṭī. The overdoor shows a hāra of śālā, kūṭas, and pañjaras. The tribhūma śikhara has a śukanāsa and crowning āmalaka.

There are five Phāmsanā shrines on the north, all square (Plate 651). The east shrine is of three storeys, though its upper portion is dilapidated; the projected fronton of the doorway has a śukanāsa. The shrine has a triśākha doorway and one khattaka on each side.

The next is a five-storeyed Phāmsanā crowned by āmalaka and kalaśa. Over its triśākha doorway is a śukanāsa which extends up to the third bhūmi. Khattakas are present on the side walls.



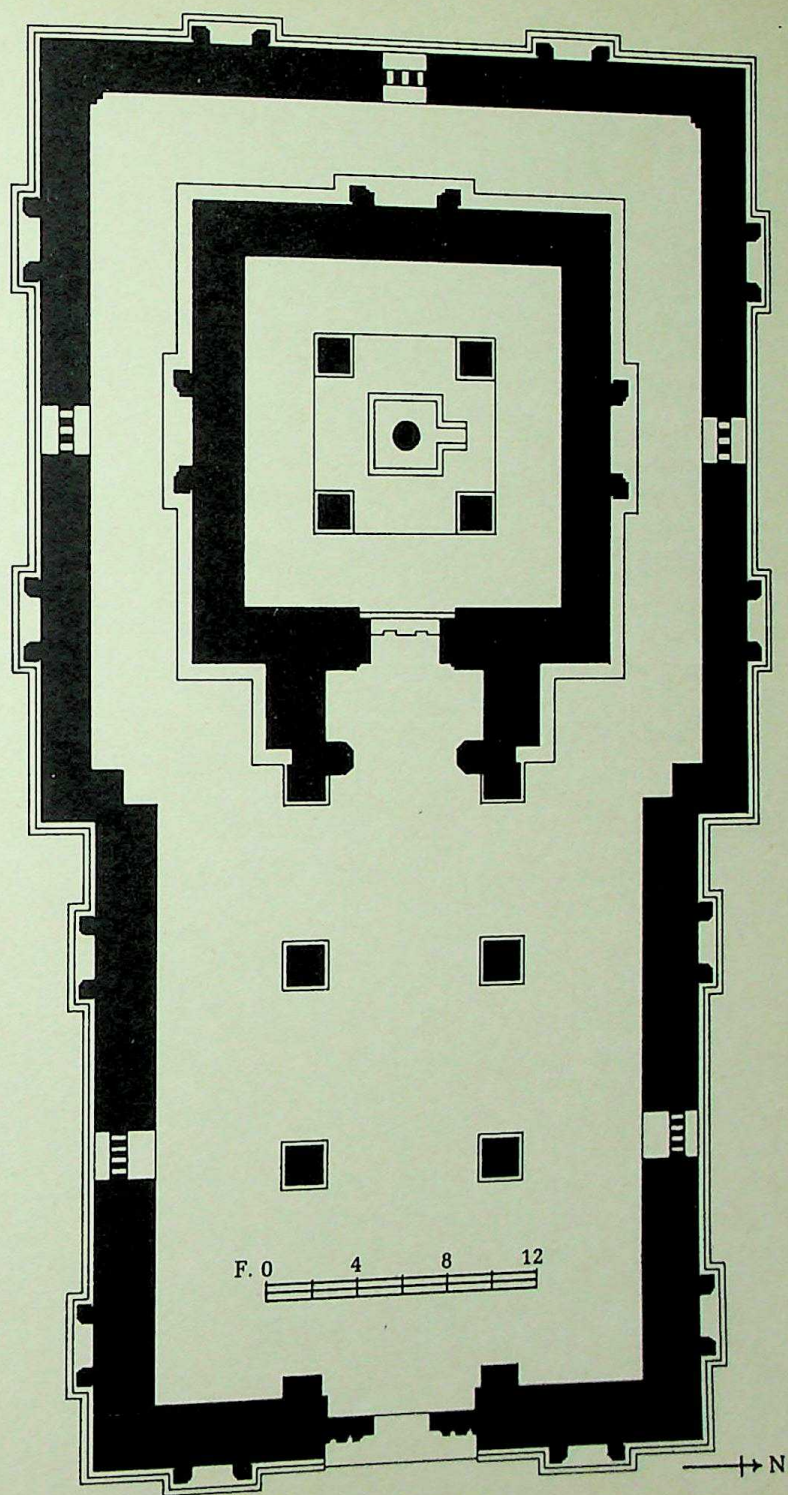


Fig. 127. Kaḍamarakālava. Śīvanandīśvara temple, plan.



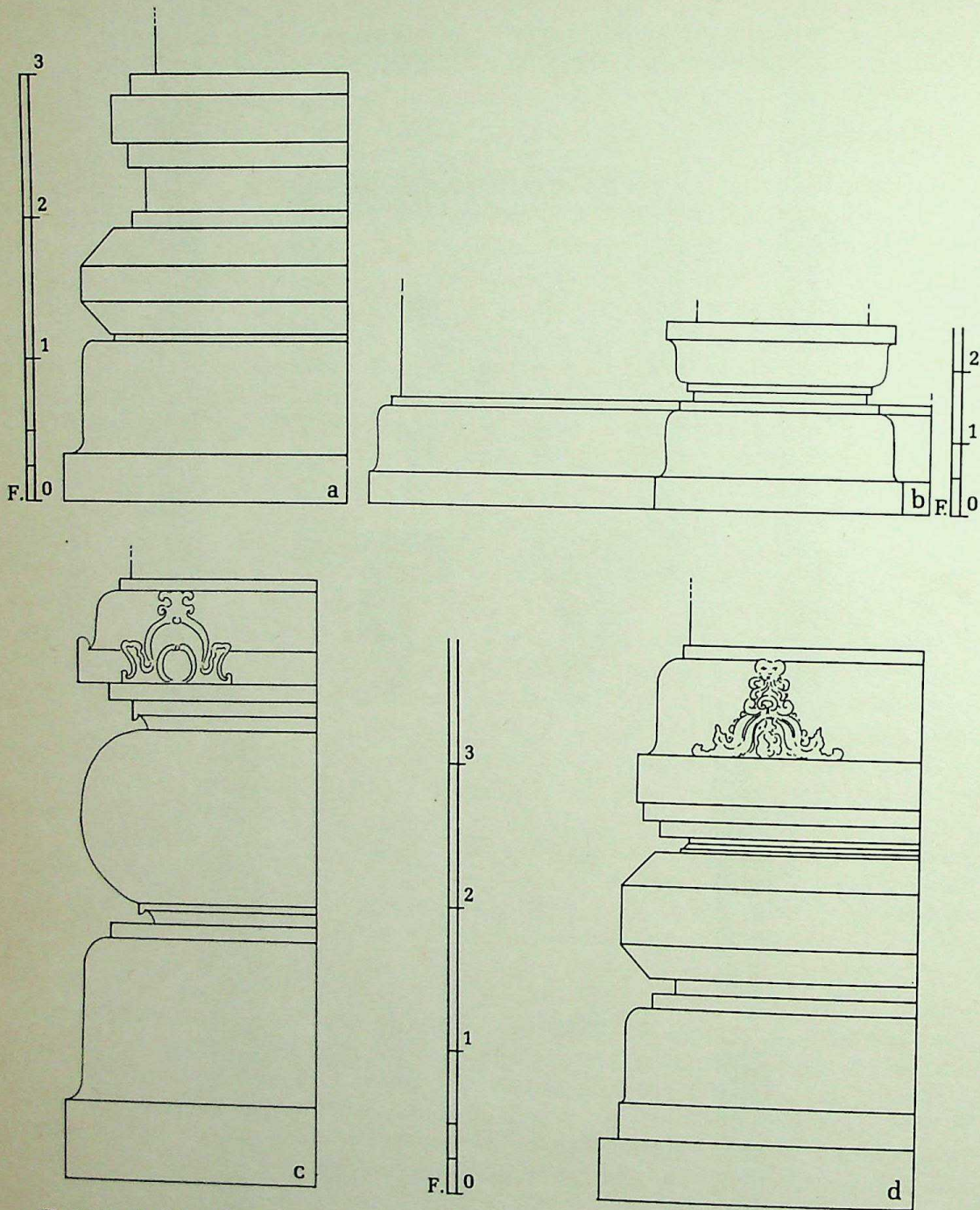


Fig. 128. Vēdibandhas:

a. Ālampur. Kumāra-Brahmā; b. Arka-Brahmā; c. Vīra-Brahmā; d. Kaḍamarakālava.  
Śivanandīśvara.



The third is four-storeyed; the fourth, five-storeyed. The fifth shrine has three storeys and is crowned by a double āmalaka and kalaśa. These shrines feature tripaṭṭa kumuda in the vēdibandha and khattakas on the walls. Their triśākha doorways are projected in front and show a śālā, kūṭas, and pañjaras on the overdoor. The Phāmsanā śikhara has straight-edged profile.

Another 22 models, with Kūṭa and Phāmsanā forms, also survive.

*Kūḍavēli, Saṅgamēśvara temple (Plates 652-657)*

The Saṅgamēśvara temple was situated near the Kūḍavēli village at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadra rivers. Recent excavations have revealed that the temple was surrounded by a highly ornate prakāra (Plate 652) and stands above remains of earlier brick structures. This temple has now been transplanted to Ālampur since Kūḍavēli will soon be submerged under the waters of the Śrīśailam hydro-electric project.

This sandstone temple faces east and measures c. 68 × 41 ft. It is a sāndhāra prāsāda comprising a gūḍhamaṇḍapa, antarāla, and garbhagrha with ambulatory.

The adhiṣṭhāna is composed of upāna, jagatī, and paṭṭikā. The kaṭi on the east has four khattakas distributed to either side of the doorway. On the south and north, the kaṭi features nine khattakas (Plate 653); the west wall has five khattakas. The absence of bhadraśālā is worth noting. Every alternate khattaka is used as a vātāyana incorporating either svastika (Plate 656), wheel, or chequer pattern. The khattakas are broad; the pilasters are either square or octagonal in section with a mālāsthāna followed by laṣuna, tāṭi, kumbha, and pōtikā. Niche-pediments are of Drāviḍa order, displaying a variety of tōraṇas: makara-tōraṇa (Plate 657), haṁsa-tōraṇa, śālā-, and citra-tōraṇa showing kinnaras holding lotus stalks. Bhūtamālā is carved under the upper kapōta as well as vidyādhara. Makara prapālas project at regular intervals from the kapōta to drain off water from the roof.

The caturbhūma śikhara is dvi-aṅga and lacks śukanāsa. Aṅgas consist of vēṇukōśas and a broad madhyalatā, with salilāntara-recesses. Each bhūmi of the vēṇukōśa has vēdikā at the bottom and an udgama on the upper cornices. In the madhyalatā, a string of candraśālās forms the decoration but the design continues to be unintegrated. Bālapanjara pattern appears in the salilāntaras. The śikhara is terminated by undifferentiated skandha and pidhānaphalaka crowned by an āmalaka.

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa is entered through a plain triśākha doorway, featuring Gaṅgā and Yamunā at the base. Khattakas bearing figures of Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi flank the doorway. Four rows of four pillars each support the large hall. The pillars are of Rucaka and Rucaka-bhadra types. The mālāsthānas are mostly decorated with mukta-grāsa but sometimes mithuna and dance-panels are carved. The upper part of the shaft is embellished with ardhapadma and gaṇa. Taraṅga-brackets are preferred.

The clerestory has a large kandhara moulding carrying candraśālās and stylized udgamas. The bhārapaṭṭa, though plain, has śimhavyālas at the ends. A padma adorns each division of the ceiling of the nave. A sloping roof rests over the peripheral row of columns and the wall.

The doorframe of the antarāla has four śākhās decorated with patralatā, puṣpa, stambha, and rūpa. At the base of the jambs stand Gaṅgā and Yamunā with a mithuna. A garuḍa adorns the lalāṭa while Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi flank the doorway. The overdoor shows a hāra of śālā, kūṭas, and pañjaras.

The garbhagrha, with four interior pillars, has a short, square, liṅgapīṭha in the centre.



At the southeast corner of the prākāra is an ēkatala śālākāra vimāna. A simple adhiṣṭhāna and plain walls mark its elevation. A jāli flanks its triśākha doorway which is decorated with designs of patralatā, śrīvṛkṣa, and ghaṭapallava pilasters.

The temple is enclosed by a prākāra c. 15 ft. in height; its original gateway is lost. The mouldings of the prākāra rest on a pair of plain bhiṭṭas and consist of khura, kumbha, dhārāvṛta kumuda, kandhara, and kapōta. The kandhara shows niches framed by Rucaka pilasters and decorated with miscellaneous reliefs of vidyādhara, dikpālas, gandharvas, gajamuṇḍas, gaṇas playing on musical instruments, Varāha, Gaṇēśa, a Mātṛkā, nidhi-figures, Śiva-Naṭarāja, etc. In quality and content, the reliefs may be compared to sculptures from the walls of the main temple. Above the kapōta are praṇālas of simha and makara types at regular intervals. The prākāra is crowned by śālā, kūṭa, and pañjara shrine-models.

Ālampur, Svarga-Brahmā (Figs. 129, 135a; Plates 658-660, 662-668)

Founded by Vinayāditya, this temple measures c. 54 × 34 ft. and represents a stylistic advance on temples of the early phase. Oriented to the east, this sāndhāra temple consists of mukhacatuṣkī, gūḍhamaṇḍapa, antarāla, and garbhagrha (Fig. 129; Plate 658). The sāndhāra prāsāda is provided with bhadragavākṣas on the north, south, and west (Plate 662).

This temple was raised on a jagatī not now fully visible. The vēdibandha consists of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī (Plate 660). Tulāpīṭha in the place of kalaśa under the niches is a new feature (Plate 659). Each niche's tulāpīṭha is composed of five square blocks, the terminal ones invariably decorated with grāsa-mukhas, the remaining with designs of mayūra and haṁsa in foliage, varieties of padma motif, and miscellaneous narratives including stories from the Kṛṣṇa legend and the Pañcatantra (Plate 659).

The kaṭi is articulated with ornate khattakas (Plate 663) alternating with jālavātāyanas. The khattakas harbour sculptures of deities and are flanked by miscellaneous figures including divinities, mithunas, śālabhañjikās, and dikpālas on the lower register of the wall. The khattakas are tall, elegant and framed by ghaṭapallava pilasters with patralatā, adoring nāgas, and ratnapaṭṭi on the jambs of the niche-frame. The lintel of the khattaka is surmounted by an elaborate udgama comprising a smaller simhakarna within a large one. The udgama pediment over the jālavātāyana is smaller and shows a single simhakarna. The kaṭi terminates in a ghaṇṭāmālā embellished with the designs of haṁsa and mayūra amidst foliage, frequently flanked by figures of vidyādhara- and gandharva-mithunas.

The bhadragavākṣas have octagonal pillars with ghaṭapallava at base and top (Plate 662). Figures of bhāraputrakas are carved below. The mālāsthāna is decorated with gandharvas and muktāgrāsas. The heavy cross-corbels are embellished with miscellaneous motifs including animal heads and kirttimukhas. The western bhadra carries a large panel of Trivikrama-Viṣṇu, the northern bhadra, Śiva-Naṭarāja. The southern bhadra is renovated. The kaṭi is surmounted by kapōtapālī decorated with candra-śālikās and dēvalacāraṇi figures.

The śikhara is four-storeyed and dvi-aṅga, raised over a shallow vēdikā, and articulated into vēṇukōśa, madhyalatā, and salilāntara recesses (Plate 664). A pañjara is carved at the base of the madhyalatā and succeeding cornices carry small central candraśālās within an open type of simhakarna. This integrated design reaches to the pidhānaphalaka where it terminates in an elegant simhakarna. The salilāntara is carved with bālapanjaras. In the vēṇukōśa, each khaṇḍa has a simhakarna motif and



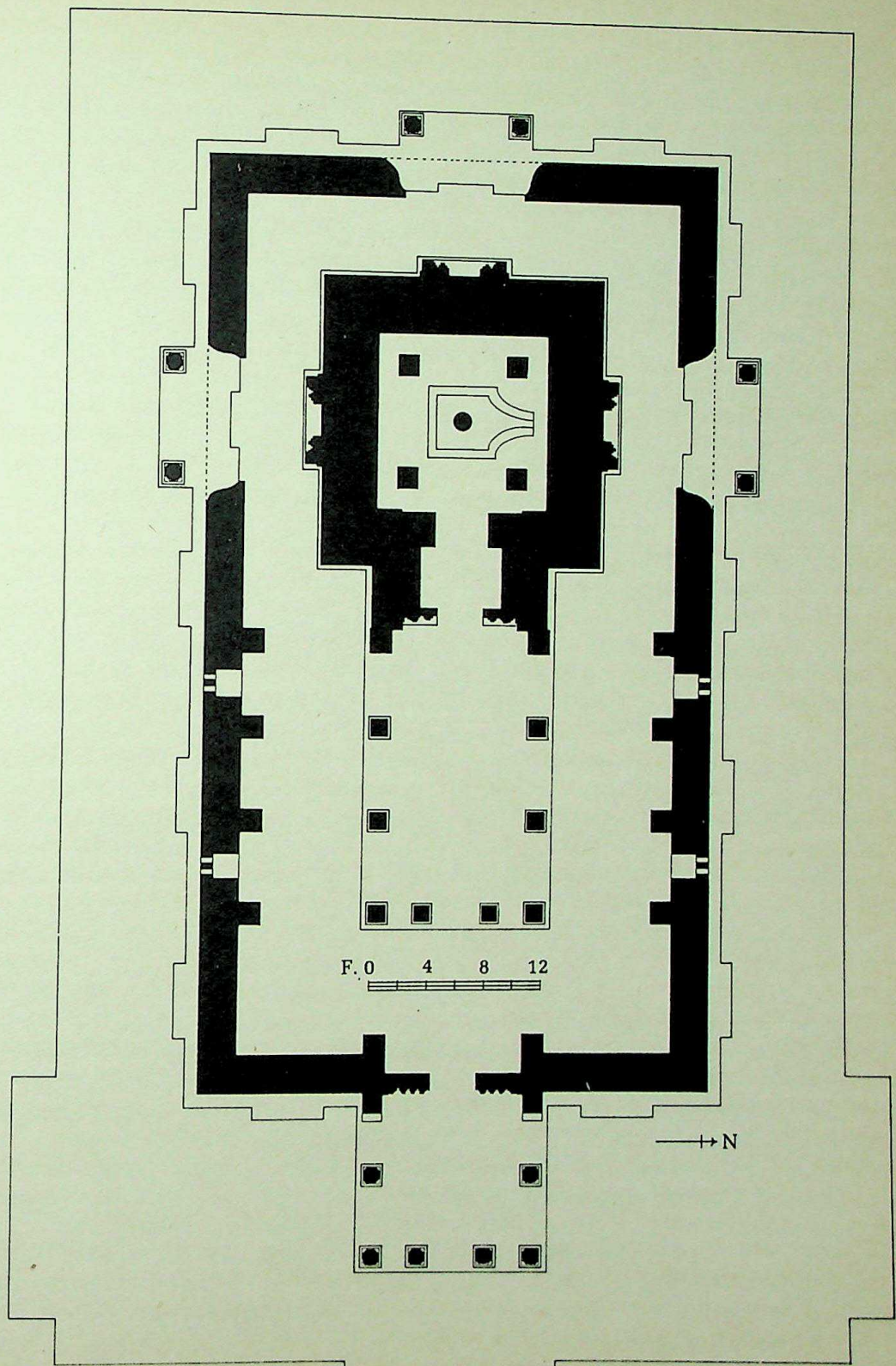


Fig. 129. Ālampur. Svarga-Brahmā temple, plan.



each bhūmi is terminated by a karṇāmalaka. The skandha and pidhānaphalaka are differentiated, crowned by a circular grīvā, āmalaka, and ākāśaliṅga. The fronton of the śukanāsa rises almost to the third bhūmi. Its śūrasēnaka surrounds an impressive image of Śiva-Naṭarāja; its flanks are carved with figures of nāgarājas.

The mukhacatuṣkī has six pillars and two pilasters, all octagonal with ghaṭapallava at base and top. The mālāsthānas are carved with scrolls and muktāgrāsa. The cross-corbels show kīrttimukhas and animal heads in the middle and tālapatra at the ends. A padmaśilā adorns the ceiling.

The doorway of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa has a "T"-shaped format embellished with patralatā, nāgaśākhā, ratnapaṭṭa, patralatā, stambhaśākhā, and patralatā. Figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā stand at the base and a garuḍa represents lalāṭabimbā. Life-size figures of Nandī and Mahākāla flank the doorway (Plate 667). The overdoor is carved with an udgama in the middle and phāmsakūṭas crowned by āmalaka at the ends.

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa is supported by two rows of three pillars each and two more are located in the front of the nave. All are ghaṭapallava, the shafts chamfered into ten, 14, and 16 flutes. The mālāsthānas are decorated with vyāla-riders, musicians, dancers, kīrttimukhas, and vidyādhara. Brackets are embellished with tālapatra śiṃhamukha, and kīrttimukha designs. Gandharvas adoring a Śivaliṅga are carved on front pillars (Plate 668).

Beams are decorated on the underside with patralatā. The clerestory shows a kandhara between a pair of kapōtapālīs. The kandhara is decorated with niches framed by pilasters (Plate 666). The ceiling of the nave is divided into three sections by a pair of bhārapaṭṭas, with padmaśilā, nāgarāja and gandharvas, and a medallion carved on the three parts. The side aisles have a sloping roof.

Each bhadra of the garbhagṛha is articulated by a projecting dēvakōṣṭha, the vēdibandha of which is similar to that of the external wall of the prāsāda.

The "T"-shaped doorway of the antarāla has śākhās, embellished with patralatā, ratnapaṭṭa, stambha, and patralatā. Figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and Nandī and Mahākāla appear at the base of the śākhās; vidyādhara carrying a Śivaliṅga adorn the lalāṭa. The overdoor shows a śālā-śikhara over an udgama in the centre and śiṃhakarṇa crowned by āmalaka at either end. The garbhagṛha has four interior pillars and preserves a square liṅgapīṭha.

Ālampur, Garuḍa-Brahmā (Fig. 136a; Plates 669-672)

One of the most developed temples of Ālampur, this consists of mukhacatuṣkī, gūḍhamaṇḍapa, antarāla, and a garbhagṛha enclosed by the usual pradakṣiṇā (Plate 669).

The vēdibandha is similar to that of the Svarga-Brahmā but the kaṭi introduces several new features. Pillars in the khattaka, the screening of the bhadrāgavākṣa with jāli (Plate 672), and the elaboration of udgama crowning the khattaka have no parallel. The embellishment of the tulāpīṭha of the khattaka with figures and of the upper part of the kaṭi with gandharvas and vidyādhara in dalliance, together with luxurious decorative padma, haṃsa, and mayūra designs, has been handled with notable finesse and dexterity. The udgama of the khattaka touches the kapōta-cornice (Plate 671).

Though the śikhara is generally similar in design to that of the Svarga-Brahmā, it appears squatter and heavier (Plate 670). Unlike the Svarga-Brahmā, its madhyalātā shoots up above the pidhānaphalaka while an udgama is added above each bālapanjara. The karṇāṇḍakas are flat and short.

The pillars of the mukhacatuṣkī resemble those of the Svarga-Brahmā but eliminate the cubical section in the middle. The gūḍhamaṇḍapa doorway is broad by com-



parison, though its embellishment is similar to that of the Svarga-Brahmā; the *lalāṭa* shows *Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu*.

The *garbhagrha* has an offset plan.

This temple shows elaboration of both plan and design over the Svarga-Brahmā and is to be placed towards the beginning of the eighth century A.D. A *pratōlī* in its proximity is dated by an inscription to A.D. 713.

Ālampur, *Viśva-Brahmā* (Fig. 130; Plates 646, 673-675)

This elaborately carved *sāndhāra* temple faces east and measures c. 57 × 37 ft. externally. It consists of *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, *antarāla*, and a *garbhagrha* enclosed by ambulatory (Plate 673). The three-dimensional effect of the wall is achieved through multiple projections and recesses and through *bhadravākṣas* (of which only the western one is preserved).

The temple is raised on a *jagatī*. Its *vēḍibandha* is composed of *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa* (replaced below the *khattakas* by *tulāpīṭha*), and *kapōtapālī*. Under the *bhadravākṣa*, *kalaśa* is replaced by a *vasantapaṭṭikā* carved with *padmalatā*. The *tulāpīṭha* is embellished with miscellaneous carvings (Plate 675) of *kīrttimukha*, *haṁsa*, *mayūra*, *śārdula*, *gaja*, *ratna*, musicians, *Gaṇēśa*, *Trivikrama*, and grotesque and fantastic heads.

The *kaṭi* displays *khattakas*, *jālavātāyanas*, and *kuḍyastambhas* as well as *bhadravākṣas* (Plate 675). The *khattaka* pilasters are *Rucaka*, with *ghaṭapallava* at base and top. Each niche is surmounted by a magnificent *udgama*. The *khattakas* harbour images of divinities. The recesses between *khattakas* have either *mithuna* or *śālabhañjikā* figures; those flanking the *bhadravākṣas* carry rampant *vyālas*. *Śiva-Gaṅgādhara-mūrti* adorns the western *bhadravākṣa*. *Bhadravākṣa* pillars are 16-fluted and have *ghaṭapallava* at base and top. The rear *Rucaka* pilasters are sometimes carved with *mithuna* figures.

The upper part of the wall has figures of divinities (*Śiva-Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, *Narasimha*, etc.) between niche-pediments. *Ghaṇṭāmālā* is adorsed here and there by *vidyādhara*s. The upper *kapōtapālī* of the wall has two courses of *tulāsaṅgraha* below.

The *śikhara* is *dvi-aṅga* and has four *bhūmis* (Plate 674). *Vēdikā* appears at the base of the *śikhara*. The recesses between *madhyalatā* and *vēṇukōśa* show *bālapanjara* pattern. The *skandha* is separated from the *pidhānaphalaka* by a *vēdikā*, supporting a globular *āmalaka* which forms the crowning member of the *śikhara*. No image is preserved in the *śukanāsa*'s *śūrasēnaka*.

The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* is entered through a "T"-shaped doorway of four *śākhās* decorated with *patralatā*, *nāga*, *ratnapaṭṭa*, *stambha*, and *patralatā*; figures of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* appear on the *pēdyās* and a *garuḍa* on the *lalāṭa*. Life-size *pratihāra* figures flank the doorway. The *architrave* is decorated with a *śimhakarna* in the middle flanked by *pañjaras* and an *udgama* crowned by *āmalaka* at both ends.

The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has four rows of 16-sided pillars with *ghaṭapallava* at base and top. Some introduce *śimhapāda* at the base and an *āmalaka* above (Plate 646). The *mālāsthānas* display themes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* on some pillars, with *kīrttimukhas* and *mālā-vidyādhara*s on most others.

The beams are decorated with *patralatā* on the underside. *Padma* and *nāga* medallions are carved on the ceilings of the nave. The side aisles have a sloping roof.

The doorway of the *antarāla* is similar to that of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. The overdoor presents *Latina* shrine-models (crowned by elongated *āmalakas*) at either end with an *udgama* in the centre; the lower register has figures of *Śiva-Naṭarāja* and *Gaṇēśa*. Tall pilasters flanking the overdoor carry figures of *cāmaradhāriṇīs* mounted on



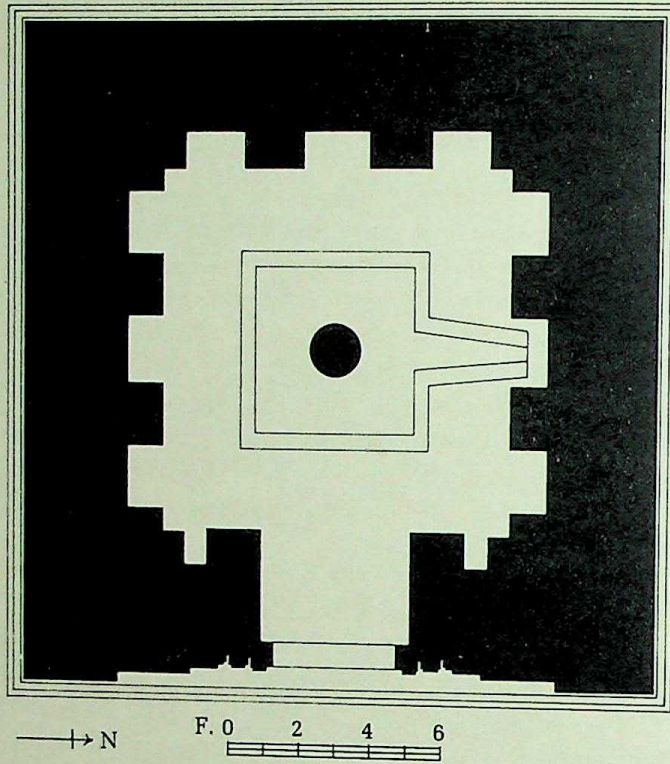


Fig. 130. Ālampur. Viśva-Brahmā temple, plan.

elephant-heads.

The vēdibandha of the garbhagṛha resembles that on the exterior with the difference that it shows a more prominent kalaśa. The sanctuary's khattakas are topped by udgama pediments.

Inside the garbhagṛha are four pillars that support the ceiling. A square liṅgapīṭha is preserved at the centre.

Ālampur, Padma-Brahmā temple (Fig. 131)

This last of the Ālampur temples is much damaged, missing its śikhara, but introduces features which appear again on the Galaganātha temple at Paṭṭadakal. It has been discussed in part in the "Architectural Features" section.



## Supplementum

### *Bandatandrapādu, Śiva temple (Plates 677-678)*

Bandatandrapādu, located c. 12 miles from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, has a small Śiva temple which originally consisted of a nirandhāra garbhagṛha with antarāla and perhaps a small porch which is now replaced by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa pillared maṇḍapa.

The vēdibandha is composed of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōta (Plate 677). the wall shows a central bhadra offset that continues up through the śikhara; this has projected niches framed by pilasters supporting an eave. These bhadra niches contain images of Gaṇeśa (S), Kārttikēya (W), and Mahiṣāsura-mardīnī (N).

The temple has a pyramidal Phāmsanā roof of seven tiers, each showing a recessed vēdikā alternating with kapōta (Plate 677). The roof culminates in a square Dravidian śikhara crowned by a small āmalaka. A broad, now empty, śukanāsa projects over the antarāla. The temple represents a unique combination in early Calukya architecture of śukanāsa, Phāmsanā roof, and Dravidian śikhara.

The garbhagṛha doorway has a garuḍa as lalāṭabimba. The śākhās and pēdyā figures are obscured by whitewash, but include human nāga-busts. There are four pillars in the garbhagṛha and a liṅga on the central pīṭha.

The constricted waist of the śikhara is a Rāṣṭrakūṭa feature, but sculpture and other architectural details bear close association to Calukya temples; the śikhara, like the maṇḍapa, may be a replacement. By comparison with features of the Tāraka-Brahmā temple at Ālampur, this temple may be dated c. A.D. 635-642.

### *Satyavōlu, Rāmalingēśvara and Bhīmalīngēśvara temples (Figs. 132, 136b-c; Plate 676)*

Satyavōlu is the only site in Āndhradēśa to show Nāgara temples of nirandhāra plan. The site has two principal temples. The larger is the Rāmalingēśvara, the smaller, the Bhīmalīngēśvara.

The Rāmalingēśvara consists of a gūḍhamaṇḍapa, antarāla, and garbhagṛha. Vēdibandha is composed of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōtapālī. The walls of the prāsāda show a single khattaka; the gūḍhamaṇḍapa walls each have a bhadravākṣa and two khattakas. The khattakas are all broad, and with no space above for an udgama.

The dvi-aṅga and caturbhūma śikhara is tall, rising from a vēdikā. Salilāntaras are adorned with bālapanjaras. The śukanāsa harbours an image of Śiva-Naṭarāja and reaches up to the second bhūmi.

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa is entered through a triśākha doorway with a gandharva as lalāṭabimba and horned pratihāras on the jambs. The maṇḍapa roof is low, supported on four Rucaka pillars. The doorway of the antarāla is similar to that of gūḍhamaṇḍapa. The garbhagṛha is flat-roofed with four interior pillars and has a liṅgapīṭha in the centre.

The Bhīmalīngēśvara temple resembles the Rāmalingēśvara but is smaller in dimensions. It consists of garbhagṛha and antarāla only. The adhiṣṭhāna is composed of jagatī, broad kandhara, and kapōta. The kandhara is adorned with figures of elephants and lions. The kaṭi of the prāsāda is adorned with khattakas on three sides and terminated by a Drāviḍa kapōta carved with vyālamālā.

The antarāla is entered through a triśākha doorway with Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu as lalāṭabimba and designs of four-petalled flowers and ardhapadma in boxes on the jambs.



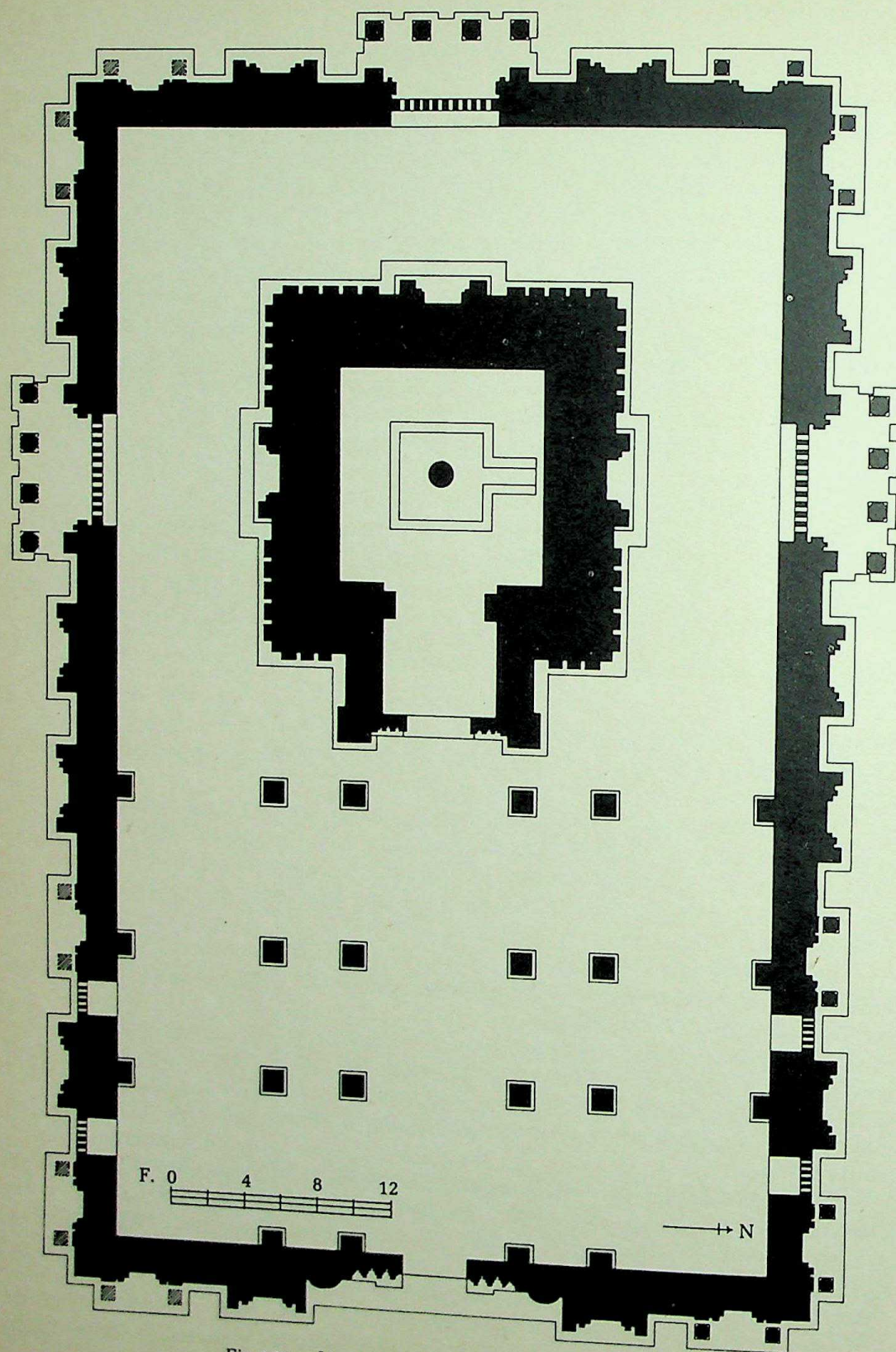


Fig. 131. Ālampur. Padma-Brahmā temple, plan.



The śikhara is dvibhūma but otherwise resembles that of the Rāmalingēśvara. The śukanāsa, which covers the entire length of the antarāla, carries an image of Naṭarāja. The interior of the antarāla and garbhagṛha are astylar and featureless. Around these two temples are six subsidiary shrines of which one with a cāpākāra plan and gajaprsthākāra elevation is noteworthy.

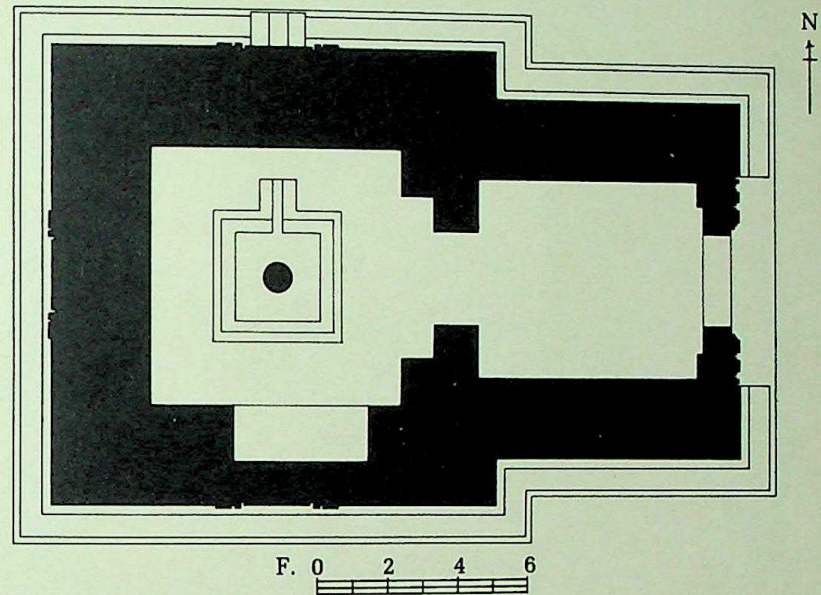


Fig. 132. Satyavōlu. Bhīmalīṅgēśvara temple, plan

### *Paṇyam, Śiva temple (Figs. 133, 135b)*

This old sāndhāra temple, now dilapidated, consists of gūḍhamaṇḍapa and garbhagṛha, with a prominent bhadragavākṣa on each side of the prāsāda. The vēdibandha is composed of khura, kumbha, kandhara, tripaṭṭa kumuda, ṛaṭṭikā, and kapōtapālī. The kaṭi, which displays neither niches nor pilasters, terminates in a ghaṇṭāmālā, here and there ornamented with vidyādhara and peacocks.

The śikhara is dvi-aṅga, caturbhūma, has a tall profile, and is crowned by āmalasāraka. The salilāntaras show bālapañjara crowned by an udgama. Śukanāsa is absent.

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa has two rows of four columns. The stumpy Rucaka pillars show a pair of ardhadarpaṇas decorated with ardhapadma or ihāmrgas and carry heavy roll-brackets. The garbhagṛha doorway has four śākhās, embellished respectively with patravallī, maṇibandha, stambha, and śrīvṛkṣa. The garbhagṛha has a short vēdibandha composed of khura, kumbha, and paṭṭikā. Its kaṭi is devoid of niches but has ghaṇṭāmālā with gandharvas and a figure of Lakuliśa. The interior of the garbhagṛha has a flat vitāna supported on four pillars and preserves a square līṅgapīṭha in the centre.



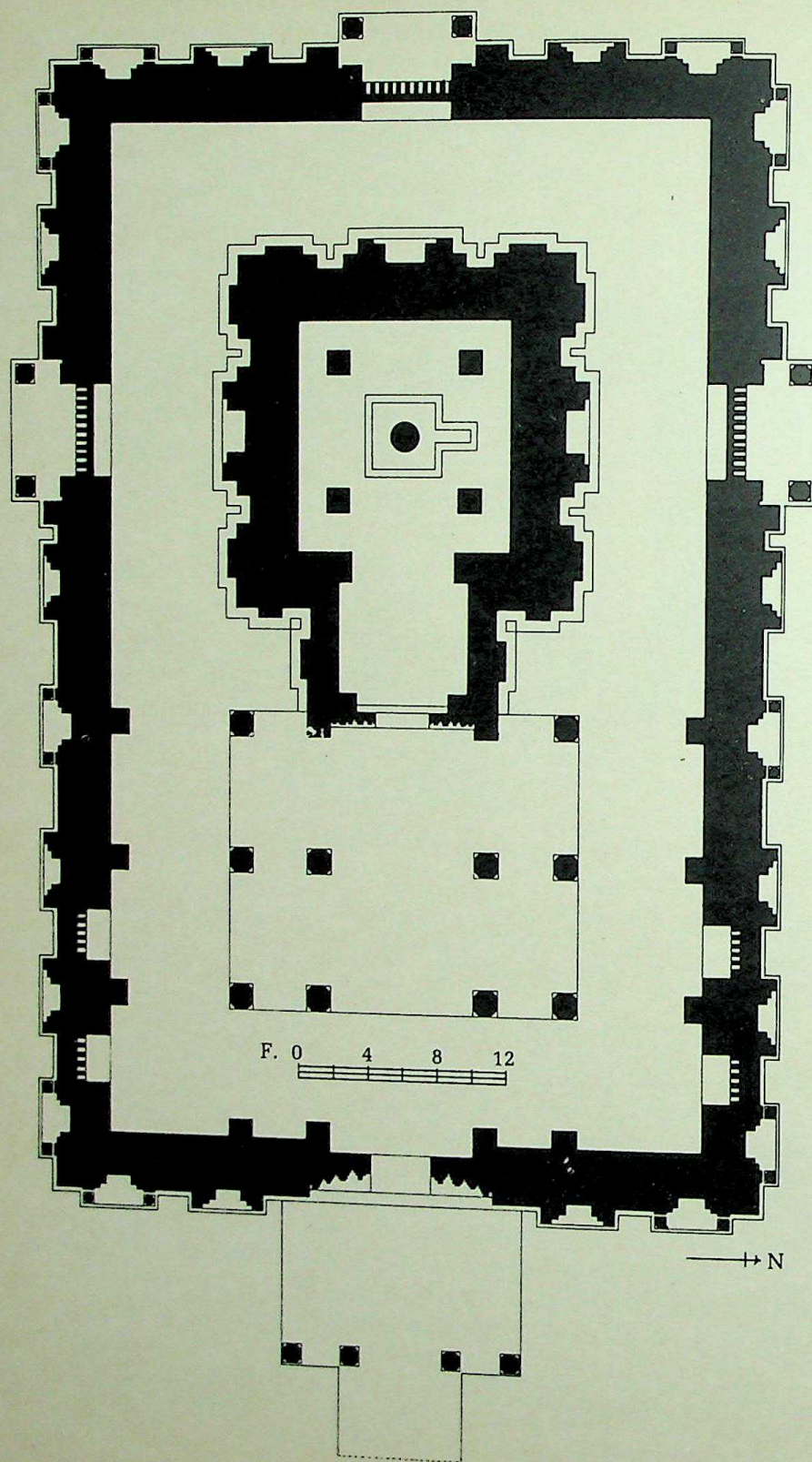


Fig. 133. Panyam. Śiva temple, plan.



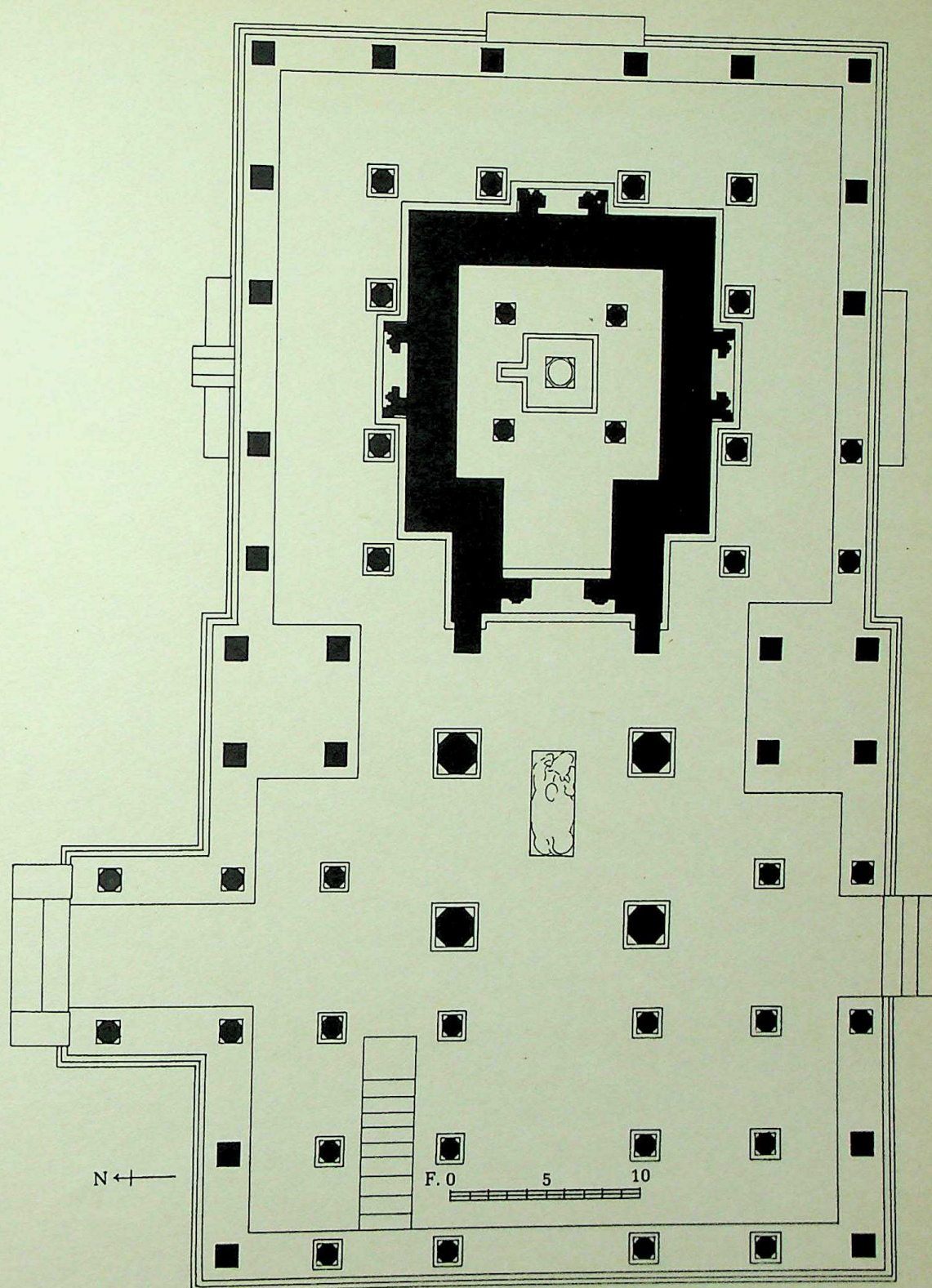


Fig. 134. Mahānandī. Mahānandīśvara temple, plan.



*Mahānandī, Mahānandīśvara temple (Figs. 134, 135c)*

This sāndhāra temple faces west and consists of a raṅgamaṇḍapa, antarāla, and garbhagṛha. It is remarkable for being enclosed by a colonnade resting on a parapet.

The vēdibandha of the prāsāda is composed of khura, kumbha, broad kandhara, and kapōtapālī. The kaṭi reveals a pretence of bhadragavākṣas and is devoid of ghaṇṭa-mālā and flanking vidyādhara. The śikhara is dvi-aṅga, caturbhūma, and has bāla-

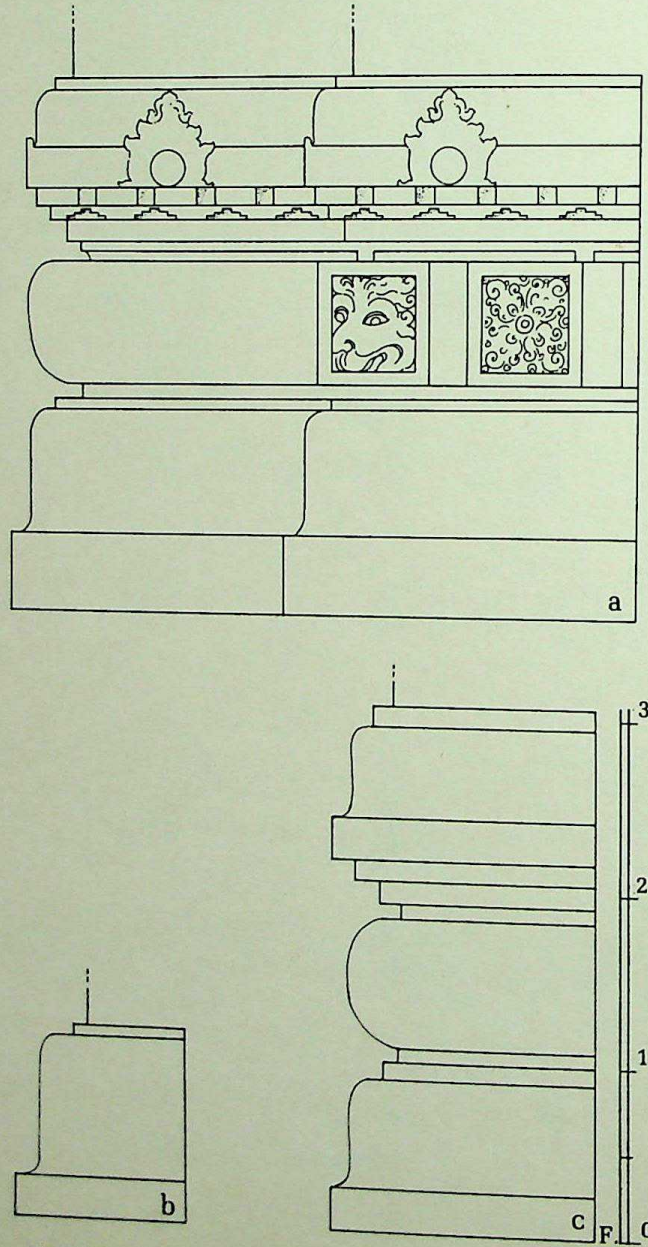
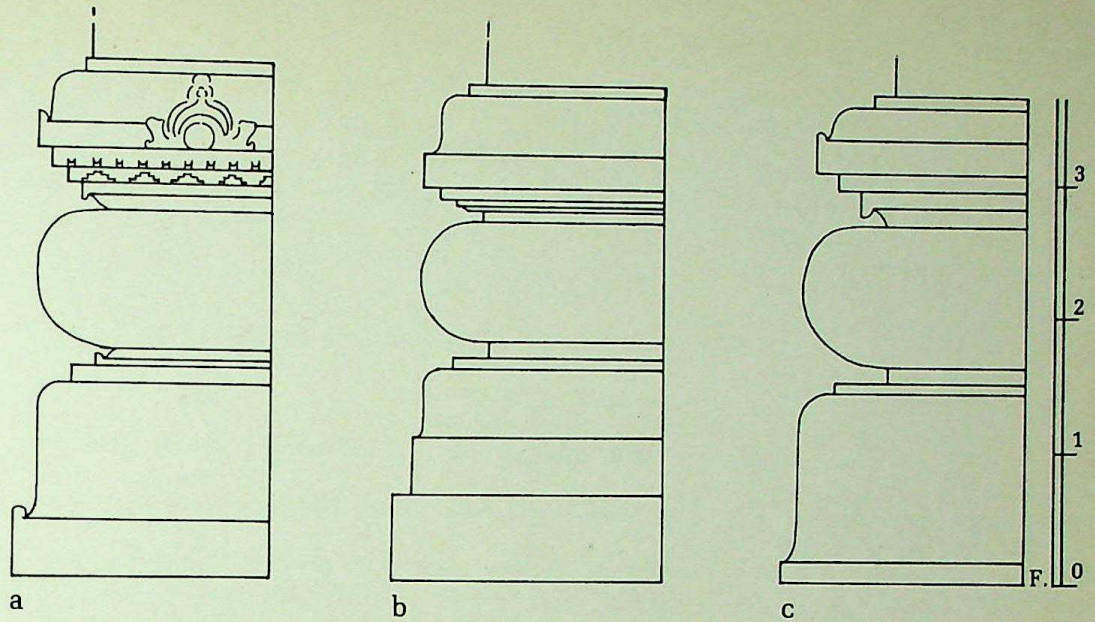


Fig. 135. Vēdibandhas:

- a. Ālampur. Svarga-Brahmā; b. Paṇyam. Śiva;  
 c. Mahānandī. Mahānandīśvara.



Fig. 136. **Vēdibandhas:**

a. Ālampur. Garuḍa-Brahmā; b. Satyavōlu. Rāmalingēśvara; c. Satyavōlu. Bhīmalīngēśvara.

pañjara in the salilāntaras. The madhyalatā outstrips the pidhānaphalaka, which is demarcated from the skandha. The śukanāsa reaches the second bhūmi.

The raṅgamaṇḍapa is entered from the north, through a mukhamaṇḍapa of a single bay. The nave has two rows, and each aisle an additional row, of four pillars. The four central pillars are larger and more ornate than the others, which are Rucaka, with carvings only at the top where paired ardhadarpaṇas are separated by a short octagonal section.

The vēdibandha of the garbhagṛha consists of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, and kapōtā-pālī. Each bhadra has a khattaka; kalaśa is replaced by tulāpīṭha in the mouldings below. The garbhagṛha has a "T"-shaped doorway with four śākhās, adorned with patralatā, maṇibandha, stambha, and padmalatā. River-goddesses and pratihāras appear on the jambs and a gandharva on the lalāṭa. The architrave carries a śālā in the middle and phāmsakūṭas at each end. The garbhagṛha has four octagonal pillars with tālapatra brackets.

The two subsidiary shrines on the southeast and the northeast, as well as several miniature shrine-models, seem coeval with the temple, which stylistically and palaeographically (there are several graffiti on the temple) can be assigned to the close of the seventh century A.D.

Supplementum by  
Carol Radcliffe Bolon

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Varieties of North Indian style: Karnāṭa style,  
Nāgara phase, c. A.D. 700-775

## Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Ēlāpura and Mānyakhēṭaka

### Historical Introduction

A full survey of the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty has already been given in Vol. I, Pt. 2 of this *Encyclopaedia*. New evidence pertaining to the early existence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, however (probably with their capital at Ēlāpura), has been provided by a recently discovered copper-plate charter of Karkarāja, grandfather of Dantidurga. The loss of patronage by Buddhism in this period may also be surmised from an event mentioned in a medieval work, the *Akalaṅka-caritra*, which, among other important details pertaining to the life of the famous Digambara Jaina pontiff Akalaṅka-dēva (son of Puruṣōttama, minister of Kṛṣṇa I), mentions that he had challenged the vādīs at the assembly of king Sāhasatuṅga (Dantidurga). A Buddhist sect of esoteric disposition had established itself at Ēlāpura (Ēllōrā) before Dantidurga had won imperial status for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, as can be inferred by caves nos. 12 and 13 and by cave no. 15 (the "Daśāvatāra" cave) before it was converted to Brahmanical usage by Dantidurga. (These Buddhist caves were excavated late in the seventh or early in the eighth century A.D. during the reigns of Dantidurga's grandfather and father.)

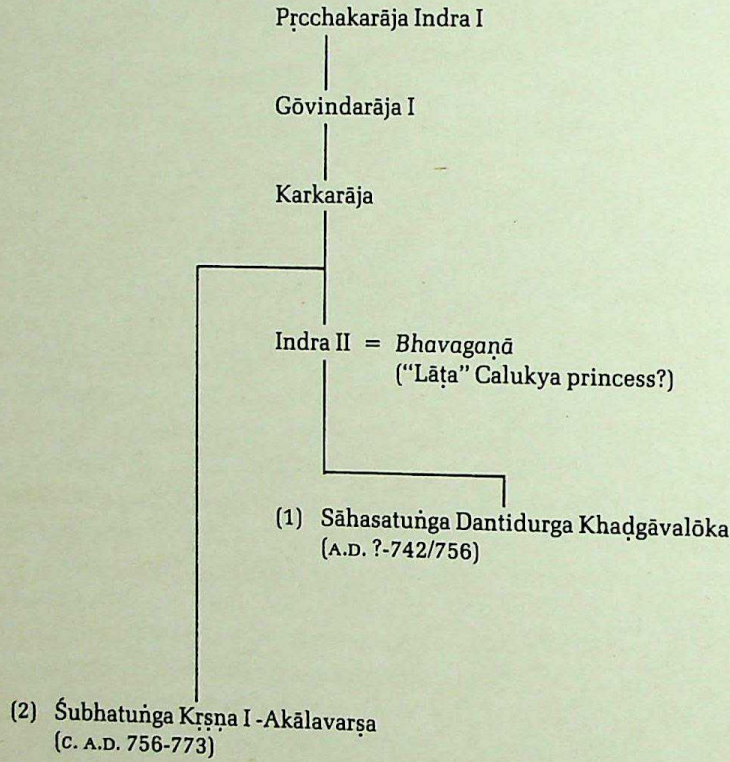
### Architectural Features

While most of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs preferred the Drāviḍa formula for their architecture, a few of the temples built during the early phase of the dynasty follow Karnāṭa-Nāgara style. The number of such edifices surviving is sufficiently small that it permits no definite generalizations about stylistic features of Nāgara structures as they developed during Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony in Karnāṭadēśa. It is even somewhat difficult to say with certainty that two of these Nāgara structures belong to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and not Calukya period. A few features not normally met with in the Calukya period, a relative shift of emphasis, and a difference in the mode of application of known motifs supports a Rāṣṭrakūṭa attribution. Only one Nāgara foundation, the rock-cut reception-hall in front of the Daśāvatāra cave at Ēllōrā can be ascribed, with some reservation, to the munificence of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga.

A small indication that the Nāgara style was known in the Ēlāpura area before his time, however, is given by reliefs depicting Latina temples and other representations of what seem to be Phāṁsanā temples at the bottom of the śākhās of the main garbhagrha doorframe of the upper storey of the Buddhist cave no. 12 (Plates 679-680). The



**Genealogical Table: Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Ēlāpura and Mānyakhēṭaka**





Latina temple (Plate 679) shows trikhāṇḍā rēkhā and a heavy āmalaka. It shelters a figure of a dvārapāla. The three Phāṁsanā shrines shelter a nāga attendant and figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā (Plates 679-680). The date of these reliefs could probably be c. A.D. 700 or about two generations prior to actual structural examples of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa phase.

Ēllōrā, Daśāvatāra cave (no. 15), āsthāna-maṇḍapa (Plates 681-685)

The rectangular, monolithic, āsthāna-maṇḍapa in front of the so-called Daśāvatāra cave (Plate 681), which bears an inscription of Dantidurga, is different in style from the main cave and seems to belong to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. It possesses features of the eastern Calukya school of the Karnāṭa-Nāgara style, plus some peculiarities of its own.

This rock-cut structure simulates a constructed form in most details. Its pīṭha (Plate 684) follows the form of jagatī met on the Kumāra-Brahmā temple, Ālampur (c. A.D. 625), and the Galaganātha temple, Paṭṭadakal (c. A.D. 725), both of which follow the Nāgara style of Vēṅgī. The hall is laid out on a straight mānasūtra; the kaṭi is divided into three sections by plain Rucaka pilasters (Plate 681), with the central section showing a large, rectangular, jālavātāyana, with a beautiful makara-tōraṇa above on the south wall (Plate 683), differing in details but derived from known Calukya examples. (On the north is an unfinished mayūra-tōraṇa; below the jāla are a series of panels showing mithunas and ratikrīḍā scenes.) The flanking wall-sections have three niches, a tall central niche with tall lambana-pediment (touching the soffit of the bhārapaṭṭa) flanked by two smaller niches (Plate 681). The tall niches harbour two-armed male figures, one arm raised in abhayamudrā, the other resting on the kaṭi or carrying a flask (Plate 685), flower, or some such object. (Some of these were intended to be divinities, perhaps Lōkapālas, and in one case the figure is shown in samabhaṅga, with a female breast on his left suggestive of Ardhanārī.) The smaller niches bear both male and female attending figures, apsaras, mithunas, etc. Most wall-pilasters also show attendant female figures on their lower sections, somewhat like the feature found inside the gūḍhamaṇḍapas of the Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna temples at Paṭṭadakal. (On the east and south, cantoning pilasters show amorous mithunas.)

The utara, kapōtapālikā, and the mouldings beneath are unfinished. Above the kapōtapālikā is a plain roof in the form of a low platform with seated lion figures at the corners and three seated nidhi figures (gaṇanāyakas?) between on each side. The centre of the hall supports a roof suggesting a clerestory. Daṇḍikās are absent.

A hastihasta-stairway, with sejant elephants on the sides and a moonstone, leads to the interior on the east through a catuṣśākha doorway (Plate 681); the śākhās have no decoration. The utaraṅga shows five panels, the end and centre ones with Phāṁsanā pediments and the two intervening ones having śālā-śikharas. Three seated Buddha-like figures (the central one Lakulīṣa?) and a couple of erotic scenes can be discerned among the worn-out figures in the panels. The doorway is flanked on the wall by images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

The interior has four plain Rucaka pillars in the centre. Though perfectly plain, the interior looks chaste and handsome.

The porch on the west (Plate 682) has a projecting catuṣkī with a pair of lions left uncarved at the flanks of the steps. The pillars are plain, and there is no entrance, but rather a restored jāla. The lintel above bears the well-known inscription of Dantidurga that mentions his victory over his Calukya overlord, Kīrttivarmā II.



Paṭṭadakal, Kāśīviśvēśvara temple (Figs. 137-138; Plates 686-701)

This temple (Plates 686-688) is different from other Nāgara temples in the Calukya heartland; it seems to combine forms, features, and decorative ideas from both western and eastern Calukya territories as well as elements and details peculiar to its own style. These differences seem due to its being founded after Rāṣtrakūṭa occupation of the area when, seemingly, a prince of the collateral Calukya line was ruling as a subordinate of the Rāṣtrakūṭa emperor. Were it possible to prove that the temple was erected during the Calukya period, it would have to be admitted that it was a creation of some separate guild of sculptors as is evident by a comparison with other Nāgara temples (Galaganātha, Pāpanātha, Jambuliṅga, Kaṣasiddhēśvara) in Kiśuvola (Paṭṭadakal).

The Kāśīviśvēśvara temple consisted of a prāsāda, gūḍhamanḍapa, mukhacatuṣkī (now missing), and a Nandi-manḍapa (Fig. 138; Plates 686-688).

The tri-aṅga prāsāda (Plate 686) shows narrow pratirāthas; the bhadras have both a subhadra and upabhadras on either side. The prāsāda stands on a kharasīlā with no pīṭha. The beautifully ornamented vēdibandha surpasses all others associated with Nāgara shrines in Karnāṭa (Fig. 137a; Plate 689). Kalaśa is replaced on the central subhadra by tripaṭṭa kumuda; this is true also on the pratibhadras except for the north wall (Plate 689). The kalaśa is provided with a beautiful madhyabandha showing valli design. The tripaṭṭa kumuda's madhyapaṭṭa shows ratnapaṭṭa on the pratirāthas and valli patterns on the subhadras (Plate 689). Above the kalaśa and kumuda comes a double course of vājanapaṭṭikā showing dentils (Plate 689) followed by kapōtapālikā with alpanāsīs of Calukya type.

The kaṭi starts with a projecting paṭṭikā ornamented with valli, mayūra, grāsa-mukha, etc. (Plate 689). Somewhat shallow niches are applied on subhadra and karnas; they contain no images. The udgama pediments are elongated (Plates 690-691), though otherwise resembling those of the Pāpanātha temple. The presence of an ample, handsome grāsapāṭṭikā at the top of the kaṭi, a feature commonly applied to Mahā-Gurjara temples in Western India in later centuries, is remarkable. In some instances, flying vidyādhara couples fill the space between the grāsamukhas (Plates 690-691). Above is kapōtapālikā, larger than that of the vēdibandha but with the same type of vājanapaṭṭis beneath.

The kaṇṭha above, at the base of the śikhara, shows vēdikā pattern (Plates 687, 690-691). The silhouette of these small pillarets is echoed behind, and produces almost the illusion of a pillared manḍapa (Plate 687). A thin kapōta above is marked by a line of dentils.

The śikhara is pañcabhūma, more advanced in form and detail than any other known in Karnāṭa, particularly in its height, shape, and the intricate interlacing of its beautiful jāla (Plates 686, 687); the latter somewhat reminds one of that on Rōḍā temple no. 3 in Gujarat and of the madhyalatā of the Harihara temple no. 2 at Ōsiān (Rajasthan), both c. A.D. 775. Above the śikhara is a skandha-vēdi characteristic of some Latina temples at Ālampur and of the Galaganātha temple at Paṭṭadakal; the āmalaka and crowning kalaśa are missing.

Kapili walls follow the order of the prāsāda walls, with a niche applied on the kaṭi (Plate 691). The śukanāsa (Plate 688) has a good profile, with lambana (tall udgama), karnāṇḍakas, kaṇṭha, and an uparitala. Its fronton is both unusual and arresting: four lambanas decorate the lower part and a handsome śūrasēnaka comes above (an intervening kaṇṭha between) harbouring Naṭeśa with Umā.

The rectangular gūḍhamanḍapa has its longer side laid along the north-south axis



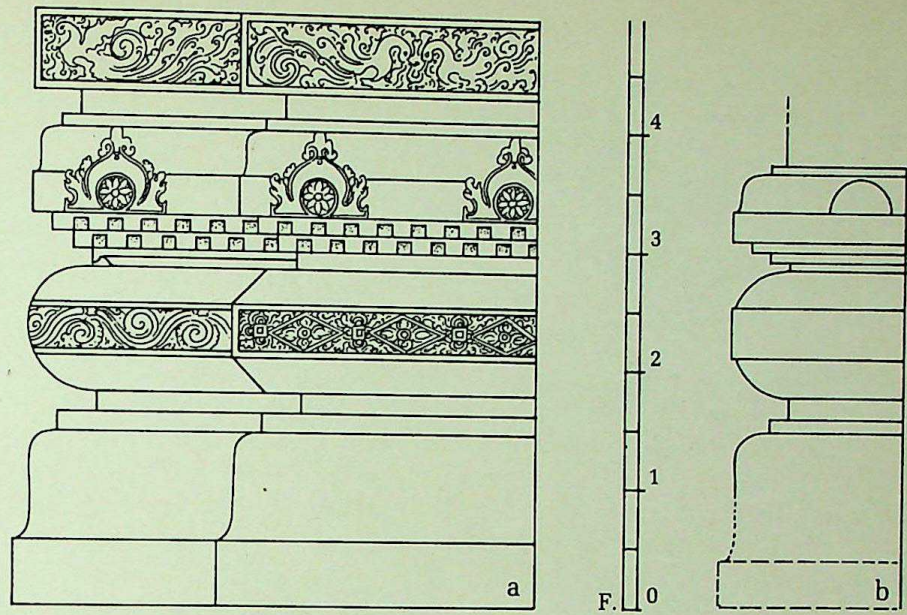


Fig. 137. Vedibandhas:

a. Paṭṭadakal. Kāśīviśvēśvara; b. Kāśīviśvēśvara, Nandi-maṇḍapa.

(Fig. 138). In elevation, it resembles the prāsāda; laid on a straight mānasūtra, it shows five niches on the north and south, two on the west, and two larger ones flanking the doorway on the east (Plates 686, 688). These two have a central śālā-śikhara flanked by Drāviḍa kūṭas supported by paired pillars (Plate 688). The grāsapaṭṭī of the vimāna wall is replaced on the maṇḍapa by vidyādhara carrying an endless mālā. Above the kapōtapālikā starts a sloping roof, with a raised central platform above the nave. The north wall has two figures between niches — Bhikṣāṭana (Gaṅgādhara?) and Ardha-nārī — and a small jāla between the second and the third niches from the east. The east wall preserves the remnant of a damaged Trivikrama image on the right.

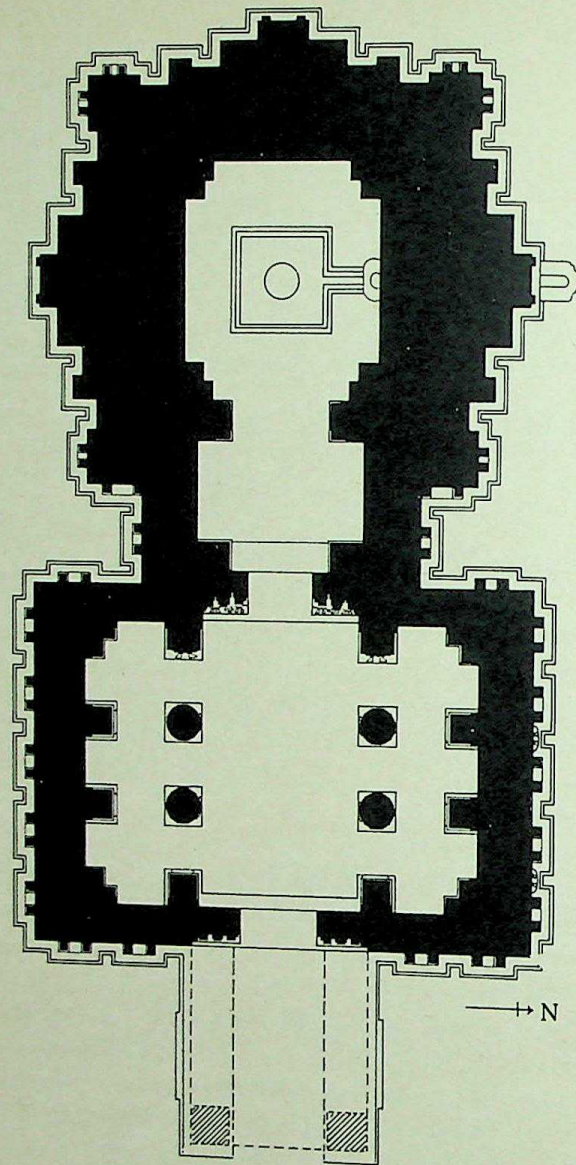
The pañcaśākhā doorframe of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa (Plates 688, 692) has a thin nāgaśākhā, elegant and crisply carved ratnaśākhā, valliśākhā, rounded mālāśākhā with valli design, and finally a bahirśākhā of padma variety (with an inner border of pearls). At the pēdyā are a mithuna and one of the river-goddesses. Garuḍa, on the lalāṭa, is damaged.

The four central pillars of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa are Mīśra (Plate 699) having a kumbhikā that supports a fluted shaft (reminiscent of Maṅgalēśa's columns at Mahākūṭa and Aihole and some pillars at Ālampur). A small female above the kumbhikā faces the interior (Plate 699). The cube above the 12-fluted section carries narrative scenes from Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas (Plates 698-699). This is followed by a necking in two narrow strata with 16- and 32-sided fluting. The pūrṇaghaṭa or āmalaka above supports taraṅga-pōtikā from which a vyāla leaps (on the side of the brackets are elephant-busts).

The engaged columns on the northern wall show pūrṇaghaṭas at the bottom (Plates 693-694); the shaft shows a vertical band followed by a horizontal belt which, in one instance (Plate 693), shows a kalpavallī pattern that has a formal affinity to that



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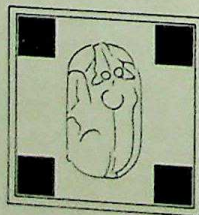


Fig. 138. Paṭṭadakal. Kāśivīśvēśvara temple, plan.



on the doorframes at Rōḍā. In other cases, this rather echoes a pattern known in early Calukya buildings at Aihole (Plate 694). The undifferentiated laṣuna above shows a finely formed nāsī on each face. The taraṅga-pōtikā (Plate 693) is ornamented by a beautiful medial ratna band.

The ornamentation of the corner pilasters is somewhat more simple. The most notable new feature is the presence of a vyāla trampling an elephant above the kumbhikā (Plate 696).

Inside the central catuṣki, the sides of the taraṅga-pōtikās show elephant-busts (Plate 698) supporting a kapōtapālikā; next comes kaṇṭha followed by a course showing mālādhara pramathas (Plate 695). The clerestory has its own kapōta and kaṇṭha. The central ceiling shows the aṣṭa-Dikpālas with Gaurī-Śaṅkara in the central panel.

The garbhagrha's pañcaśākhā doorframe (Plate 701) shows nāgaśākhā (the nāga bodies converted into bakula buds), music-making gaṇas and other figures in the rūpaśākhā, ratnaśākhā done by an artist schooled in a tradition very different from that of the artist who rendered the gūḍhamaṇḍapa doorframe (a type known in the Calukya temples of the Mahākūṭa group), rounded patraśākhā with a valli-pattern peculiar more to the late-eighth-century temples of Kaliṅga than of Kaṇṇāṭa, and a bāhyaśākhā with stiff lotus leaves. The wide pēdyā panels have figures of Jāhnavī and Kālindī as well as Śaivite dvārapālas. A padmaśilā vitāna covers the garbhagrha.

The Nandi-maṇḍapa has a stylobate of vēḍibandha-type similar to that of the main temple but shorter and undecorated (Fig. 137b; Plate 688). Its Rucaka pillars have uncarved belts in the upper section; the roof is lost.

#### *Paṭṭadakal, unnamed temple (Plates 702-703)*

This recently cleared, small, east-facing shrine to the south of the Saṅgamēśvara (Vijayēśvara) temple is scantily ornamented but reflects the same general style as the Kāśīviśvēśvara temple. Its dvi-aṅga prāsāda (Plate 702) has a similar vēḍibandha, with tripaṭṭa kumuda here also replacing kalaśa on the bhadra. The kapōtapālikā is identical with that of the Kāśīviśvēśvara temple and its kaṇas have similarly narrow niches; crowning lambanas, however, are not so tall as on that temple. The southern bhadra preserves a figure of standing Lakuliśa (Plate 702); other niches are empty. Southern and northern niches are crowned by split śūrasēnas. The western niche is topped by a vidyādhara panel flanked by handsome addorsed lions (Plate 703).

The superstructure of the temple is not extant.

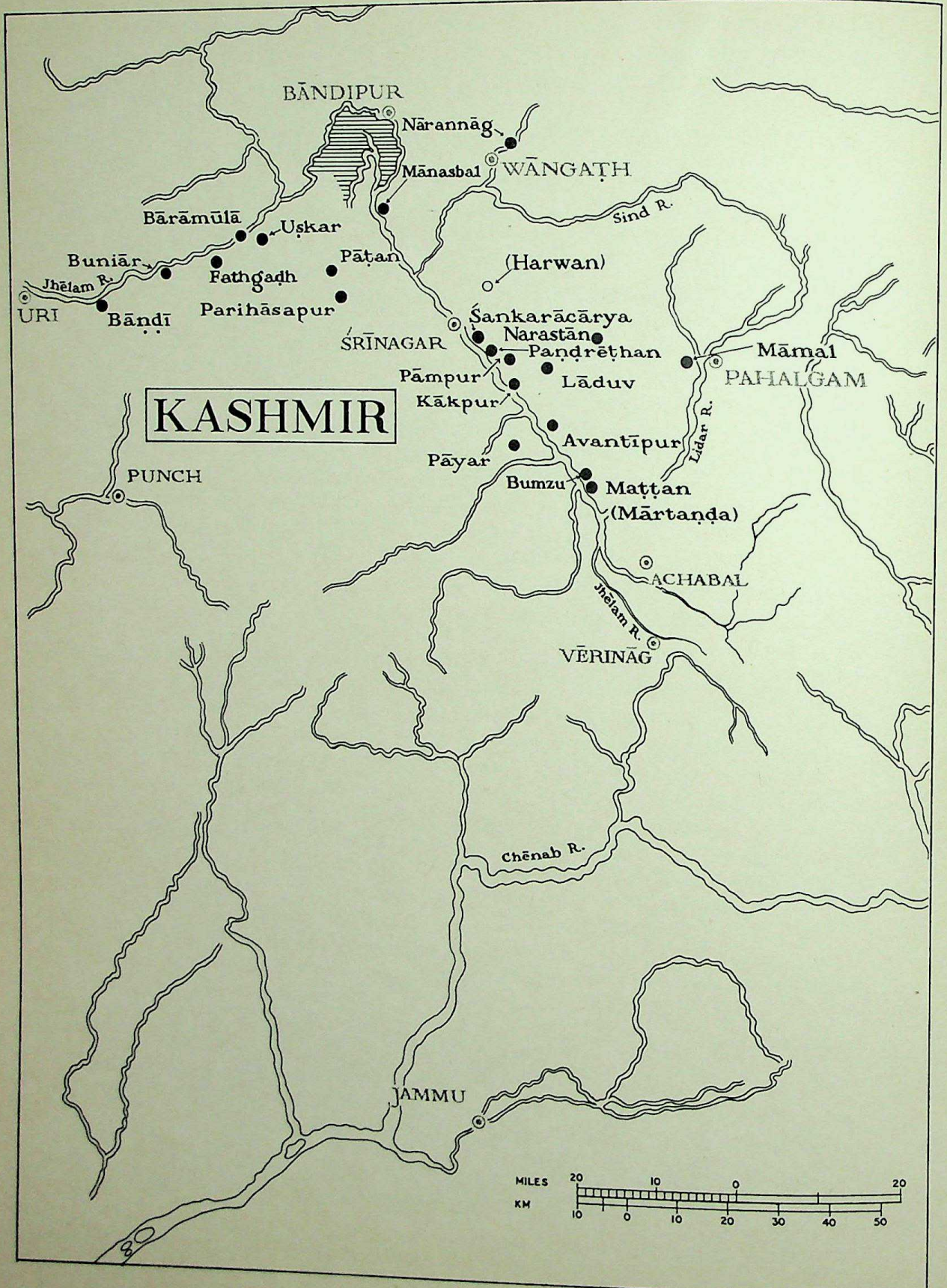
The mukhacatuṣkī has plain Rucaka pilasters with blocked-out belts meant for carving. The triśākhā doorframe has unadorned śākhās. The shrine betrays the same finesse as does the large Kāśīviśvēśvara temple, and was built in the same period.

M.A. Dhaky

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Kashmir: Kārkōṭa and Utpala sites.



## Varieties of North Indian style: Styles of Kashmir and the Panjab, c. A.D. 600-1100

### Kārkōṭas and Utpalas of Kāśmīra

#### Historical Introduction

Protected by high mountains, the picturesque and fertile valley of Kashmir (Kāśmīra) has been a centre of art, culture, and polity from considerable antiquity. Its geographical position has made it a meeting ground of many races and cultures including Iranian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Central Asian.

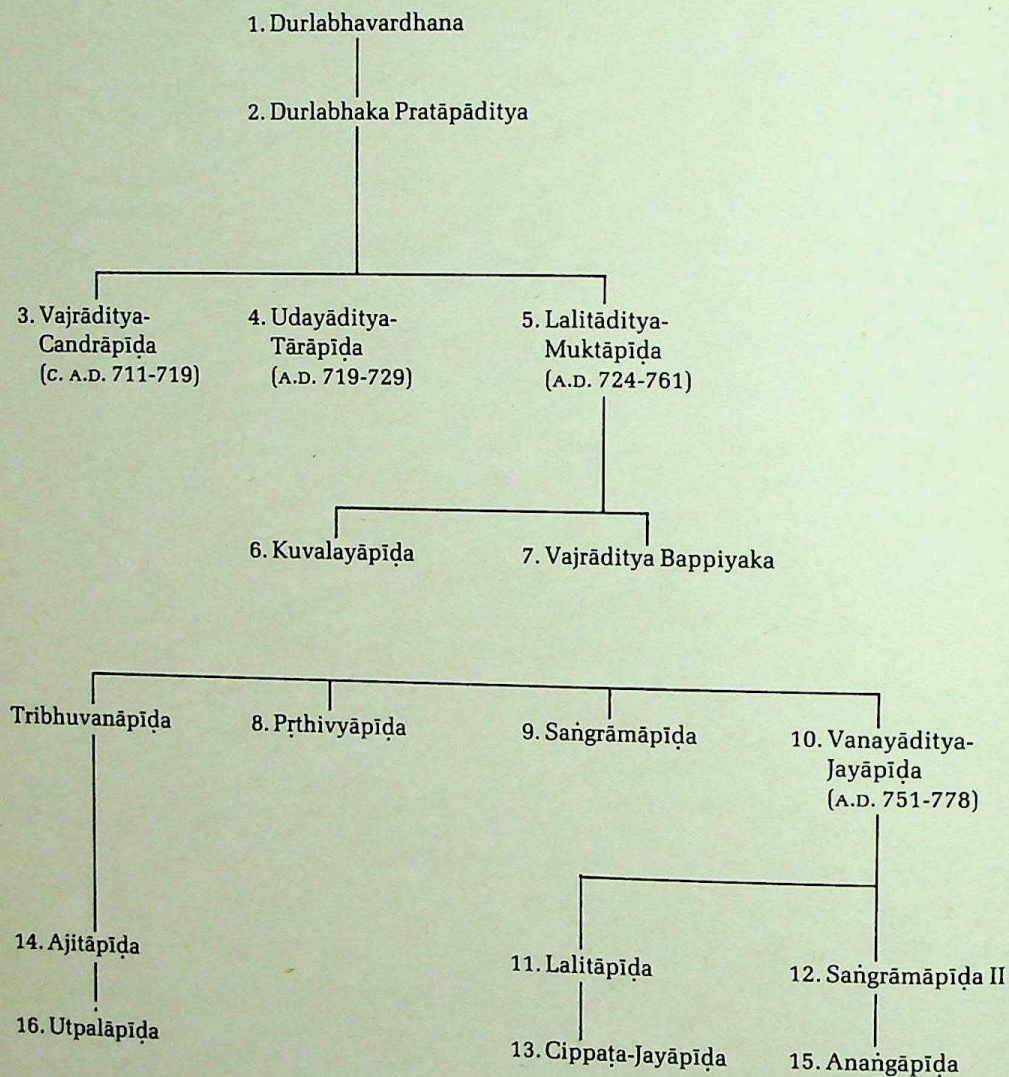
The early history of Kashmir as reconstructed from literary, epigraphical, numismatic, and monumental sources can also be supplemented by stray references in Chinese annals. The main source for the history of Kashmir, however, is the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, a work in Sanskrit written in A.D. 1148-1150 by Kalhaṇa, a court poet and historian. This work is generally reliable for the history of Kashmir from about A.D. 600 onwards but is untrustworthy for earlier periods, where it was based mainly on myths and hearsay. Even for earlier epochs, however, we get valuable glimpses of historical episodes, as in the references to Aśoka as founder of Śrīnagarī (Paṇḍrēṭhan or Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna), to the Kuṣāṇa kings Kaniṣka, Huṣka (sic), and Juṣka (sic), and to a host of Huna chiefs including Mihirakula and Tōramāna. Pravarasēna II (c. sixth century A.D.) is mentioned, for example, as having founded Śrīnagar (Śrīnagara), then called Pravarasēnapura or Pravarapura.

The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* has proved to be a mine of reliable and comprehensive information on political, administrative, religious, and economic matters of Kalhaṇa's own period. It dwells on the character and idiosyncracies of rulers and ministers, narrates court intrigues and incidents concerning dynastic succession (including even the roles played by palace guards and Dāmaras, a special class of landed aristocracy), and details religious benefactions, acts of public utility, and measures of taxation, extortions, etc. It moves from myth into sober history perhaps with the foundation of the Kārkōṭa dynasty by Durlabhavardhana early in the seventh century.

During Durlabhavardhana's rule, the great Chinese pilgrim, Hsüan Tsang, also visited Kashmir, spending three years, from A.D. 631 to 633, "studying the sūtras and śāstras." He left a detailed account of the country and people, recording that Kashmir had 100 Buddhist monasteries, 5,000 brethren, and four Aśōkan stūpas containing relics of the Buddha.

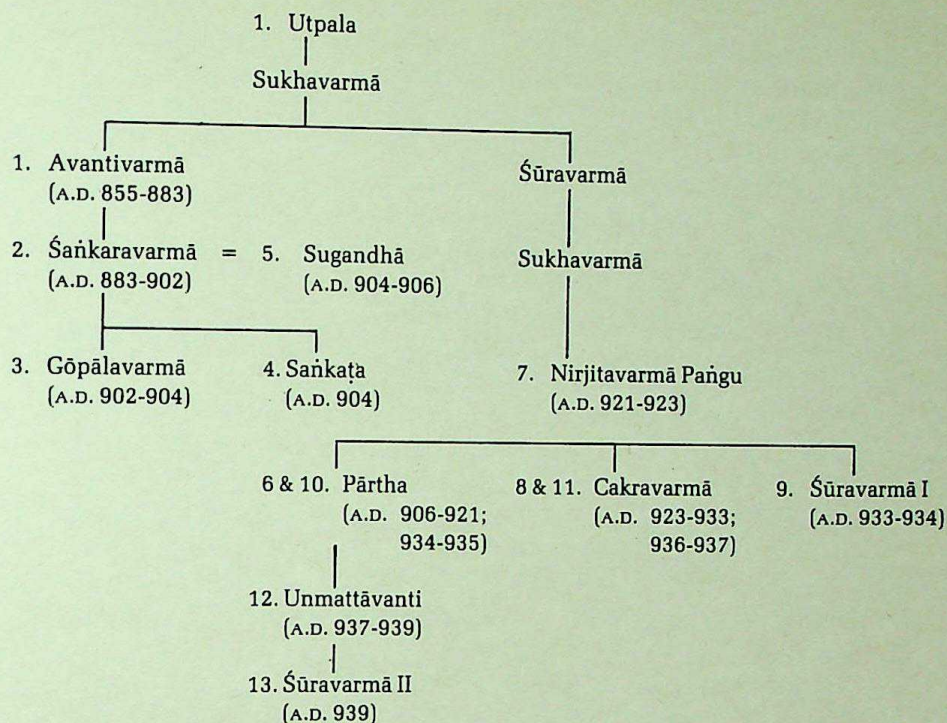
Durlabhavardhana's territories extended beyond Kashmir to Uraśā (Hazārā), Sīmhapura (the Salt Range), Rājapurī (Rājaurī), Paṇḍōtsa (Poonch), and Takṣaśilā. Durlabhavardhana is also mentioned in the Chinese annals and was the first king of Kashmir to issue coins. He was succeeded by his son, Pratāpāditya II, who is credited



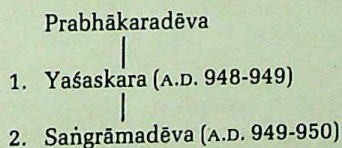
**Genealogical Table: Dynasties of Kāśmīra****I. Kārkōṭa dynasty**



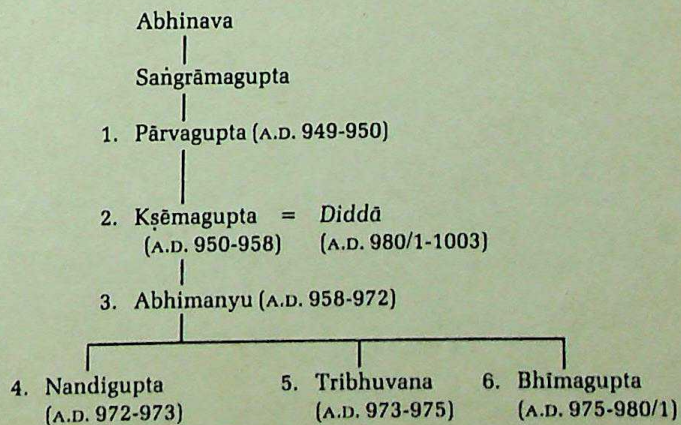
## II. Utpala dynasty



## III. Yaśaskara dynasty



## IV. Pārvagupta dynasty





with the foundation of Pratāpapura (Tāpar, near Baramula). Pratāpāditya was succeeded by three of his sons, Candrāpīḍa (c. A.D. 711-719), Tārāpīḍa (c. A.D. 719-724), and Mukṭāpīḍa (c. A.D. 724-761).

The last, also called Lalitāditya, was undoubtedly the greatest king of Kashmir, known for his military exploits and active patronage of arts and letters. His conquests in India are said to have extended from coast to coast and to have included defeat of kings of Prāgyōtiṣa and Kāliṅga and the Karṇāṭa princess Raṭṭā; he is said to have marched through the kingdoms of Kōṅkaṇa, Dvārakā, and Avantī, probably something of a formulaic boast. The most significant exploit of his career was the defeat of Yaśōvarmā of Kanauj and the annexation of his kingdom. He is said to have conquered the Kambōjas, Tukhāras, Daradas, Bhauṭṭas, Mummuni, Śāhis, Strīrājya, Uttarakurus, and the "ocean of sands" and to have held sway over the adjoining regions of Jālandhara and Lōhara in the north. His claims of victory over Tibetans are confirmed by T'ang annals.

Lalitāditya founded many towns and settlements, adorning them with temples and maṭhas (built either by him or by his family members, ministers, or court dignitaries). Kalhaṇa writes in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*: "There is no town, no village, no river, no lake, no island where this king did not build a sacred foundation." Among towns founded by Lalitāditya are Parṇōtsa (Poonch), Lōkapuṇya, Lalitāpura, and Parihāsapura (his new capital). In Parihāsapura he built four Vaiṣṇava shrines, enshrining gold or silver images within them, a Buddhist temple enshrining a brass image, and a monastery. He enlarged and richly endowed the Śaiva temples of Bhūtēśa and Jyēṣṭharudra at Nārannāg near Wāngath (Vaśiṣṭhāśrama), but no other religious foundation of Lalitāditya could match in grandeur the Sun temple he founded at Mārtaṇḍa.

Lalitāditya was followed by four weak successors with short reigns, then by his grandson, Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya (c. A.D. 751-778), who helped stem the administrative rot. He is recorded as having defeated Bhīmasēna and Aramuḍi (unidentified kings in Eastern India and Nepal). Coins bearing the legend "Ja-lalitāditya," believed to have been struck by Jayāpīḍa, have been found in fair quantity in Madhyadēśa around Kanauj. He patronised poets and scholars like Kṣīra, Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, and Dāmōdagupta (the author of the burlesque *Kuṭṭanīmatam*) and founded a new capital named Jayapura identified with Andarkōṭ, near the Wular lake.

The remaining princes of the Kārṇōṭa line were ineffective and often profligate rulers. The last of the line, Utpalāpīḍa, was deposed and Avantivarmā, the son of Sukhavarmā of the Utpala family, was placed on the throne.

Avantivarmā (c. A.D. 855-883), the founder of the Utpala dynasty, brought peace, prosperity, and stability to Kashmir. Served by a loyal minister named Śūra, Avantivarmā devoted his energies to curbing the Ḍāmaras and other internal enemies, and to the welfare of his subjects. A liberal patron of arts and letters, he founded Avantīpura and built the two great temples of Avantisvāmī and Avantīśvara there. Poets and authors such as Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, Mukṭākāṇa, Śivasvāmī, Ratnākara, and Ānandavardhana adorned his court.

Avantivarmā's reign shines in the history of Kashmir particularly because of the engineering achievements of Suyya, who, by controlling the waters of the Vitastā (present Jhelum) — thus increasing the amount of cultivatable land — and by improving facilities for irrigation helped assure bumper crops to a land that had until then been visited frequently by floods and famine.

Avantivarmā was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaravarmā (c. A.D. 883-902) who conquered Darvābhisāra, the hilly region falling between the Vitastā and Chandrabhāgā



(Cēnāb). He also fought Prthvīcandra, ruler of Trigarta (present Kangra), annexed Takka, the adjoining hilly tract east of the Candrabhāgā, and clashed with Bhōja (probably the famous Pratihāra king of Kanauj), and Lalliya, the Śāhi chief of Udabhāṇḍapura. Such expeditions drained Śaṅkaravarmā's treasury and forced him to impose heavy taxes; his extortions fell heavily on temple endowments, priestly corporations, and on the cultivators, who were further oppressed by forced labour. He founded Śaṅkarapurapattana (Pāṭan), however, and adorned it by three large Śaiva temples. Towards the end of his reign, Śaṅkaravarmā carried his arms westward towards the Sindhu (Indus) to avenge the death of his frontier officer (dvārādhipa) at Virāṇaka, below Baramula, and was fatally wounded during his march back.

Śaṅkaravarmā was followed by ten despots within 34 years, who ruled at the mercy of the Tantrins (who resembled the Roman Praetorian guards). Cakravarmā destroyed the power of the Tantrins in A.D. 936 with the aid of the Dāmaras, who, however, soon surpassed the Tantrins in blackmail and rapine; all princes in this period became their pawns. Only the reign of Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) was known for its stability and justice.

Diddā, the wife of the weak and depraved ruler Kṣēmagupta (A.D. 950-958), was a licentious and colourful lady of uncommon ability, who dominated the political scene in Kashmir for half a century, first as queen-consort, then regent, and finally as sovereign. After her death in A.D. 1003, the country groaned under a succession of characterless weaklings, culminating in the rule of Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), who, while showing talent for both scholarly pursuits and music, was worthless as a soldier and administrator. He gained notoriety for robbing temple-treasures and melting down ancient images in order to replenish his exchequer.

The assassination of Harṣa marked the end of the first Lōhara dynasty. Two nephews of Harṣa, Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) and Sussala (A.D. 1111-1126), ruled consecutively but met violent deaths. The latter's son, Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1155), succeeded to the throne and proved an eminently successful king who ruled through a judicious combination of strength and cunning. He was the patron of Kalhaṇa, author of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. After Jayasimha's death, Kashmir continued to be ruled for about two centuries by a succession of weak Hindu princes until A.D. 1337 when Hindu rule was terminated by Sultan Shamsuddin.

Kashmir has had a strong and persistent tradition of Nāga worship, as attested by the *Nilamatapurāṇa*, a work from Kashmir of c. the seventh century A.D. The oldest cult in the Kashmir valley was devoted to Nāgas, not unnatural in a land that originally was an enormous lake. Its present lakes and springs still are named after Nāgas (Vērīnāga, Anantanāga, etc.). When Aśōka's missionary Majjhantika, came to Kashmir to preach Buddhism in the third century B.C. he had undoubtedly to contend with this well entrenched Nāga cult. According to Hsüan Tsang, Majjhantika achieved remarkable success. Buddhist texts report that Kaniṣka convened the fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir and at the end had the Tripiṭaka treatises engraved on copper plates and deposited in a stūpa in the valley. According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Buddhism continued to be patronised by the subsequent rulers of Kashmir. Hsüan Tsang, who stayed in Kashmir for two years (A.D. 631-632), saw in the valley about 5,000 Buddhist priests and about 100 vihāras. Ou-kong, who visited Kashmir during the eighth century A.D., also found Buddhism in a flourishing state.

The Kārkōṭa kings, during whose rule both Hsüan Tsang and Ou-kong visited Kashmir, were themselves followers of the Brahmanical religion but they extended liberal patronage to Buddhism. Kashmir, in fact, developed as a stronghold of the



Sarvāstivāda sect and played an important role in the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist art beyond India to Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, and China. After the eighth century, however, Buddhism lost its hold in the Kashmir valley and was gradually overshadowed by the growing cults of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. There was little antagonism between these two sects, which flourished side by side under the active patronage of Kārkoṭa rulers. Kashmir fostered a distinctive four-faced Vaikuṇṭha form of Viṣṇu, under the influence of a locally developed Vaiṣṇava āgama, the Tantrāntara, between the eighth and tenth centuries A.D.

Utapala kings from Śaṅkaravarmā onwards, however, were more inclined towards Śaivism and adorned the valley with a number of Śaiva shrines and maṭhas. Kashmir was a citadel of the Pāsupata sect, which according to traditional belief was preached here by Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha, the promulgator of Śivāgama or Āgamānta Śaivism. So deep-rooted and almost primordial was the tradition of Śaiva worship that Kalhaṇa attributed the foundations of Śaiva shrines in Kashmir to the Maurya emperor Aśoka. From the ninth century A.D. onwards, Kashmiri Śaivism evolved a monistic philosophy, the Trikaśāsana, first propounded by the sage Vasugupta and subsequently expanded as the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā-śāstras by a galaxy of brilliant teachers, namely Kallaṭa, Siddha Sōmānanda, Utpala, Abhinavagupta, Kṣēmarāja, Yōgarāja, and Jayaratha.

Kashmir was also a great centre of Sanskrit literature. Poets Mātrgupta and Mēṇṭha flourished before the seventh century; many poets and writers on poetics flourished during the Kārkoṭa period including Dāmōdaragupta, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, and Lallaṭa. According to the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, poets Muktākāṇa, Śivasvāmī, Ānandavardhana, and Ratnākara graced the court of king Avantivarmā (A.D. 855-883). King Śaṅkaravarmā (A.D. 883-902) was himself a poet and patronised poets and authors like Bhallaṭa, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's son Abhinanda, author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra. Abhinavagupta, brilliant commentator on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, flourished in the latter part of the tenth century. Mahimabhaṭṭa, Kṣēmendra, Mammaṭa, Sōmadēva (writer of the Kathāsaritsāgara), Bilhaṇa, and Kalhaṇa himself, who composed the Rājatarāṅgiṇī in A.D. 1149/50, continued this extraordinarily rich literary tradition.

### Architectural Features

The architecture of Kashmir derived its basic hypostyle plan from the Buddhist monastic shrine, its pent-roof form and many of its ornaments from Gandhāra, perhaps some pillar-, niche-, and pilaster-forms from non-Indian sources, and others from India itself. The Kashmir architect, however, had the genius to integrate such elements into a distinctive, indigenous style combining dignity with beauty.

The plan of a Kashmir temple is characterized by an open rectangular courtyard surrounded by cells and an elevated Phāṃsanā-roofed shrine at the centre facing a prominent entrance-gateway. The Kashmiri architect adopted this plan, making the gateway match the central shrine in scale and design, increasing the prominence of the columns in front of the peripheral cells and reducing the scale of those cells to suit their primarily decorative and subordinate function. The dark voids of the cells and the light and shade playing on the colonnade create a sylvan ambience from which the elevated central structure rises like a mountain peak, producing a profound sense of balance and harmony.

The typical pent-roofed central structure of a Kashmiri temple has pedimented entries on four sides, three of which are often closed off or turned into niches. The large pediments of these cardinal entries are characteristic of Kashmir, and consist



usually of a combination of a trefoil arch derived from the late Gandhāran form of gavākṣa, a large pyramidal pediment truncated at the top, and a simple pediment, as seen earlier on the Sirkap stūpa at Taxila, ultimately of Hellenistic origin. Though these motifs were known in Gandhāra, the Kashmir architect combines them and applies them in ways original to and characteristic of Kashmir only. Such complex pediments and smaller models of them are used as a *leitmotif* in Kashmir. The pediment invariably is supported by pillars or pilasters, the shafts of the pillars usually plain, circular, or square, or with 12 to 24 shallow flutings. Square pillars are used to canton temple-corners, giving the suggestion of greater strength and stability. Some pillars, as those pertaining to the peristyle of the Avantisvāmī temple, become highly ornate.

The fluted pillar found in Kashmir bears some affinity to the Roman-Syrian version of the Doric order but its base and capital are taller in proportion and display an independent sequence of mouldings. Beginning with Mārtaṇḍa, the pillar-base shows *scotia* between a pair of *ovolos* but this gradually is transformed into a short *kandhara* between a pair of *kalaśa* mouldings, often combined with a broad *apophyge* crowned by a thick *kalaśa* or *kalaśa* with *madhyabandha*. The capital shows either *āmalaka* or a lotus-petal band in place of the *ovolo*.

The entablature in Kashmir is generally adorned with one or more bands of *grāsa-mukhas*, which alternate with trefoil niches in recesses, sometimes carrying designs with registers of rosettes or lotus petals.

Two of the earliest Brahmanical temples in Kashmir, the Śaṅkarācārya on the Takht-i-Sulaiman at Śrīnagar and the larger shrine at Lāduv, have a circular interior. Externally, the Śaṅkarācārya is tri-aṅga. It stands on an *adhiṣṭhāna* with bold *kalaśa*, *kandhara*, and *kapōta* (underscored by *vṛttakarna*) mouldings. Such an *adhiṣṭhāna*, but with a *kalaśa* having *madhyabandha* replacing the *kapōta*, is accepted as standard for all subsequent Kashmir temples.

Shrines at Lāduv show a more typical format for Kashmir temples, square, with pilasters at the corners and a pedimented trefoil arch, here in a rudimentary form. Such arches assume refinement and maturity in the Mārtaṇḍa temple, built by Lalitāditya in the middle of the eighth century.

Mārtaṇḍa has all the components of the developed Kashmir temple, the main shrine high on a plinth at the heart of an extensive rectangular courtyard surrounded by a cellular peristyle. The main temple faces a double-chambered gateway on the shorter side. Atypically, the *garbhagṛha* at Mārtaṇḍa is preceded by an *antarāla* and *maṇḍapa*, flanked by two-chambered wings to either side. The *jagatī* on which the shrine is raised shows two phases of construction, each with niches all around.

The Śiva temple at Narastān, also assignable to Lalitāditya's reign, represents the standardized plan for most subsequent Kashmiri shrines. It is a single-chambered structure, *dvi-aṅga* in layout, with a doorway in one side and recessed niches surmounted by pedimented trefoils supported by pilasters forming the *bhadras* on the remaining sides. The shrine at Narastān has a small *prāgrīva* and is enclosed by a compound wall rather than a cellular peristyle.

Final consolidation of the plan and design of the Kashmir temple was achieved in the reign of Avantivarmā (A.D. 855-883). His temples have a rich variety of pillar-types and carving. The choice of themes and motifs, however, has a strong regional accent.

Most of the shrines in Kashmir are single-chambered structures with a single functioning doorway that generally is preceded by a small *prāgrīva*. The *Jyēṣṭhēśa* at Nārannāg, however, has two doorways and the Śiva temples at Paṇḍrēṭhan and Pāyar



have four. The walls articulate recessed bhadras using two pairs of pilasters, a larger outer pair on the face of the wall and a smaller inner pair that flanks a ghanadvāra. The inner pilasters support a pedimented trefoil arch; the outer support a large pediment forming the principal ornamental design of the jaṅghā and extending as a gable into the superstructure. The karṇas of the temple are marked by broad pilasters that support the entablature and a two-storeyed pyramidal roof, the latter lost on most temples but fully intact at Paṇḍrēthan and Pāyar. These shrines also preserve distinct types of ceilings: at Paṇḍrēthan a "lantern" roof made of a contracting series of intersecting squares, at Pāyar a domical ceiling carved from a single slab. In larger temples such as the Jyēṣṭhēśa and Bhūtēśa at Nārannāg, a domical ceiling was built of concentric circles of kanjur held together by adhesive lime mortar. At Narastān, the shrine inside shows the corbelled inner face of the outer pyramidal roof.

These temples stand on a jagatī of one or two tiers; the larger ones are placed in an open rectangular court surrounded by a cellular enclosure generally having an imposing colonnade. Each cell of the enclosure suggests a miniature version of the main shrine, employing the same ornamental design of a pedimented trefoil.

Some of the very large temples like Mārtaṇḍa, the Avantisvāmī, and that at Tāpar are conceived as pañcāyatana and have subsidiary shrines in the four corners of the courtyard.

The jagatī and vēdībandha both use the same set of bold, plain mouldings comprising kalaśa (resting on a pair of upāna-like paṭṭikās), broad kandhara, and a crowning kalaśa with a projecting madhyabandha.

The architectural style of Kashmir, while eclectic, deriving the colonnaded-court plan from the Buddhist monastery, its elevation and some ornaments perhaps from Gandhāra, and base mouldings and many ornamental motifs from India proper, is also synthetic and creative, consolidating a style unique to Kashmir. The pedimented trefoil in particular is an original creation, combining motifs inherited from Gandhāra in a particularly distinctive and original way. Similarly, its pillars show a rich and original variety of types, combining elements from a variety of sources. The pyramidal roof seems indigenous, based on a functionally effective wooden prototype.

The only precisely datable temples in Kashmir are those at Mārtaṇḍa (mid-eighth century), Avantīpur (Avantivarmā, A.D. 855-883), and Pāṭan (Śaṅkaravarmā, A.D. 883-902). The remaining temples must be dated on stylistic grounds, Śaṅkarācārya and the temples at Lāduv, with their amorphous plan and design, earlier than Mārtaṇḍa; Narastān and Tāpar, with better defined plan and design, later than Mārtaṇḍa; the temples at Buniār, Bāṇḍī, Fathgaḍh, Paṇḍrēthan, and Pāyar, with developed architectural features, posterior to the monuments at Avantīpur and Pāṭan. The regional style was so conservative, however, that only limited change is perceptible, even with a lapse of centuries.

The architecture of Kashmir depends for its effect on a simplicity and spaciousness of plan and a unity of design achieved through harmonious integration of elements derived from multiple sources. Structures are characterised by massiveness and high finish of masonry, generally of limestone ashlar, utilizing lime-mortar as a binding material as well as iron dowels. The aesthetic impact of this architecture was heightened by the picturesque natural setting selected for each of the monuments that survive.

Śrīnagar, Śaṅkarācārya temple (Figs. 139, 143a; Plates 704-707)

The Śaṅkarācārya temple was erected on the crest of the 1,000 ft. high Takht-i-



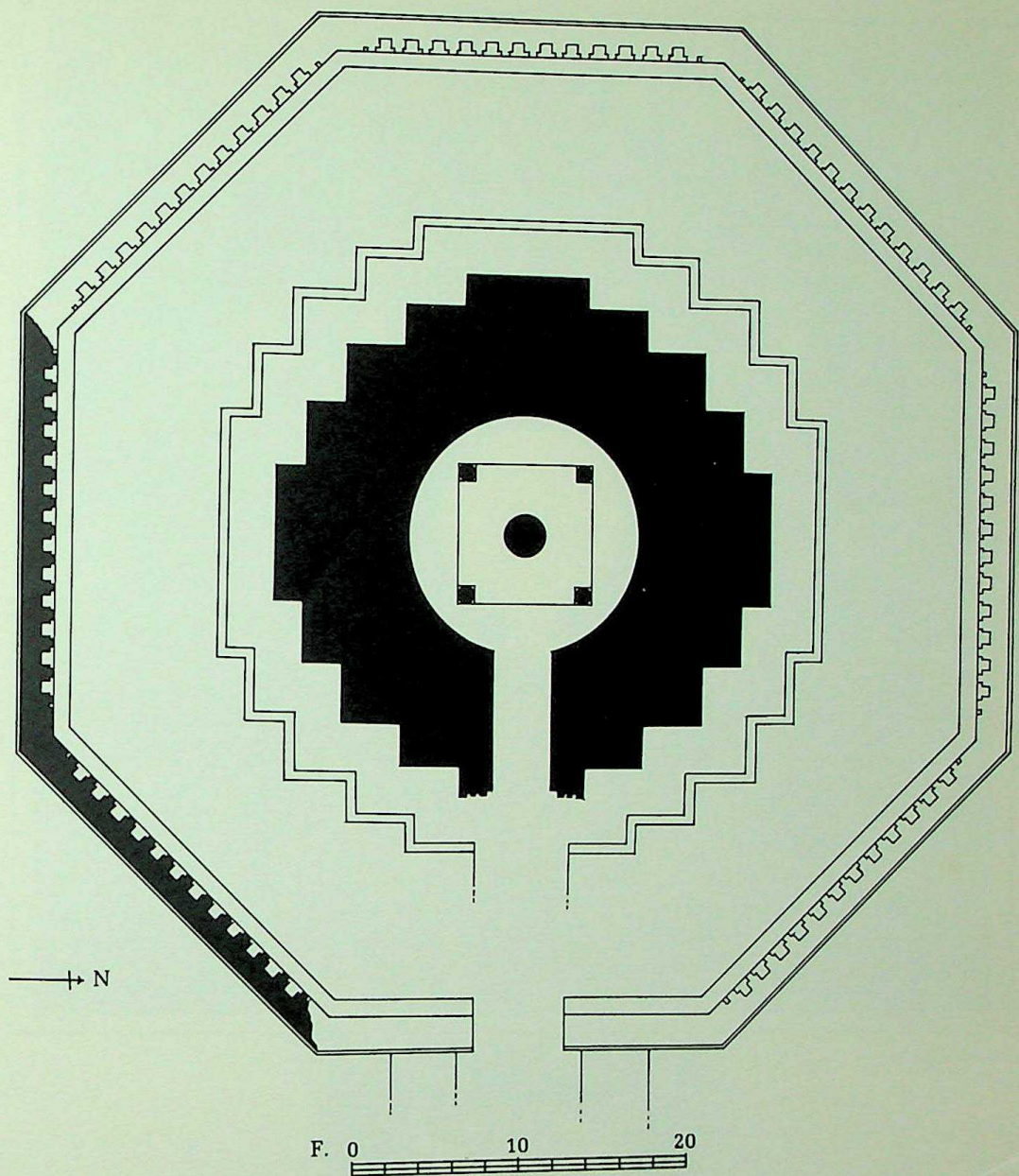
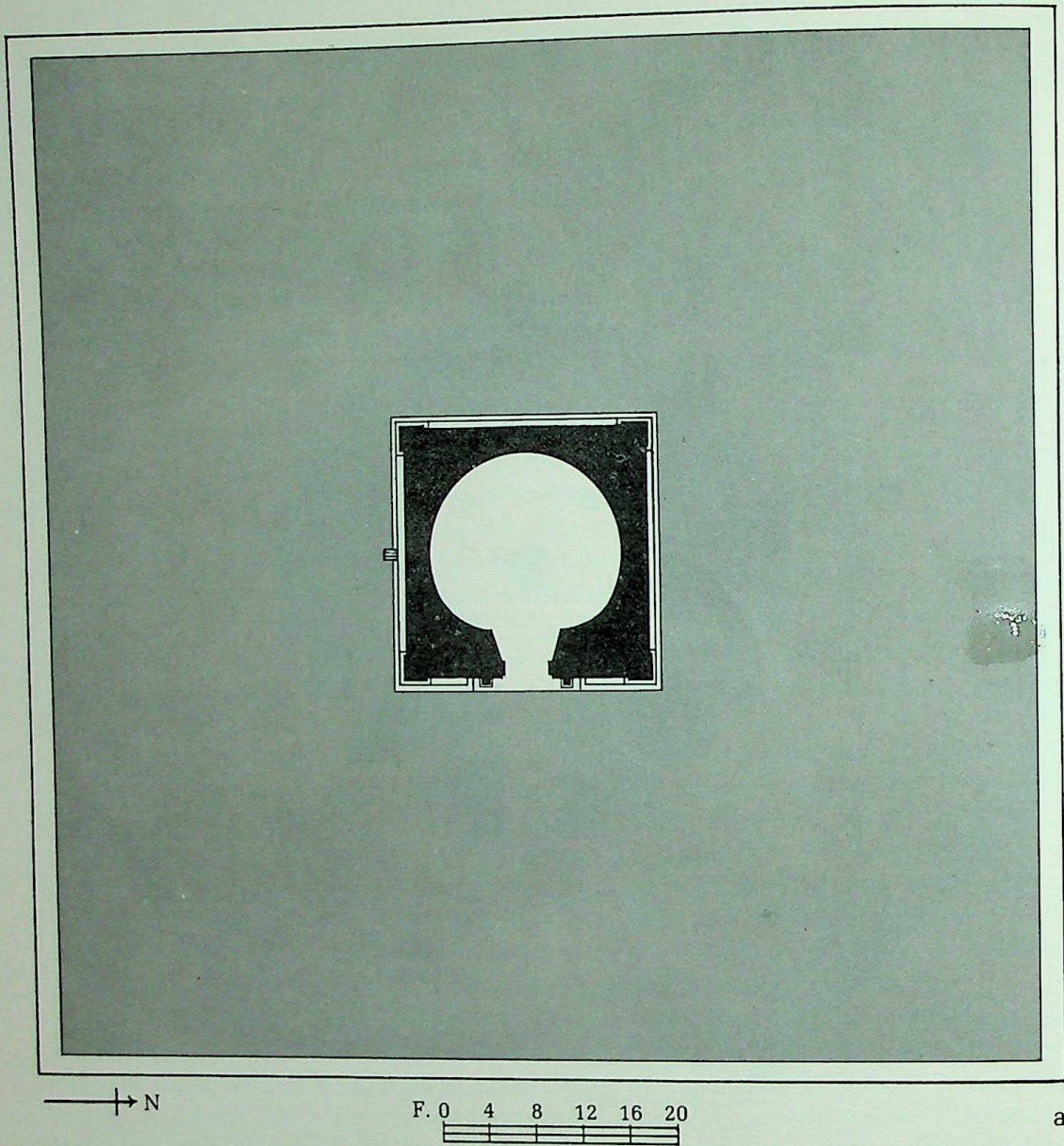


Fig. 139. Śrīnagar. Śaṅkarācārya temple, plan.

Sulaiman hill (ancient Gōpādri), that overlooks the sprawling city of Śrīnagar. The temple faces east. It is constructed of limestone ashlar and stands on a high octagonal terrace protected by a parapet and decorated internally by sunk niches with arcuate tops (Plate 706). The terrace functions as pradakṣiṇā and is reached by three steep flights of steps (Plate 704). Above the lowest series of steps is a landing; and above the middle series is an arched entrance through a protective wall that encloses the top flight of steps (Plate 705). The wall is plain save for a prominent kalaśa above two plain bhūṭa offsets at the base. Constructed above an octagonal terrace, the temple has a circular sanctum but is square externally with two planes of offset feigning a





140. Lāduv: a. Śiva temple no. 1, tank.

pañcaratha or tri-aṅga plan. The massive vēdibandha is composed of bhiṭṭa, kalaśa, broad kandhara, and a distinctive form of kapōta with plain vṛttakarna beneath (Plate 707). (A similar vēdibandha with some additional mouldings can be found on some early Surāṣṭra temples such as Sōnkaṁsārī temple no. 1, and Khimēśvara temple no. 1, both datable to c. A.D. 650-675.)

The jaṅghā, as it survives, has stark, shallow, offsets of plain ashlar; the central offsets suggest pedimented tops. At least one corner offset preserves a suggestion of a Phāṁsanā pent-roof. All lack such features as niches, pilasters, or mouldings.

The garbhagṛha is approached from the terrace by lateral flights of steps and is entered through a gabled entrance with a steep pediment that shows no trefoil design. The circular interior of the garbhagṛha is plain, plastered, and enshrines a modern Śivaliṅga (the original, encircled by a serpent, is illustrated by Cole). Sahni and Kak



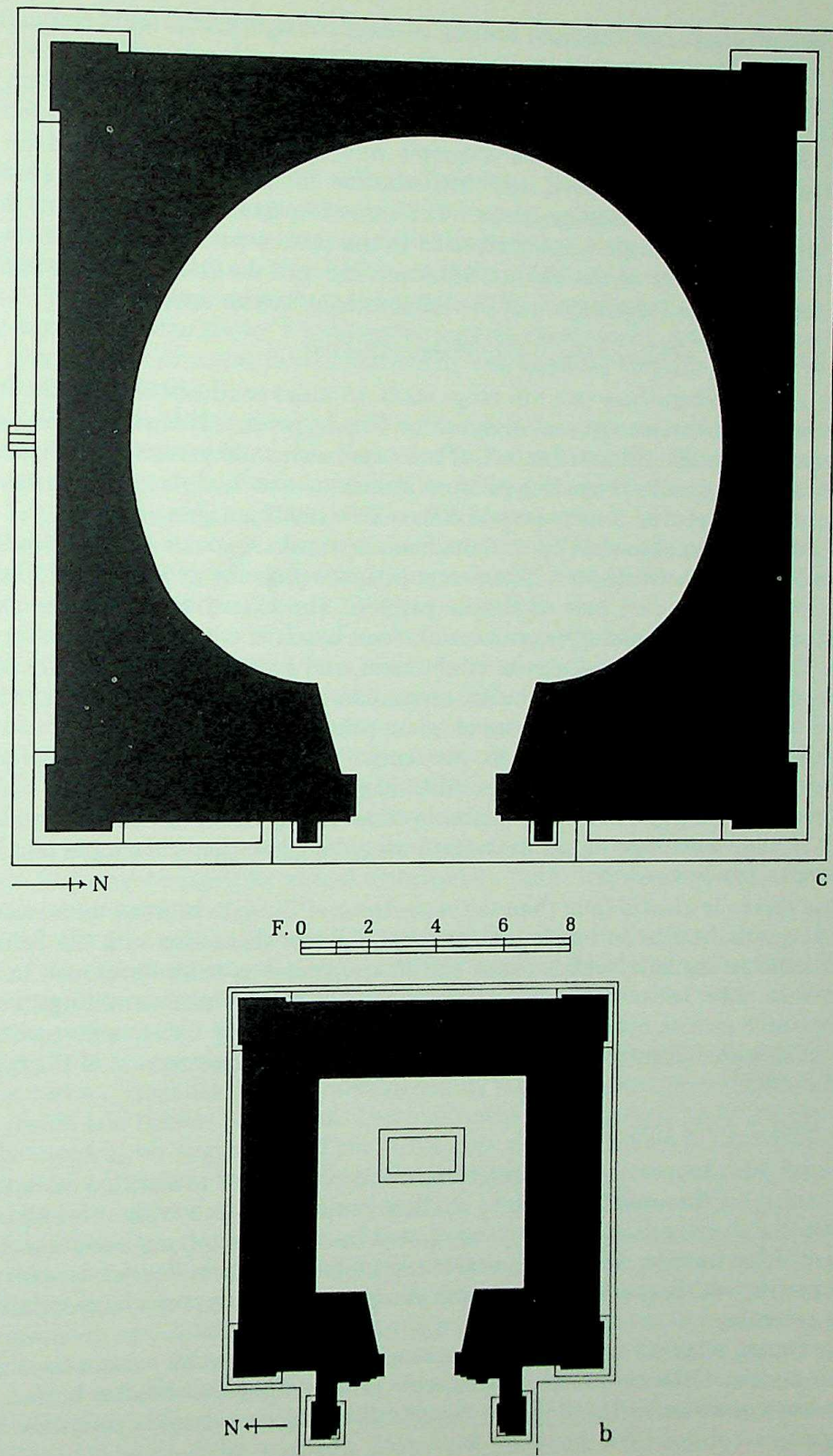


Fig. 140. b. Śiva temple no. 2, plan; c. Śiva temple no. 1, plan.



report that the original ceiling was domical, made of concentric courses of kanjur, now covered by a ceiling supported by four columns. "The southwest column bears two Persian inscriptions one of which states that the column on which it is engraved was carved by a mason named Bihishti in A.D. 1644, which falls in the reign of Shah Jahan."

The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* records that a temple of Jyēsthēśvara was founded on the Gōpādri hill by king Gōpāditya, who settled some brahmins born in Āryadēśa in agrahāras designated as "Gōpāgrahāras." The name Gōpāgrahāra has survived in the name of the modern village Gupkār situated in the eastern part of Śrīnagar (between the northeast extremity of the Takht-i-Sulaiman hill and the Dal lake). Whether the present temple is the Jyēsthēśvara of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* seems uncertain.

*Lāduv*, temple no. 1 (Figs. 140a, 143b; Plates 708-709)

*Lāduv* is situated at the base of a hill range about 15 miles southeast of Śrīnagar. It has two shrines of modest design and dimensions. The larger (no. 1) is situated in a tank fed by natural springs; the smaller (no. 2) is located about 100 yards to the northeast.

Both are square with projecting pilasters at each corner. Temple no. 1 measures 24 ft. externally; temple no. 2 measures 11.5 ft. with a small *prāgrīva* in front.

The *vēdibandha* of temple no. 1, though much worn out, shows a *kalaśa* moulding between two *paṭṭikās* (Plate 708). The corner pilasters project very slightly and have a *ghaṭa* at the base above a pair of simple *paṭṭikās*. The *jaṅghā*, built of plain ashlar courses, supports a splayed-out cornice with three bands of *paṭṭikā* and *ovolo* (ardha-kalaśa). The shrine has one entrance, on the west, and a simple *praṇāla* on the north. The overdoor aperture is semicircular, surrounded by a shallow trefoil, truncated pyramid, and crowning pediment, set on plain pilasters.

The interior sanctum of temple no. 1 is ovoid (Plate 709), with a plain wall, having batter, surmounted by a cornice of *paṭṭikā*, *ovolo* (ardhakalaśa), and broad *paṭṭikā*. Upper courses of a superstructure, probably constituting a corbelled dome, are lost.

A 4 ft. high *Śivaliṅga* found in the tank would suggest that the temple had been dedicated to Śaiva worship.

This shrine is clearly later than the monument at Guniyār in Swat with which it shares a square exterior and a circular interior; it shares these also with the Śāṅkarā-cārya temple at Śrīnagar, which Sahni and Kak regarded as more developed in plan and later in date. In its square layout, sequence of *vēdibandha* mouldings, corner pilasters, and entrance with a crowning design combining trefoil and pediment, however, this shrine anticipates many of the basic traits characteristic of the typical Kashmiri style.

*Lāduv*, temple no. 2 (Fig. 140b)

Temple no. 2 is plain, with corner pilasters, a square sanctum, and with a rectangular door opening on the west framed by a shallow projecting *kapilī* with attached pilasters. Over the door is an architrave surmounted by a sunk trefoil enclosed in a small pediment. The framing *kapilī* pilasters support heavy impost blocks carved with vegetal motifs; within these, narrower and shorter pilasters support a large trefoil roof for this *antarāla*.

The corner pilasters carry capital blocks adorned with vegetal patterns and stand on bases similar to those on the larger shrine. The *vēdibandha* remains buried. The interior has a plain lantern ceiling with two diminishing squares and a *pīṭhikā* without an image.



Temple no. 2 closely resembles no. 1, save for its square interior, and both may be dated c. A.D. 700-725.

*Maṭṭan, Mārtaṇḍa temple* (Figs. 141, 143c-d, 153a-b, 156a-b, 158a; Plates 710-721)

The Mārtaṇḍa temple, dedicated to the Sun-god, Sūrya, is located on the high part of a plateau occupied partly by the village of Maṭṭan. Built by the great Kārkōṭa king, Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa, in the mid-eighth century A.D., its picturesque situation at the foot of a mountain enhances its majesty. The temple stands in the middle of a large courtyard (220 x 142 ft.), enclosed by a cellular peristyle once having 86 fluted columns. The main temple is surrounded by four subsidiary shrines, and is reared up on a lofty jagatī. The plan shows a garbhagrha, antarāla, and closed maṇḍapa, approached by a grand flight of steps, that is flanked by two unusual two-chambered structures (Fig. 141; Plate 710).

The peristylar quadrangle is entered on the west through a double-chambered gateway that shares the width of the main temple (Plates 719, 721). The division between the outer and inner chambers is marked by faceted jambs flanking a wide door.

The jagatī supporting the central shrine has two tiers, both with niches (Plates 711-714). The upper row has larger niches harbouring 37 divine figures, which include Sūrya (Plates 715-716), Śiva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and the Dikpālas. These ornate niches (Plate 715) stand on a high moulded adhiṣṭhāna. This was later covered by a lower series of niches, on a separate adhiṣṭhāna, expanding the width of the jagatī by c. 51 in. This lower series of smaller niches (Plate 718) harbour mostly subordinate secular figures (common folk, dancers, musicians, mithunas, etc.). Moulded blocks of masonry were probably intended to support some light roofing or canopy over the figures. That there was not much gap of time between construction of the two series of niches, as suggested by Debala Mitra, seems plausible. The delightful rendering of the simple themes of the lower niches (Plate 714) might seem to echo the terracotta tiles of Paharpur, in sharp contrast with the hieratic figures in the upper niches, and might suggest an impact from Eastern India, imbibed by Lalitāditya during his eastern campaigns.

The spacious astylar maṇḍapa has an imposing entrance with a trefoil arch above (Plate 710). The intrados are richly embellished with floral and geometrical designs including diamonds with a large lotus relief in the middle. The arch springs from pilasters with a plain shaft but moulded base, and a capital with entablature supporting the enormous pediment. These pilasters are framed by a pair of larger pilasters on the corners, their shafts each embellished by three vertically placed niches framed with trefoil and double pediments. These pilasters are preserved up to the level of an ornate cornice; no suggestion of the Phāṃsanā superstructure above remains. The cornice shows a band of kirttimukha dentils, alternating with diminutive pedimented trefoils, and a register of rosettes within small rectangular frames.

The inside faces of this entrance show large niches framed by two sets of pilasters, each with pediments, one placed within the other. Each niche rests on an oblong panel of gaṇas; the south niche preserves a six-armed figure of a pratihāra, one hand in abhayamudrā, one holding triśūla. The interior walls of the maṇḍapa show similar sculptured niches, on north and south, and doors opening to the jagatī terrace outside that also are embellished with crowning double pediments. These niches house a large standing figure of ten-armed Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu (N; Plate 717) and three-headed Śiva-Mahādēva (S). Above the southern door is an abraded three-headed seated Viṣṇu holding śaṅkha and cakra.



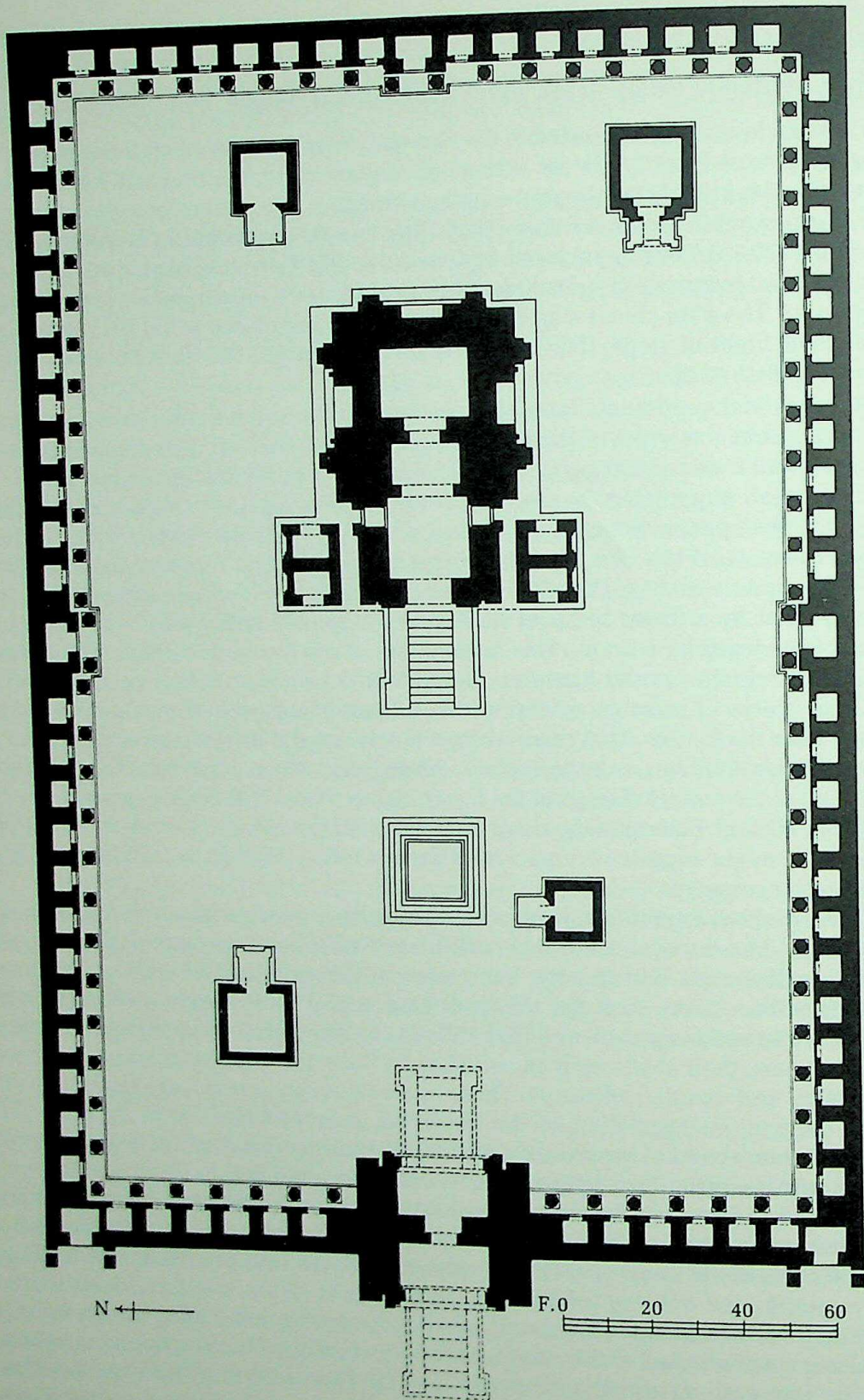


Fig. 141. Maṭṭan. Mārtaṇḍa temple, plan.



The interior wall has a broad entablature embellished with 14 niches, six on north and south, two on the east. One of the eastern niches contains a mutilated image of the solar chariot driven by Aruṇa; the other 12 niches perhaps harboured figures of the Dvādaśādityas.

The oblong antarāla is approached through a stupendous trefoil opening similar to that at the maṇḍapa's entrance. Lateral walls bear figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in niches identical to those in the maṇḍapa.

The frame of the garbha doorway has plain śākhās and is cantoned by pilasters of which only the lowest portion has survived. The walls of the garbhagrha are severely plain but for faceted top courses which mark the beginning of the oversailing roof.

The garbhagrha and antarāla externally form one unit, dvi-aṅga on plan. The façades of this unit repeat the design of the western face of the maṇḍapa, save that the trefoil entries are closed off by walls displaying large, rectangular, framed niches (Plates 712-713) now empty. These niches almost certainly once contained images of Sūrya.

The purpose of the double-chambered wings on the two sides of the maṇḍapa is not clear. They stand on the same jagatī and could have enshrined images of the consorts of Sūrya.

Between the main sanctuary and the gateway on the west is a tank sunk in the courtyard.

The gateway centered in the western side of the peristyle is an imposing structure accessible by steps from both sides (Plates 719, 721). It is partitioned into two chambers by a wall with a broad doorframe between. Paired pillars in front and back were intended to support the gabled roofs of slightly projecting porticoes. The façades and interior of the gateway resemble the maṇḍapa in decoration; the panels below niches here have hamsas or gaṇas, and flying vidyādhara and gandharvas flank the niche-tops.

The peristyle enclosing the courtyard (Plate 720) stands on a 9.5 ft. high adhiṣṭhāna embellished with simple mouldings on the inner face (Fig. 153a); the outer western face shows kalaśa and kandhara but omits kapōta.

The quadrangular peristyle (Plate 720) is among the largest in Kashmir, with 25 cells on north and south, 19 on the east, and 12 on the west. Two mock cells, with projecting paired columns, face out on the corners of the outside front wall of the enclosure. Each cell has a door with a trefoil above, and a typical gable-pediment resting on shallow pillarets. In front of these cells is a narrow gallery and a row of fluted columns. The central cells on the north, east, and south are larger in scale, and the columns in front of them project from the colonnade (Plate 720). These narrow cells once held images on pedestals, of which only a few have survived.

The plinths of four subsidiary shrines survive, of which three, on the northeast, northwest, and southeast, face the main sanctuary. The smaller shrine on the southwest neither occupies the corner nor faces the sanctuary. Vēdibandhas resemble that on the western face of the plinth of the peristyle, with kalaśa, kandhara, and a paṭṭikā with a plain vṛttakarṇa beneath. The kandhara of the southeastern shrine is embellished with reliefs of dancing and singing gaṇas in niches.

This temple, built of huge limestone ashlar, is one of the largest monuments of Kashmir. Its grand conception undoubtedly reflects the dynamic personality of Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa, who was by far the most ambitious and powerful king of Kashmir. The monument, however, still suffers a hesitancy and immaturity of plan as seen in the cumbersome lateral wings of the maṇḍapa and the addition of a second jagatī. In



this pioneering project, however, Lalitāditya and his architects laid the foundation for later monuments.

### *Parihāsapura, city remains*

According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Lalitāditya built a new capital at Parihāsapura (modern Paraspur, c. 15.5 miles northwest of Śrīnagar), situated on the high karewas near the confluence between the Vitastā and the Sindhu, which had many advantages over the damp and swampy capital at Śrīnagar. The king and his ministers adorned it with large religious foundations. Lalitāditya is said to have built four Vaiṣṇava temples, the Muktākēśava, Parihāsakēśava, Mahāvarāha, and Gōvardhanadhara, with resplendent gold and silver images, and a tall monolithic Garuḍa standard, and a Buddhist monastery called the Rājavihāra, with an extensive quadrangle, a grand caitya, and colossal images of "Jina" (i.e. the Buddha). Kalhaṇa specifically mentions a colossal bronze Buddha ("Brhad-Buddha") set up by the king weighing 84,000 prasthas.

Caṅkuṇa, the Tukhāra minister of the king, also built a vihāra and stūpa where he consecrated golden images of the Buddha. Caṅkuṇa set up an image of Buddha, brought by the king from Magadha, in his vihāra.

The decline of Parihāsapura is noted by Kalhaṇa who says that Śaṅkaravarmā despoiled the temples in order to build his new capital at Śaṅkarapurapattana (modern Pāṭan). The irrigational projects of Śaṅkaravarmā's predecessor, Avantivarmā, had already shifted the confluence of the Sindhu and Vitastā away from Parihāsapura. Some vestiges of monuments are preserved along the edge of the plateau with the remains of a Buddhist stūpa, a vihāra, and a caitya that may be recognized as Caṅkuṇa's stūpa, the Rājavihāra, and a caitya built either by the king or Caṅkuṇa.

Traces of two large temples with quadrangles more extensive than those at Mārtaṇḍa (258 × 209 ft. and 295 × 247 ft.) have been recognized at another part of the ruined site. One has been identified as the temple of Muktākēśava; the other may be either the Parihāsakēśava or the temple of Mitrēśvara founded by Lalitāditya's minister Mitraśarmā.

### *Parihāsapura, Caṅkuṇa's stūpa (Fig. 147a; Plates 722-726)*

The stūpa built by Caṅkuṇa has two mēḍhīs of pañcaratha design (Plates 722-723); the lower measures c. 240 ft. square and the upper about 200 ft. square. Both are approached by flights of steps. The lower mēḍhī rises above three plain bhiṭṭa courses and shows kalaśa, kandhara, and a kalaśa with projecting madhyabandha (Fig. 149a) (feigning kapōta underscored by plain vṛttakarna). These mouldings are repeated for the second terrace. The superstructure of the stūpa has disappeared, leaving only a huge mass of fallen boulders.

The broad flights of steps on four sides are flanked by plain rails; the side walls show pilasters in front adorned with gaṇas seeming to support the weight (Plates 725-726). The site has yielded a number of fragments of trefoil arches containing images of Buddha (Plate 724) and of Bōdhisattvas.

### *Parihāsapura, Rājavihāra (not illustrated)*

The so-called Rājavihāra erected immediately to the south of Caṅkuṇa's stūpa has a monastic quadrangle measuring 152 × 140 ft. The monastery is entered from the east by a flight of steps. It comprises 26 cells with a gallery enclosing an open courtyard. Entrance steps lead to a fair-sized hall on the east. A similar hall also on the west is preceded by three small cells with a vestibule in front projecting into the courtyard.



Only the lower courses of the adhiṣṭhāna of this building have survived.

*Parihāsapura, caitya* (Fig. 143e; Plates 727-729)

On the south, in the same alignment as the preceding building, is a caitya structure built also under the patronage of Lalitāditya. Entrance steps on the east had flanking walls embellished with figures of atlantes as had Caṅkuṇa's stūpa. The central shrine measures 95 ft. square and is enclosed by an extensive (c. 240 ft. square) quadrangle. The central structure has a double mēḍhī repeating the sequence of mouldings on Caṅkuṇa's stūpa. The monument uses some of the most massive blocks of stone ever found in a Kashmir temple. The garbhagṛha is 27 ft. square and has a single block of stone at its centre measuring 14 × 12.5 ft. by 5 ft. 2 in. high. The shrine seemingly was sāndhāra, the ambulatory ceiling supported on four columns, the bases of which survive.

In front of the temple is the base of a column that might have supported a Buddhist standard. Pillar bases and loose fragments of pillar capitals and architraves scattered in the compound are similar to those at Mārtaṇḍa.

The solid, boldly moulded, plinth-profiles of monuments at Parihāsapura, spacious layouts, and their massive well-jointed, ashlar construction suggest that they were structurally more developed than the temple at Mārtaṇḍa, erected late in the reign of Lalitāditya when his architects had gained confidence and proficiency.

*Uṣkar (Huṣkapura), stūpa* (Plate 730)

Lalitāditya, according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, established a Vaiṣṇava shrine at Huṣkapura (modern Ushkar) known as the Muktāsvāmī temple, a colossal vihāra, and a stūpa. The Vaiṣṇava shrine and vihāra have not been traced, but remains of a stūpa built of fine limestone ashlar have been exposed (Plate 730), revealing mouldings of a pañcaratha mēḍhī 212 ft. square. Its moulded adhiṣṭhāna and the pilasters flanking stairs in the cardinal directions are similar to those of Caṅkuṇa's stūpa at Parihāsapura.

The site has yielded a stucco plaque representing a seated Buddha and stucco heads of secular figures.

*Narastān, Śiva temple* (not illustrated)

Narastān, situated c. 20 miles northeast of Avantīpur, has a well-preserved Śiva temple remarkable in many ways. The temple is a single-chambered structure located in the middle of a courtyard (70 ft. square) enclosed by a compound wall (not the usual peristyle). The temple stands on a jagatī that served as vēdibandha with bold kalaśa, kandhara, and kapōta mouldings. The jagatī does not allow pradakṣiṇā. The shrine is dvi-aṅga on plan and each bhādra has a deep trefoiled recess surmounted by high-pitched double pediment which in turn is enclosed by an unusually shallow trefoil crowned by a two-storeyed pediment. The capitals from which the pediments spring are adorned by kinnaras, and the apex of the pediments by a garuḍa as at Mārtaṇḍa and Avantīpur.

The south-facing temple is approached from the court by a stair with side walls decorated with trefoil arches and crowned by swags of beaded garland. A prāgrīva projects about 4 ft. with two pedimented niches on its inner walls, each containing an image of a six-armed goddess. Smaller niches beneath harbour figures of atlantid gaṇas.

The sanctum enshrines a Śivaliṅga; on the east wall is a double-pedimented niche



crowned by a kneeling devotee. The corbelled ceiling is ruined at the upper part. The roof externally had the usual Kashmiri pyramidal form.

In front of the sanctum is an 8-ft.-square tank, its inlet decorated by a lotus and by makara-heads. A drain connects this to a small chamber, with a narrow door and pedimented window, that may have served as a bathing chamber for female worshippers. Adjoining is a small shrine with a sloping roof and plain lantern ceiling resembling that in the sanctum of the smaller shrine at Lāduv.

In the middle of the south face of the enclosure-wall is a double-chambered gateway.

Though in layout and design this temple displays many aberrant features, it has general sculptural and architectural affinity with the Mārtaṇḍa temple and may have been one of the numerous foundations built during the later part of the reign of king Lalitāditya late in the eighth century.

Tāpar, Viṣṇu temple (Figs. 142, 143f, 147b, 153c; Plates 731-733, 739)

Ancient Pratāpapura has the remains of one of the largest brahmanical temples in Kashmir (measuring about 300 ft. from east to west and 250 ft. across). The pañcāyātana remains show an east-facing central shrine raised on a two-tiered jagatī (Plates 731, 733). Each jagatī shows two paṭṭikās, a kalaśa, broad kandhara, and a crowning filleted torus (kalaśa with madhyabandha, but possibly meant to be a kapōta with vṛttakarna beneath; Fig. 147b). Traces of a large, rectangular, pillared maṇḍapa and a small raised platform, probably for the Garuḍadhvaja, survive on axis in front of the shrine.

The complex was approached by a gateway situated in the middle of the eastern peristyle. The peristyle is broader on the east, and shows the usual projection in the middle of the other three sides.

Three of the four subsidiary shrines faced east (Plate 732). That on the southwest, however, faced north. Only the mouldings of their adhiṣṭhānas survive.

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī records that Pratāpapura was built by Pratāpāditya, father of Lalitāditya. No mention is made of the construction of a temple. The excellent masonry and mouldings compare rather with those at Parihāsapura, and the temple may be assigned to the latter part of the reign of Lalitāditya (who also was called Pratāpāditya). A pillar-base and capital found at the site also show advanced features.

The compound has yielded fragments of two images of Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu. The lower part of one could be that of the main deity of the temple (Plate 739). The other image, recently discovered, cannot be assigned a date earlier than the tenth century.

Avantipur, Avantisvāmī temple (Figs. 147c, 153d, 154d; Plates 734-738, 740-753)

Avantipur founded by Avantivarmā (A.D. 855-883), is located on the bank of the Vitas-tā. According to the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the site marked the tīrtha of Viśvaikāsara where death was believed to ensure final beatitude. All that has survived of the ancient town are some sculptures in the S.P.S. Museum in Śrīnagar and remains of two large temples, the Avantisvāmī and the Avantisvara founded by Avantivarmā (one before, the other after, his coronation).

The remains of the Avantisvāmī, after clearance, have revealed a developed temple-complex that resembles the Mārtaṇḍa temple with its cellular peristyle in substantial ways. Slightly smaller than Mārtaṇḍa, this temple sheds the experimental and non-essential appendages of that temple and consolidates the layout and design typical of a fully evolved Kashmiri temple.

The central edifice is a single-chambered structure of dvi-aṅga plan rising on a



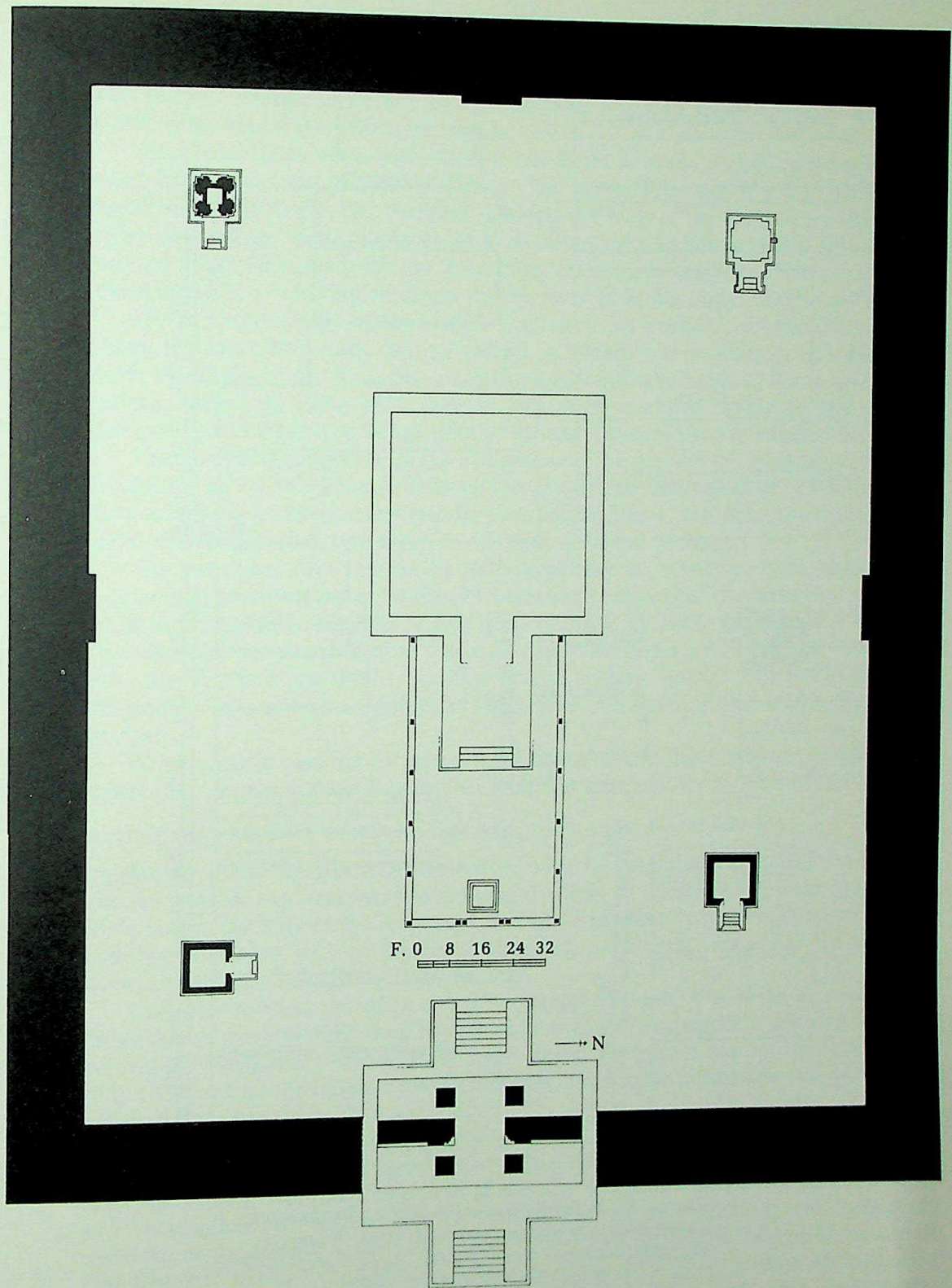


Fig. 142. Tāpar. Viṣṇu temple, plan.



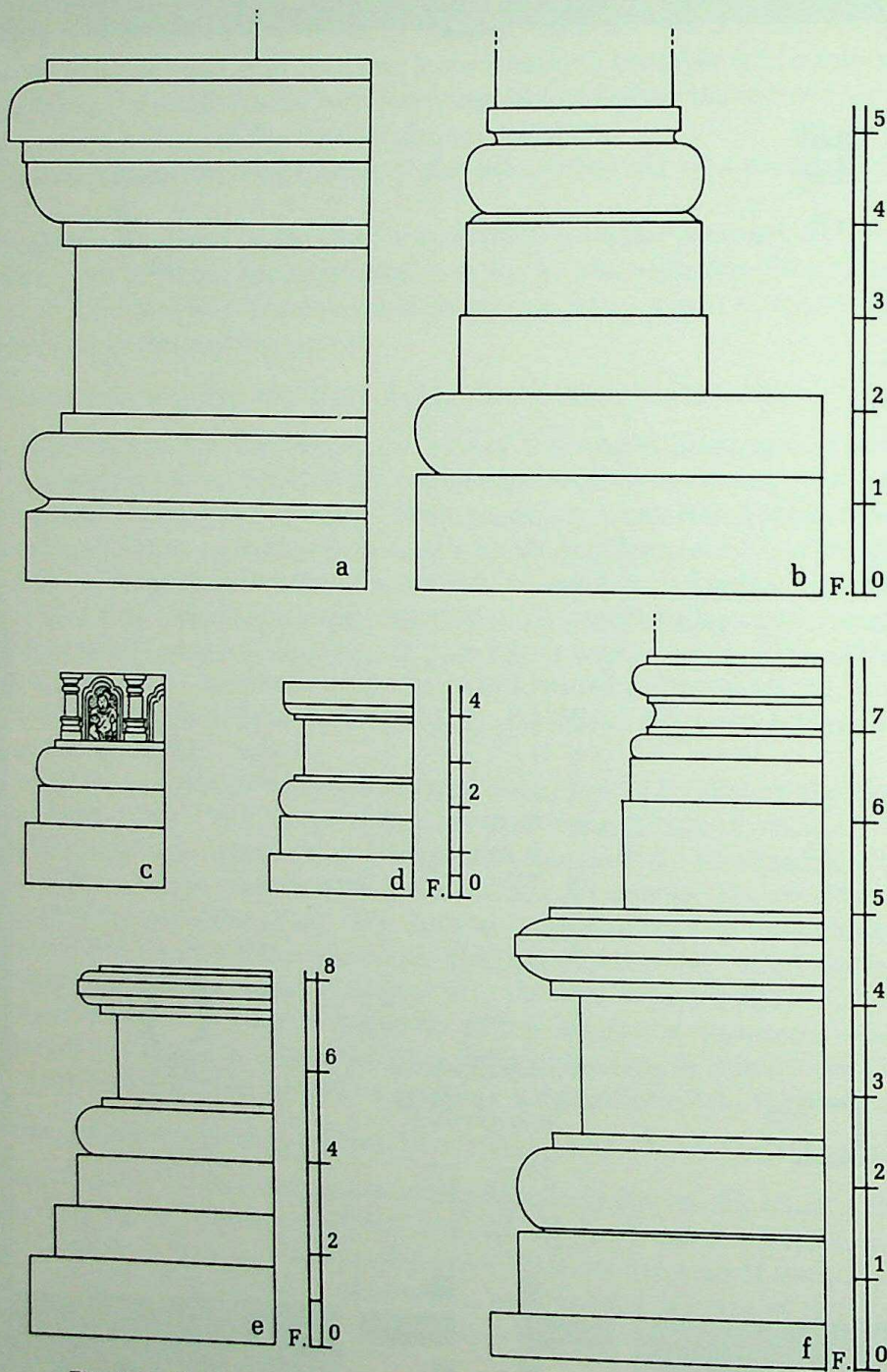


Fig. 143. Vēdibandhas:

- a. Śrīnagar. Śaṅkarācārya temple; b. Lāduv. Śiva temple no. 1;  
 c. Maṭṭan. Mārtaṇḍa temple, southwest corner, shrine;  
 d. Mārtaṇḍa, northwest corner, shrine; e. Parihāsapura. Caitya;  
 f. Ṭāpar. Viṣṇu temple, southwest corner, shrine.



two-tiered adhiṣṭhāna (Plates 736-737). The lower one serves as a jagatī, with a 4 ft. wide pradakṣiṇā, the upper one as a vēdibandha. The vēdibandha mouldings are identical to those at Tāpar and Parihāsapura; the upper moulding of the jagatī, however, shows a variant form (Fig. 147c). Mutilated pilasters above the vēdibandha resemble pilasters on the Mārtaṇḍa temple.

The shrine faces west, with a two-tiered flight of steps, a landing between, preceded by vestiges of a pillared maṇḍapa (Fig. 153d). The base of a Garuḍadhvaja is placed axially in front. The parapets flanking the base of the stairs are embellished with noble reliefs, those on the outer faces depicting Kāmadēva seated with his two consorts (Plate 738), those on the inner faces showing Avantivarmā, his consort, and attendants who are paying obeisance to the divinity in the sanctum (Plates 740-741).

The gateway occupying the middle portion of the western peristyle (Plate 742) is among the most ornate and best preserved in Kashmir. Numerous pillars supported porch-like projections. Walls are lavishly carved with geometrical, floral, and figural designs, mithunas (Plate 746), groups flanked by animals, vyālas, or trees, gaṇas, dvārapālas, and figures of Gaṅgā (Plate 745) and Yamunā (in pedimented niches).

The inner and outer faces of the adhiṣṭhāna of the peristyle display the same set of mouldings as on the western face at Mārtaṇḍa. The placement of the four corner shrines is more systematic and regular than before (Plate 735), though with two additional shrines inserted near those on the northeast and southeast.

The peristyle, now missing its roof, comprises 69 miniature cells, each with a pedimented trefoil entrance flanked by ornate bhittistambhas, with stately fluted columns in front (Plate 743). The pillars at the corners are heavy and square (Plate 743). The luxuriant ornamentation of the bhittistambhas shows a rich variety (Plates 747, 749-752). The two principal types show either oblique flutings with beaded lines in the grooves or a vertical succession of fluted pots (maṅgala-kalaśas) marked by beaded strings.

A remarkable base for an image, from the shrine in the southwest corner of the compound, shows a praṇāla decorated with the head of Garuḍa (Plate 753).

*Avantipur, Avantīśvara temple (Figs. 144, 153e, 154e; Plates 754-757)*

Unlike the Viṣṇu temple of Avantīśvāmī, with its lavish carvings, the Avantīśvara temple, dedicated to Śiva, has few sculptural reliefs. Its peristyle enclosure (202 × 172 ft.) is larger than that of the Avantīśvāmī, but its gateway is smaller, displaying only pedimented niches with no figures (Plates 755, 757). Only vestiges of the peristyle have survived; its adhiṣṭhāna lacks kalaśa.

Only the jagatī of the main shrine is preserved (Plate 756). It is approached by broad stairs from four sides, and to each of its corners is appended a square projection on which a subsidiary shrine must have stood. The jagatī has an unusual profile (Fig. 147c), with a kandhara between paṭṭikās, supporting a broad recess, with small pillarets shown in low relief.

This temple had only two subsidiary shrines, to the northeast and southeast.

Of the architectural pieces scattered at the site, some are quite interesting. There are fluted pillars with ghaṭa bases and ghaṭapallava capitals. Some architectural members show gaṇas or a female deity in a niche, flanked by apsaras, with pediments made up of candraśālā motifs, the upper gavākṣa set against a Phāmsanā pent-roof. One fragment shows Avantivarmā, dressed as a Śaiva ascetic, standing with his consort and paying obeisance (to the deity in the sanctum; Plate 754). One architectural member represents standing Lakulīśa in a trefoil niche flanked by circular pilasters.



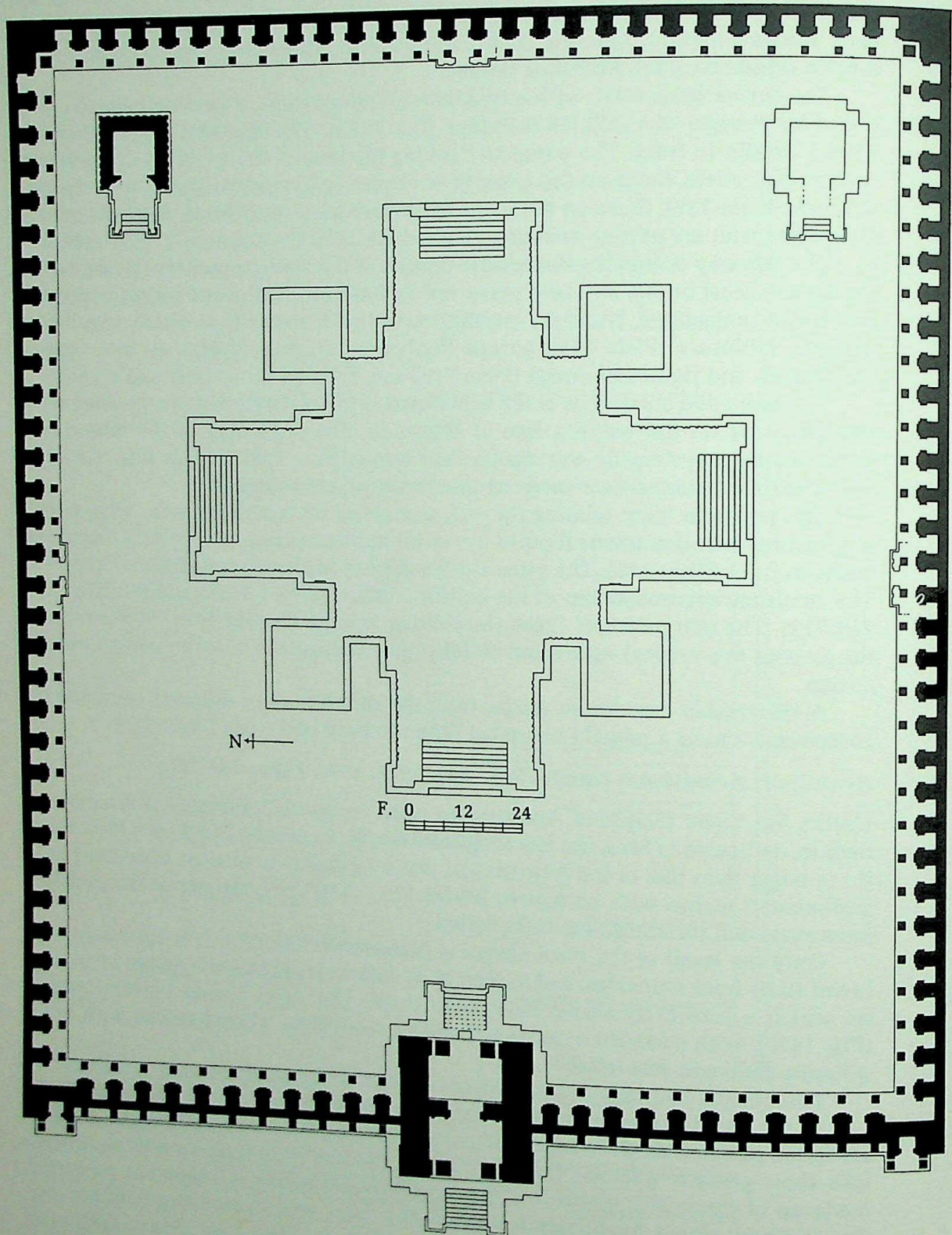


Fig. 144. Avantipur. Avantīśvara temple, plan.



The presence of ghaṭapallava capitals, āmalakas, and gavākṣa ornament suggests conscious interaction with the architectural traditions of territories conquered by Lalitāditya in northern India.

*Pāṭan, Sugandhēśa temple* (Figs. 145, 147d, 153f; Plates 759-761)

The modern Pāṭan represents the ancient Śaṅkarapurapattana founded by king Śaṅkaravarmā (A.D. 883-902), son and successor of Avantivarmā. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* states that three Śaiva temples were built during Śaṅkaravarmā's reign; the Śaṅkara-gaurīśa and Sugandhēśa temples were built by the king and the Ratnavardhanēśa by his minister Ratnavardhana. The Ratnavardhanēśa temple is now lost, but ruins of the other two are preserved.

The east-facing Sugandhēśa temple was once surrounded by a cellular peristyle, of which only the eastern wing with a gateway remains (Fig. 145). Surviving are a main shrine, opposite the gateway, and remnants of two subsidiary shrines, on the southeast and southwest, and a miniature shrine to the south. The two corner shrines suggest that the temple was originally pañcāyatana.

The main shrine is a developed dvi-aṅga prāsāda (Plate 759). It stands on a two-tiered jagatī approached from the east. The tiers of the jagatī repeat the mouldings and

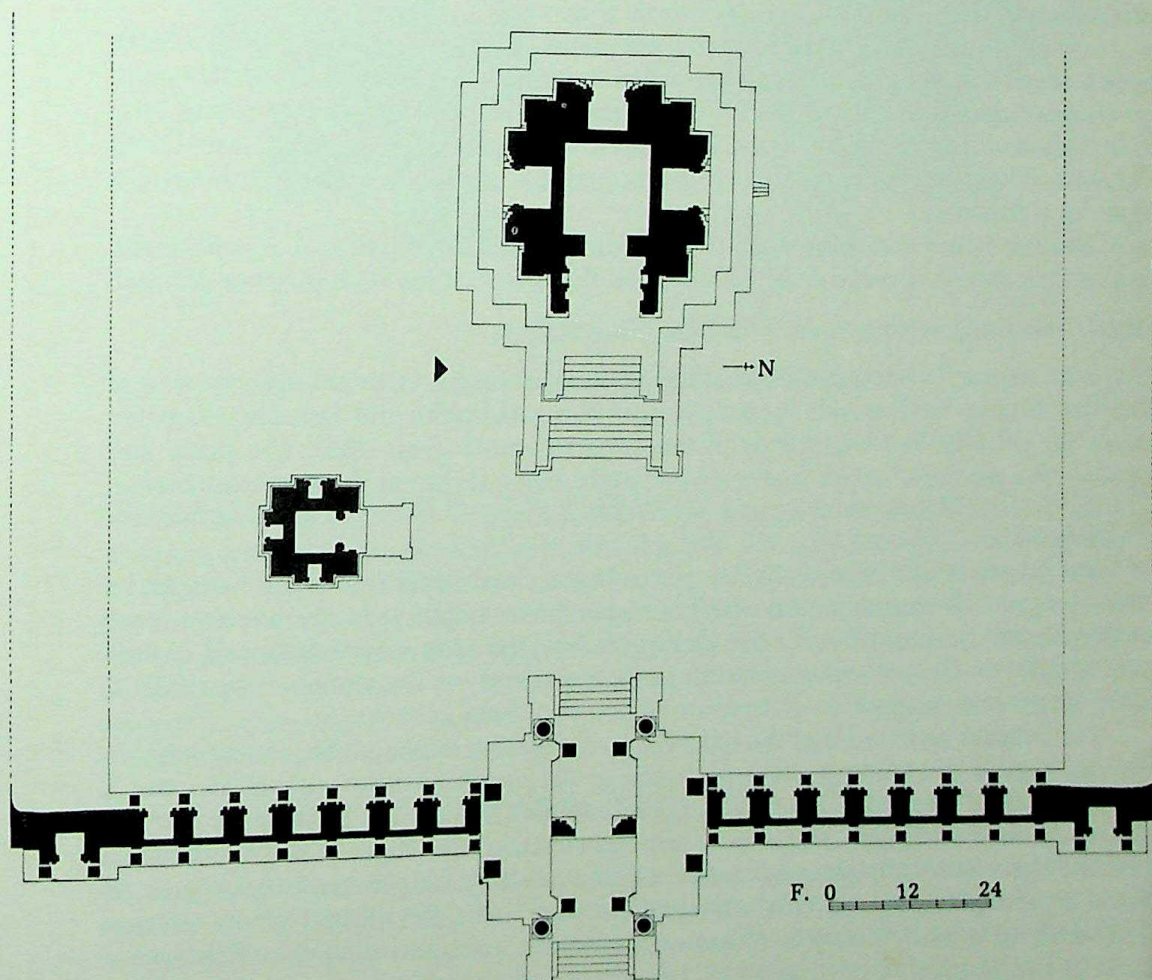


Fig. 145. Pāṭan. Sugandhēśa temple, plan.



design of the outer jagatī of the Mārtaṇḍa temple with the difference that this temple has only uncarved blocks in place of niches (Plate 760; these number 57 on the lower tier alone). The garbhagṛha was preceded by an antarāla and probably a short prāgrīva. The interior southern wall of the antarāla has a deep, trefoil-headed niche, now empty, crowned by an elaborate double pediment.

The jaṅghā of the main shrine shows corner pilasters with an *ovolo* and *scotia* besides three kalaśa mouldings at the base (Fig. 147d). Pilasters also project on each bhadrā framing a deep, pedimented niche (Plate 760) that once perhaps contained a Śivaliṅga on a pīṭhikā. The trefoil and double pediment of the niche was supported on fluted pilasters; the bhadrā itself also had crowning members of a similar design supported on Rucaka pilasters. These had identical capitals, brackets, and cornice decorated with grāsapaṭṭī.

Only the plinths of subsidiary shrines to the south and in the southwest corner have survived. A north-facing shrine on the southeast, however, is better preserved; on plan it is a smaller version of the main shrine. The jagatī is only a single tier, but has a similar row of blocked-out niches in the kandhara (indicating that, like the main shrine, this remained unfinished). The corner pilaster on the jaṅghā shows an apophyge above usual base mouldings. The adhiṣṭhāna of the peristyle has mouldings resembling those of the Avantīsvāmī temple (Fig. 153f).

Among loose architectural fragments are pieces of an architrave embellished with three rows of grāsapaṭṭī separated by registers of lotus petals and rosettes in rectangular compartments. There are also cross corbels of the taraṅga variety (Plate 761) embellished with figures of atlantes. A fragment of the gateway wall is decorated with a kinnara-mithuna in an oblong panel that supports a pedimented niche harbouring a figure of a pratihārī.

Compared to the ornament on the monuments of Lalitāditya and Avantivarmā, that on this temple is more architectonic, and the layout of the plan is better defined.

*Pāṭan, Śaṅkaragaurīśa temple* (Fig. 146; Plate 762)

The Śaṅkaragaurīśa temple at Pāṭan, built by Śaṅkaravarmā, is an enlarged version of the Sugandhēśa. Facing east, it consists now of a garbhagṛha and antarāla. Prāgrīva walls are entirely lost together with the superstructure (Plate 762). The jagatī and vēdibandha are now buried, as are the peristyle and a shrine in the northeast corner. The full impact of this grand temple, viewed at the level of the jagatī and vēdibandha, is therefore lost.

The exposed portions of the temple indicate clearly that this temple shared its plan, design, and ornamentation with the Sugandhēśa temple, as in the moulded bases of its pilasters, composition of the bhadrā niches, the crowning trefoils and double pediments over the niches and bhadrā projections, and the decoration of its capitals, architraves, and cornices.

The interior north wall of the antarāla shows a large ornate niche, carved with an abraded figure of standing Śiva, probably as Tripurāntaka with attendants, and a seated figure of Gaṇēśa in its crowning pedimented trefoil. The pilasters that frame this niche consist of piled, fluted pots (maṅgala kalaśas) like those of the Avantīsvāmī temple. The bhadrā pilaster-capitals are surmounted by human-headed kinnaras, as found on the Mārtaṇḍa and Avantīsvāmī temples (the right pilaster of the western bhadrā niche is embellished with a chevron design unknown from any other monument in Kashmir).



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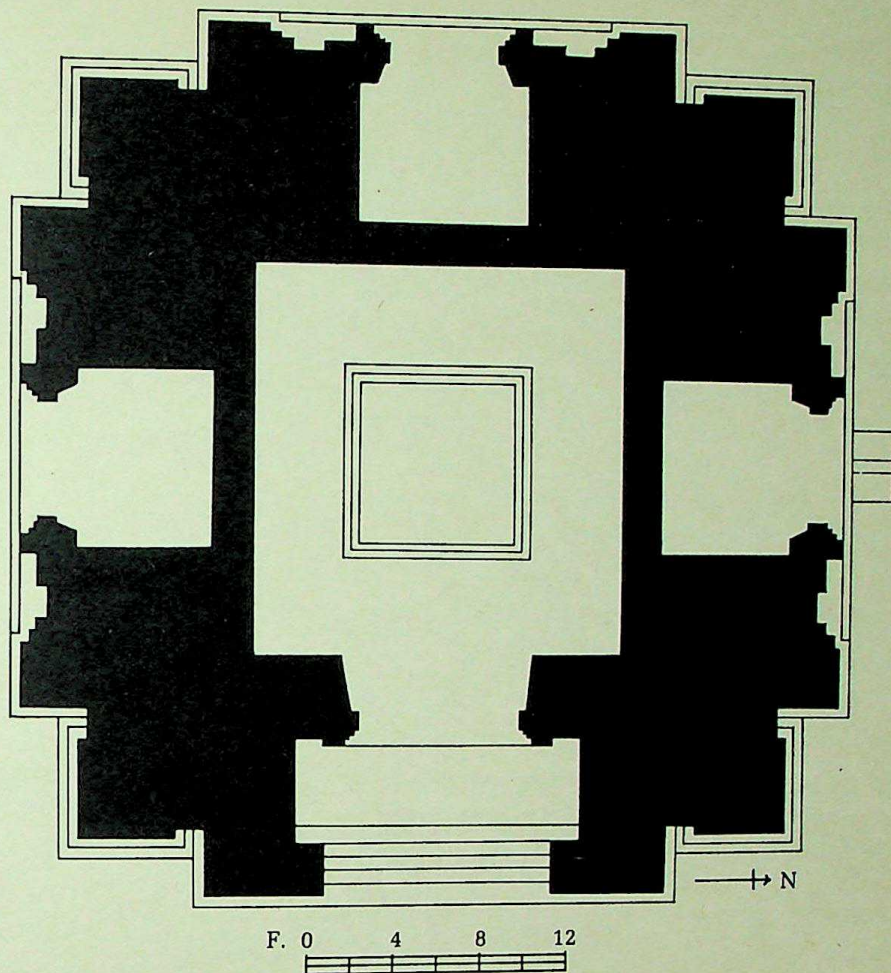


Fig. 146. Pāṭan. Śaṅkaragaurīśa temple, plan.

*Pāṭan, miniature shrine (Fig. 157b; Plate 758)*

A miniature shrine, its garbhagrha measuring only 2 ft. 8 in. square, survives in Pāṭan in an old stepped tank filled with stagnant water. Dvi-aṅga on plan, with four doors, the shrine was made of only three stones, of which the uppermost one (representing the cap of the pyramidal śikhara) is missing (Plate 758). The lowermost stone comprises the jagatī and shrine up to the trefoil base of the pediments crowning bhadra projections; the upper stone comprises the upper portion of the pediment and the first phāṁsanā level of the superstructure.

*Nārannāg, Jyēṣṭhēśa and Bhūtēśa temple-groups (Figs. 148-149, 153g, 154a-c, 155a-b; Plates 763-766)*

The hamlet of Nārannāg, known after the homonymous spring (ancient Sōdara tīrtha), is a site on the Kaṅkā-nadī hill-torrent c. 2.5 miles from Wāṅgaṭh. Bounded by high hills of the Bhūtēśvara range (capped by snow peaks and clothed by deep green pine forests), the site offers a picturesque setting for its three monuments. All are made of



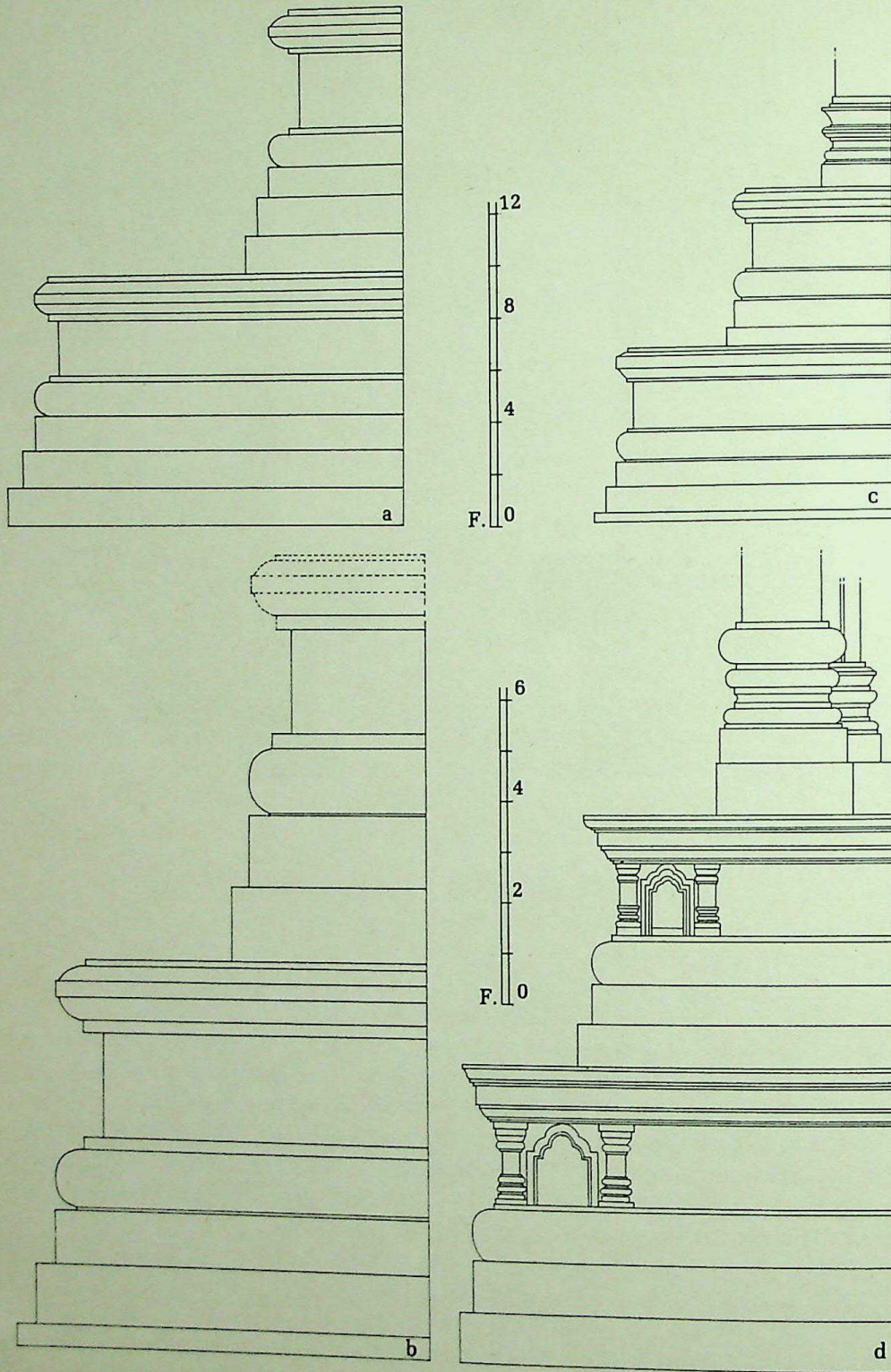


Fig. 147. Jagatis and vedibandhas:  
 a. Parihāsapura. Caṅkuṇa's stūpa; b. Tāpar. Viṣṇu temple;  
 c. Avantīpur. Avantisvāmī temple; d. Pāṭan. Sugandhēśa temple.



local grey granite. The Jyēṣṭhēśa temple-complex is on a high terrace to the west, the Bhūtēśa temple-complex is on a lower terrace, and near it stands the plinth of a later maṭha.

The Jyēṣṭhēśa and Bhūtēśa temples are situated on the way to the sacred Hara-mukha peaks and to Gaṅgabal tirtha. They are of high antiquity and were richly endowed by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa who, the Rājatarāṅgiṇī states, clothed the Jyēṣṭhēśa (Jyēṣṭharudra) temple with stone slabs and endowed the temple with villages and land. He is also said to have donated 11 kōṭis of gold coins to the Bhūtēśa temple.

*Nārannāg, Jyēṣṭhēśa temple-group* (Figs. 148, 154a-c, 155a-b; Plates 763, 765)

The Jyēṣṭhēśa temple is a single-chambered shrine, dvi-aṅga in plan, on a jagatī, the mouldings of which include kalaśa, kandhara, and a thin crowning kalaśa with a madhyabandha (Fig. 155a) acting in place of kapōta. The jagatī allows pradakṣiṇā.

The temple has doorways into the sanctum on the east and west with ghanadvāras on the other sides that harbour pīthikās for Śivaliṅgas. The doorways have frames that carry a pedimented trefoil; this is enclosed by a larger pedimented trefoil supported on the projecting pilasters of the bhadra (Plate 765). The capitals and brackets of these pilasters have plain mouldings; the plain bases include a stylo moulding between thin kalaśas, surmounted by a ghaṭa. These base mouldings are repeated at a larger scale for the cantoning pilasters of the kārṇas (Plate 765).

The interior is now empty; the domical ceiling was composed of circular courses of kanjur stone, carved at the soffit with a full-blown lotus.

Some half a dozen subsidiary shrines were once built around the Jyēṣṭhēśa temple (Plate 763), of which two retain only their plinth and four are somewhat better preserved. Three are dvi-aṅga; one is square. All generally resemble the main temple. One presents a handsome pīthikā carved with vyāla praṇāla.

About 60 ft. to the north stand the remains of a massive two-chambered gateway for the group, but its orientation is not in line with the main temple (Fig. 148).

*Nārannāg, Bhūtēśa temple-group* (Figs. 149, 153g; Plates 764, 766)

Situated on a lower terrace about 500 ft. to the east of the Jyēṣṭhēśa complex (Plate 764), the Bhūtēśa group is dominated by the west-facing Bhūtēśa temple.

Similar in design and dimensions to the Jyēṣṭhēśa temple, it, however, has only one entrance, on the west. The jagatī, of which only the top is exposed, provided space for pradakṣiṇā. Bhadras are marked on each side by projecting pilasters supporting a pedimented trefoil set within the larger pediment supported on the kārṇa pilasters. The pilasters have moulded bases, capitals, and cornices that resemble those of the Jyēṣṭhēśa temple. The plain interior had a domical ceiling made of concentric diminishing courses of kanjur.

The main temple was surrounded by ten subsidiary shrines; all dvi-aṅga on plan (Fig. 149). That immediately to the north of the Bhūtēśa is notable for its doorway, which has an elegant semi-circular top made of two corbelled courses (Plate 766). Near the main temple also lies a monolithic granite cistern measuring 22 × 7 ft.

The Bhūtēśa group was surrounded by a rectangular enclosure, 153 × 143 ft., which Kak described as a "cellular peristyle" but which seems rather to have been a solid wall made of large bricks. Whether this wall was cellular can be ascertained only after clearance, but no traces of columns are available from the site. Internally, the enclosure is faced by stone, showing mouldings including kalaśa, kandhara, and a crowning kalaśa with madhyabandha. Vestiges of a two-chambered gateway appear in



the middle of the west enclosure-wall.

Architectural features of the Jyēsthēśa and Bhūtēśa temple-groups resemble other known Kashmir monuments of the eighth and ninth centuries, suggesting that the main temples were constructed during the eighth century, with subsidiary shrines added into the ninth century.

To the northeast of the Bhūtēśa enclosure-wall is a dilapidated tank (ancient Sōdara tīrtha). To the northwest of the tank stands a miniature shrine with its pyramidal roof more-or-less intact. Kak identifies it as the Bhairava temple, where the tyrannical Ḍāmara Dhanva was beheaded by Śūra, minister of Avantivarmā (A.D. 855-883), according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The miniature shrine is dedicated to a Śivaliṅga and probably represents a memorial put up to commemorate a dead dignitary. It may be assigned to c. the ninth century A.D.

Along the north side of the enclosure-wall is a massive retaining wall, made of well-dressed and finely jointed granite blocks, which served to protect the Bhūtēśa temple-complex from rocks falling from the hill above.

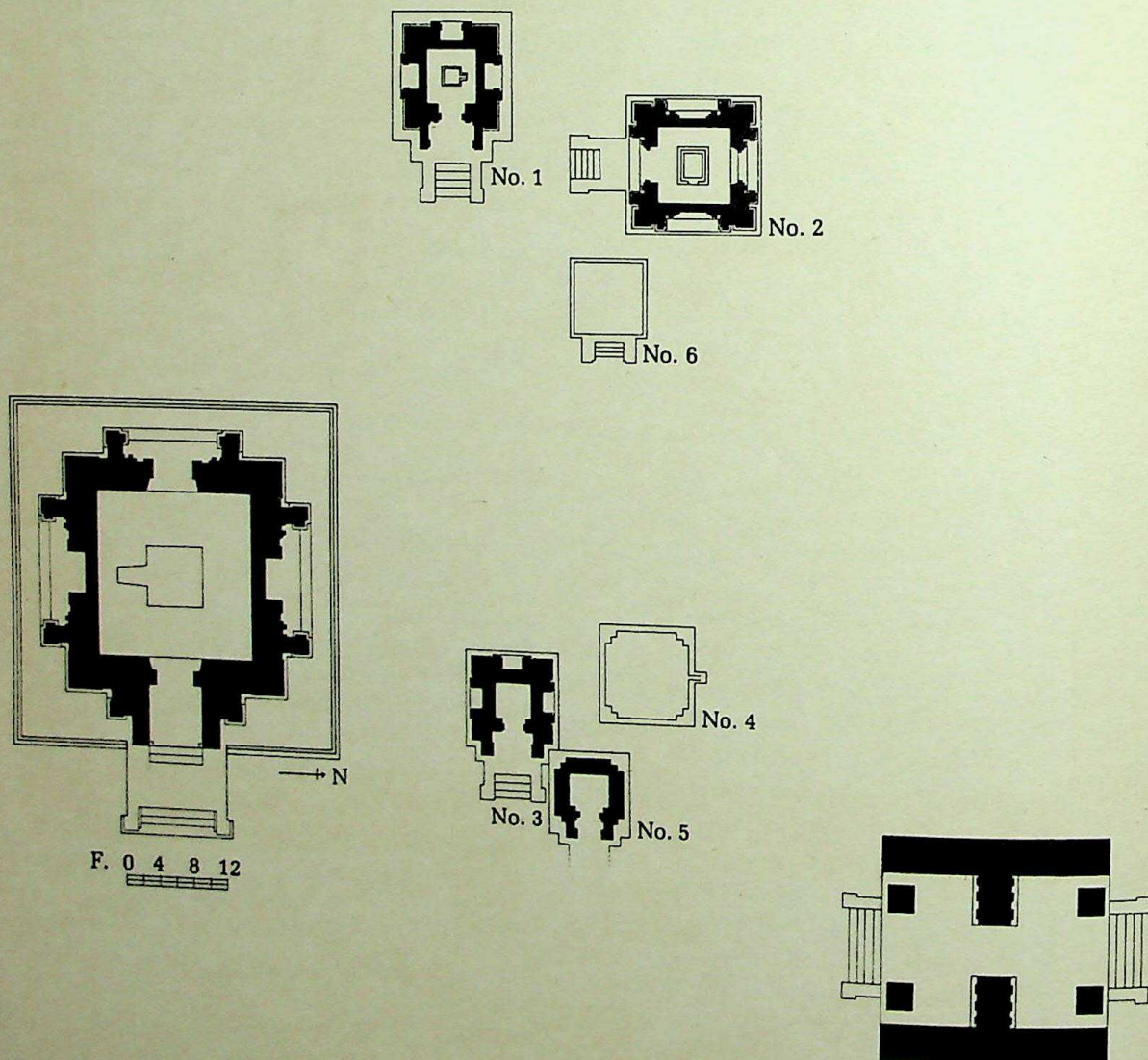


Fig. 148. Nārannāg. Jyēsthēśa group, plan.



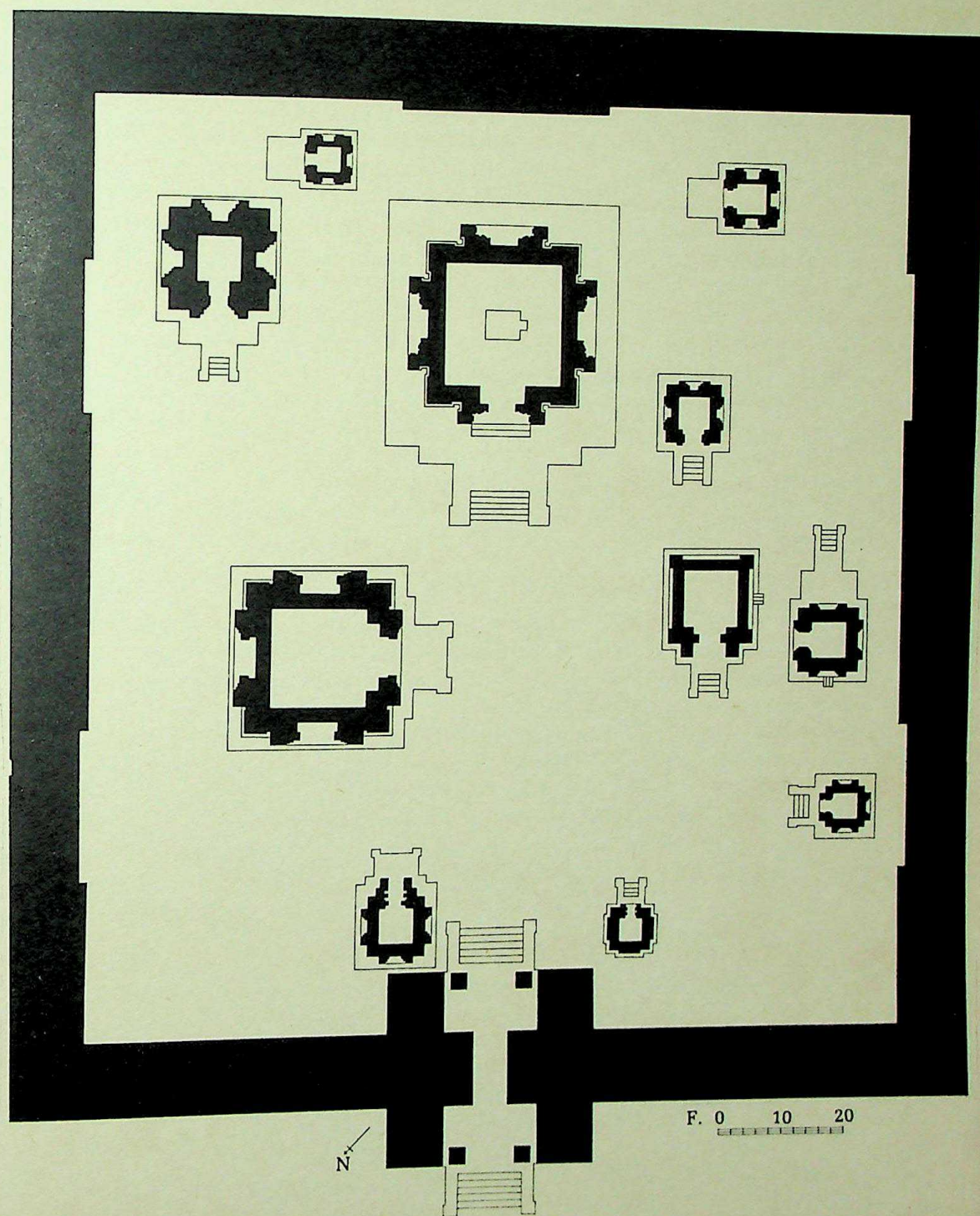


Fig. 149. Nārannāg, Bhūtēśa group, plan.



Buniār, Viṣṇu temple (Figs. 150, 155c, 158b; Plates 767-770)

Buniār, situated along the Baramula-Uri road on the bank of the Vitastā, contains a Viṣṇu temple that is among the best preserved of large temples in Kashmir.

This west-facing temple has a developed plan including a very well-preserved cellular peristyle (Plates 767, 768) with 53 cells. A two-chambered gateway is set in the middle of the western wall of the quadrangle (Plate 770). The pedimented superstructure of the gateway, missing in other temples, is partly intact here.

The main shrine stands on a two-tiered adhiṣṭhāna (corresponding to jagatī and vēdibandha of some temples), each providing space for pradakṣiṇā. Both tiers show indigenous mouldings, including kalaśa, kandhara, and terminating with kalaśa with madhyabandha (Plate 769). The dvi-aṅga garbhagrha is 14 ft. square internally, with a doorway on the west and ghanadvāras in bhadra recesses on the remaining three sides. Pedimented trefoils crowning the doorways are repeated above the karna pilasters (Plate 767).

The adhiṣṭhāna of the peristyle (Plate 768) shows the same mouldings as does the main shrine. The colonnade uses fluted columns with a moulded base and a voluted capital above the usual āmalaka-like member (Fig. 158b). The voluted capital here seems more stereotyped than that at the Sugandhēśa temple at Pāṭan, where its first occurrence can be noted.

Only vestiges of the Garuḍadhvaja facing the shrine have survived.

This developed temple, with an advanced plan, and with its stereotyped volute-capital on the peristylar columns, seems assignable to c. early in the tenth century.

Bāṇḍī, Dēthāmandir (Figs. 153h, 154g, 155d; Plate 771)

The Dēthāmandir ("ruined temple"), situated on the Jhelam near Bāṇḍī along the Baramula-Uri road, is built of greenish limestone and resembles the Buniār temple in many details. Facing north, the shrine stands on a lofty two-tiered jagatī with space for pradakṣiṇā above each tier (Plate 771).

The shrine stands inside a rectangular courtyard entered from the north through a two-chambered gateway. The courtyard was surrounded by cells, built of highly porous kanjur stone, now in a very dilapidated state. The colonnade that normally fronts such cells in large Kashmiri temples is conspicuous by its absence.

Two subsidiary shrines stand in the northwest quadrant of the courtyard. The temple was dedicated to Śiva. Like Buniār, this temple is assignable to c. early in the tenth century.

Fathgadh, Śiva temple (Figs. 151-152; Plates 772-774)

The village of Fathgadh, c. seven miles from Baramula, has a Śiva temple that once enshrined a colossal Śivaliṅga. This is the largest surviving temple in Kashmir, its garbhagrha measuring 28 ft. 9 in. internally and 52 ft. 9 in. externally (Plate 774). Only its garbhagrha and antarāla are exposed, at a level much above the jagatī and vēdibandha that must be present. Other components of the temple, including its peristyle, still are hidden, perhaps overbuilt by modern habitation. The ground level of the modern village has risen about 8 ft. above the level of the shrine floor.

Like the Śaṅkaragaurīśa and other developed temples, this is a dvi-aṅga prāsāda (Plate 772). The bases of both karna pilasters and those flanking the bhadras show bold kalaśa, kandhara, and kalaśa with madhyabandha moulding, surmounted by crowning kalaśa (with or without a plain pattikā underneath). The bhadra recess (Plate 773) measures 16 ft. across and 8 ft. 2 in. deep. It shows a prominent alcove, with a



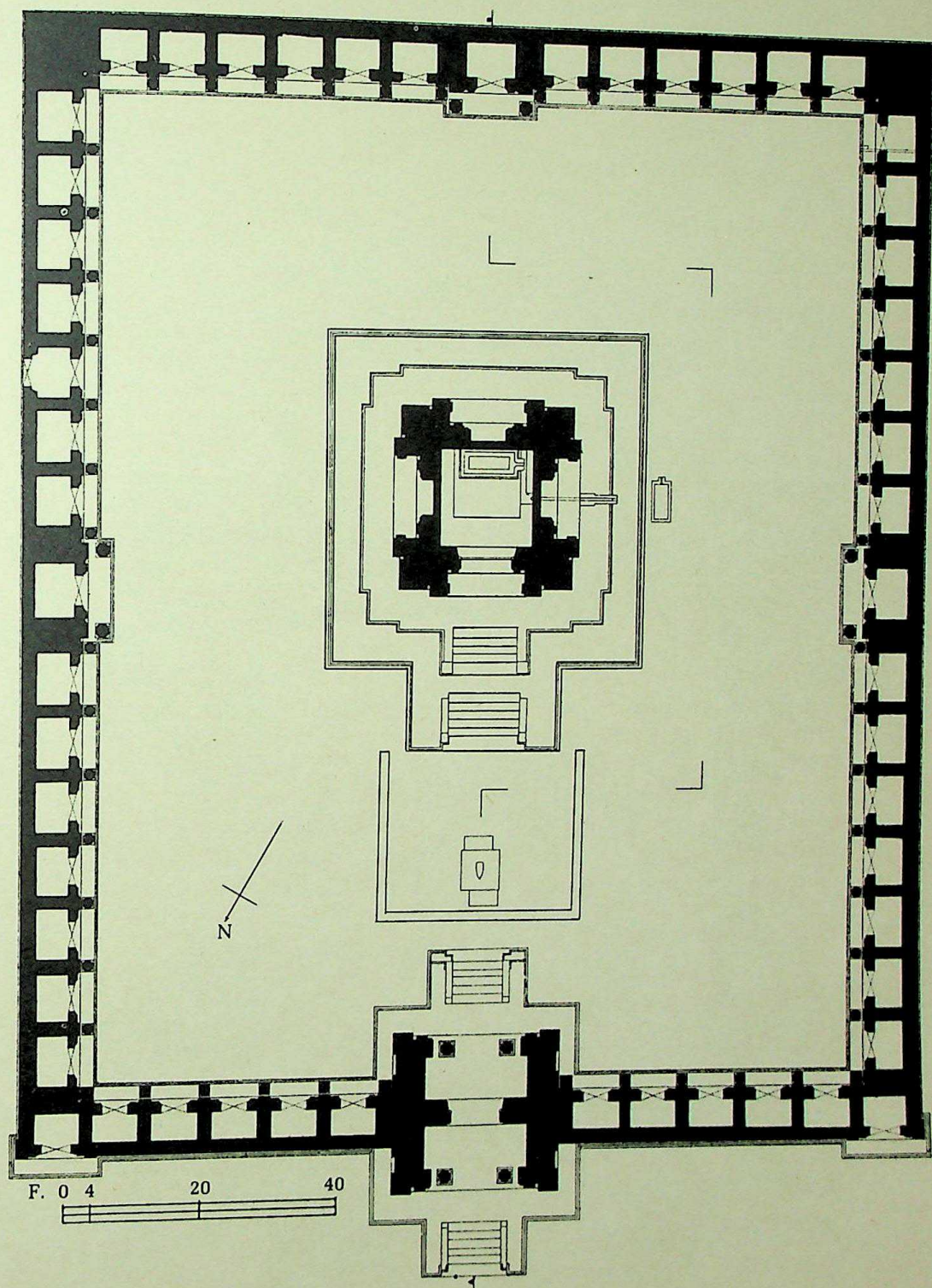


Fig. 150. Buniār. Viṣṇu temple, plan. (After Kak.)



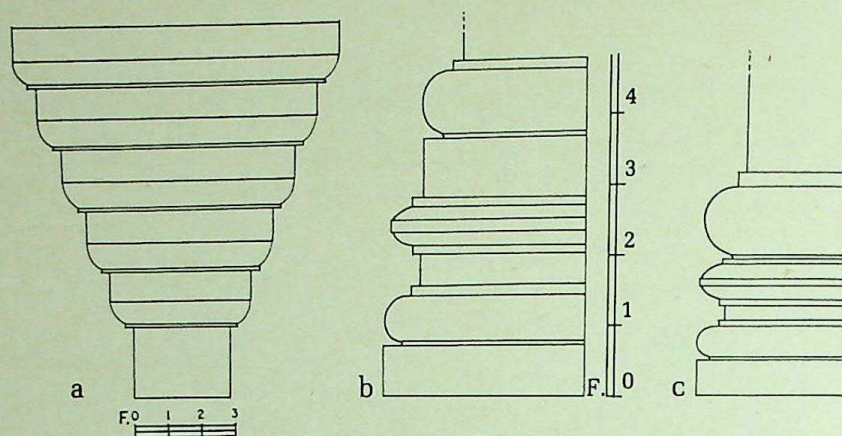


Fig. 151. Fathgaḍh. Śiva temple: a. Squinch in garbhagṛha interior; b. mouldings at base of jaṅghā on the kārṇa; c. mouldings at base of jaṅghā, bhadrā.

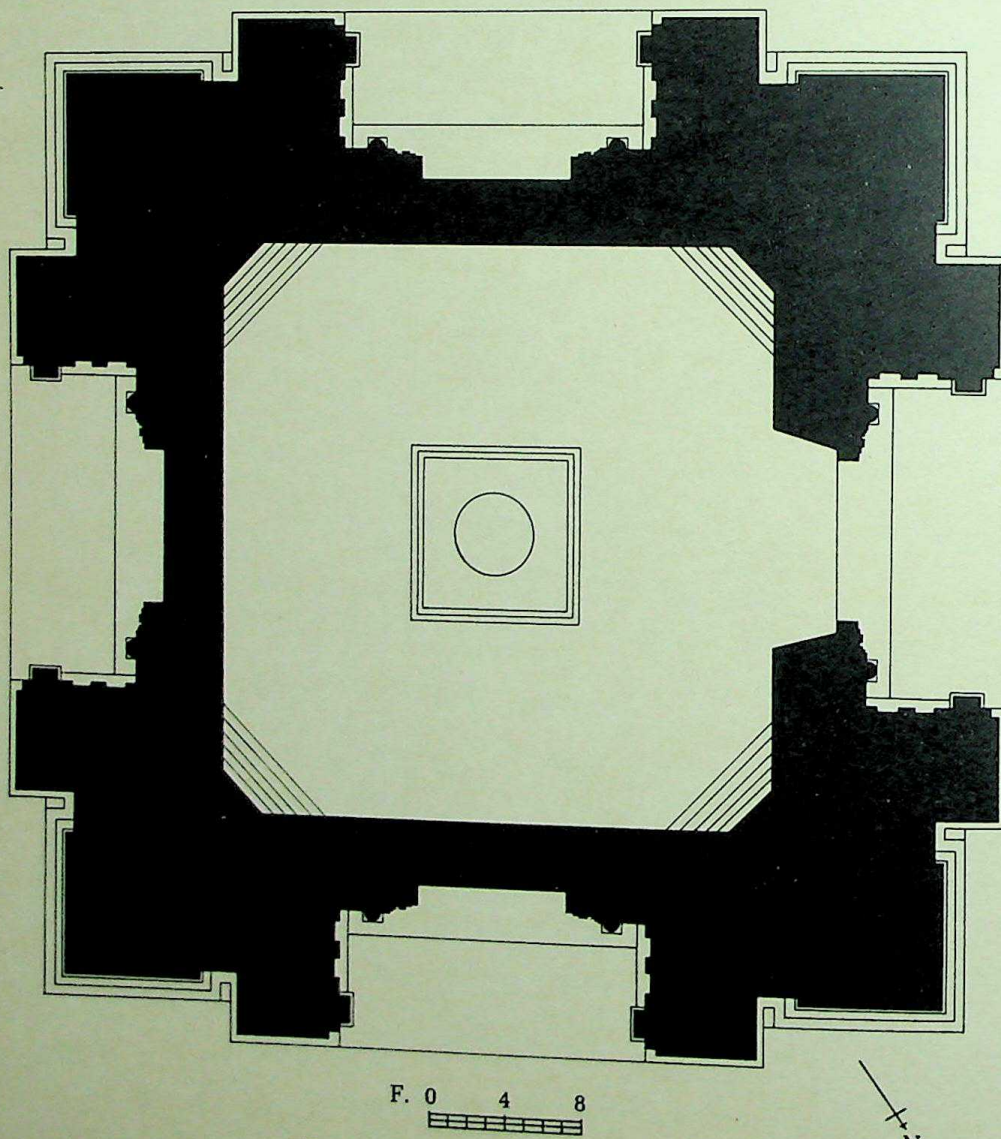


Fig. 152. Fathgaḍh. Śiva temple, plan.



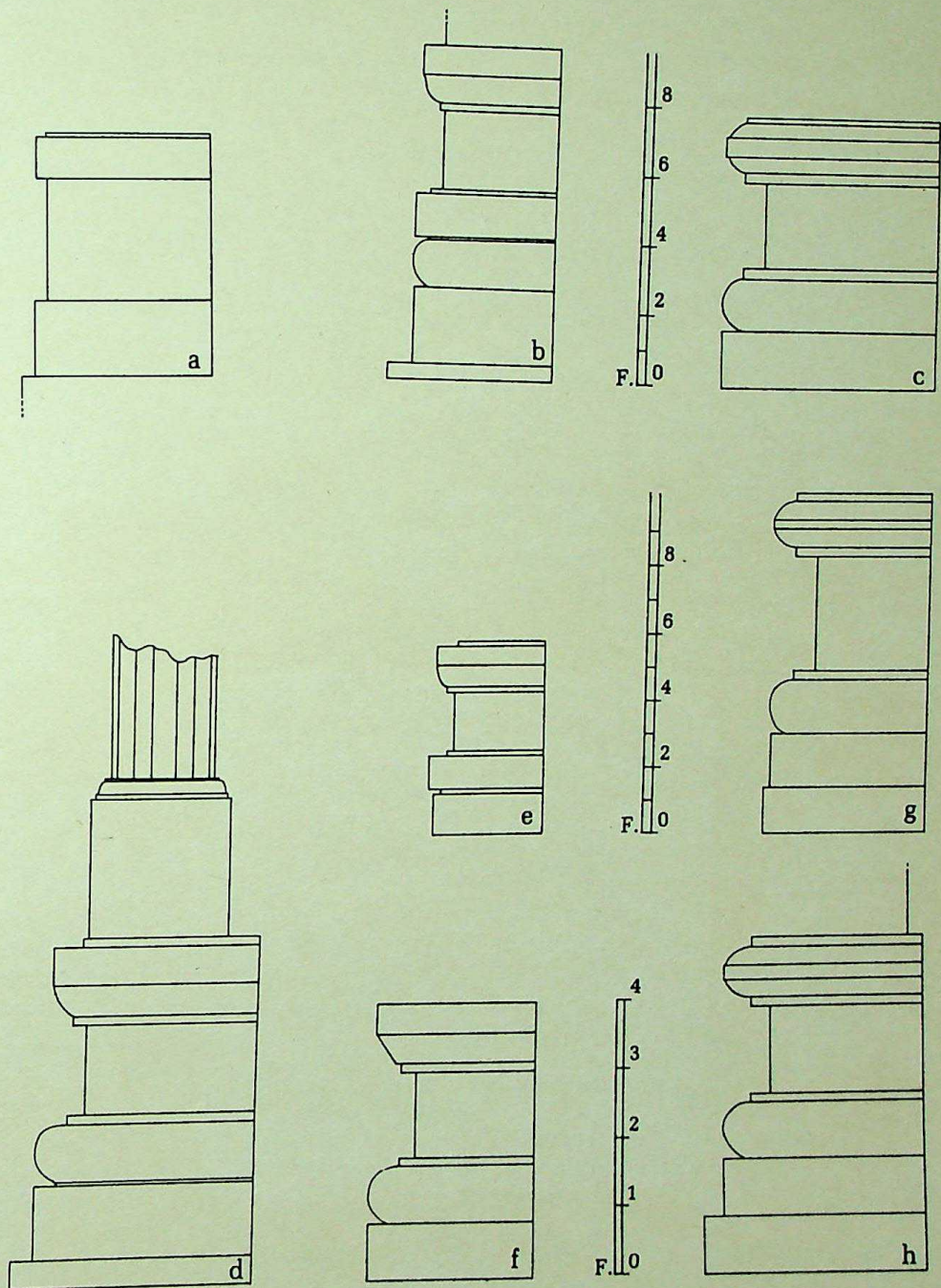


Fig. 153. **Peristyle adhiṣṭhānas:**  
 a. Mārtaṇḍa, inner face; b. Mārtaṇḍa, outer face; c. Ṭāpar. Viṣṇu temple, inner face; d. Avantipur. Avantīsvāmī, inner face; e. Avantipur. Avantīśvara, inner face; f. Pāṭan. Sugandhēśa, inner face; g. Nārannāg. Bhūtēśa, inner face; h. Bāṇḍī. Dēṭhāmandir, inner face.



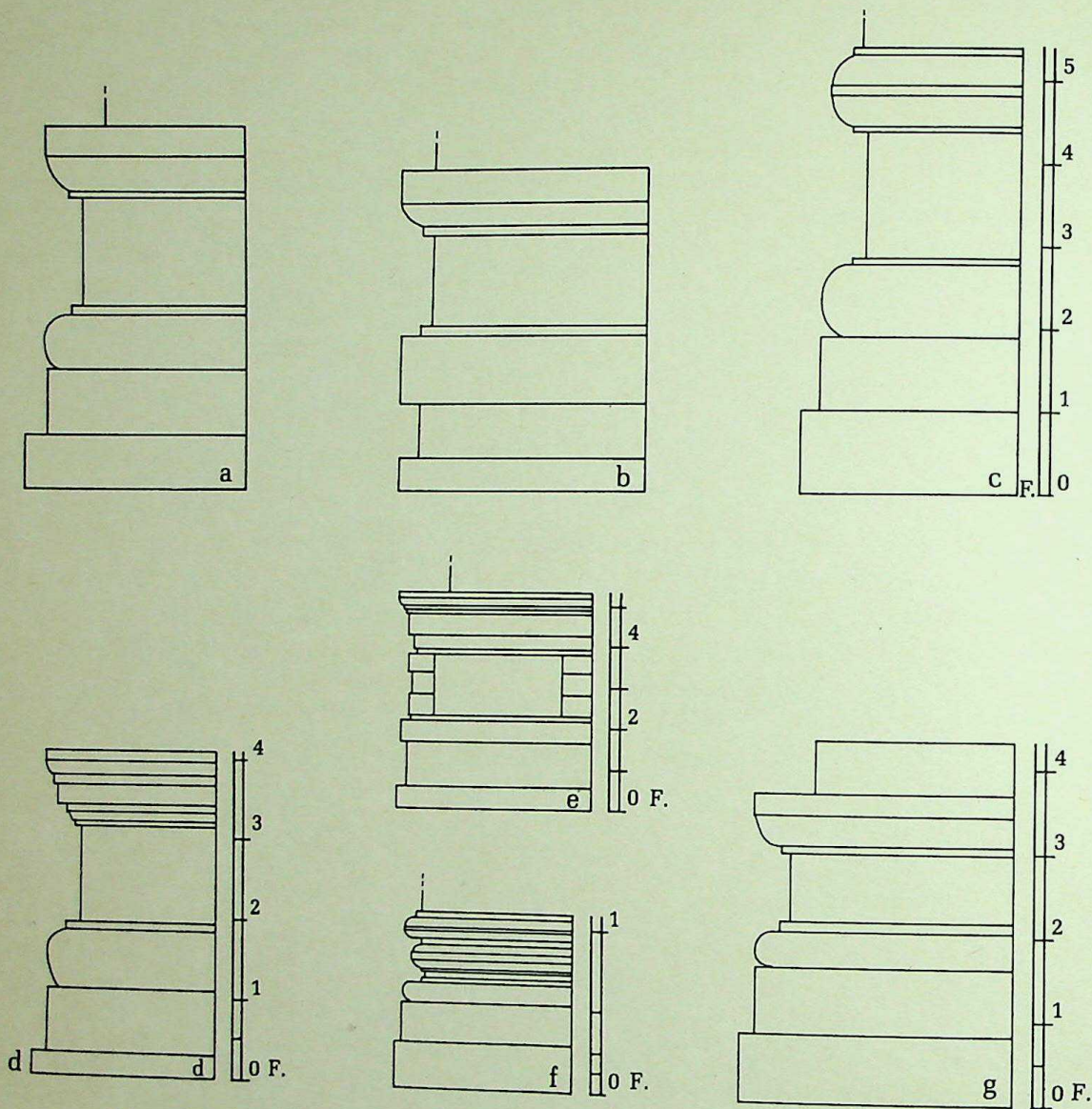


Fig. 154. Vedibandhas:

a. Nārannāg. Jyēsthēśa group, shrine no. 2; b. shrine no. 3; c. shrine no. 4; d. Avantipur. Avantisvāmī temple, SE shrine; e. Avantipur. Avantīśvara temple; f. Pāṭan. Miniature Śiva shrine; g. Bāṇḍī. Dēthāmandir, NW shrine.

semicircular top, framed by fluted pilasters. The base mouldings include an *apophyge* similar to those of the Avantisvāmī temple, but have a much taller capital, starting with an *āmalaka*-like member and having more moulded ornaments than do earlier edifices. The capital is surmounted by a splayed-out architrave and cornice, embellished with a running band of *grāsamukhas* alternating with recessed miniature trefoils, that support a large pedimented trefoil. The broad *Rucaka* pilasters of the *kārṇas* carry a huge pedimented trefoil, forming the crowning ornament of the elevation on each side.



The interior of the garbhagrha was flagged and enshrined a colossal Śivaliṅga placed on a pīthikā. The plain walls of the garbhagrha, preserved to a height of over 14 ft., show simple sturdy squinches in the four corners (Plate 774). The actual ceiling and roof are lost.

A four-headed image of standing Śiva, having unique iconographic features, was recently excavated near this temple. The fierce back head resembles that of a Vaiṣṇava Viṣṇu. Also unusual are the two figures in the crest of the front and back heads. The image stylistically is attributable to a date not later than the eighth century, but does not seem to belong to the temple, which seems attributable to early in the tenth century.

The monument is built of huge ashlars and indeed is remarkable for its huge size and the unusual squinches in the sanctum. The bhadra niche with its semicircular top seems a throwback to Gupta-period "keyhole" niches, but the trefoil above anticipates the central component of the Śiva temples at Paṇḍrēṭhan and Pāyar, of a slightly later date.

#### *Mānasbal, Śiva temple (not illustrated)*

The picturesque lake of Mānasbal, surrounded by hills and uplands, is situated c. 20 miles north of Śrīnagar. Here stands a small shrine whose major part remains submerged during most of the year. The shrine is single-chambered, 6 ft. square internally; its doorway is surmounted by a trefoil crowned by a large pediment divided into two sections. The upper portion of the pediment contains the bust of a vidyādhara carrying a garland; the trefoil arch is flanked by garland-bearers and harbours a figure, probably of Lakulīśa. The pyramidal roof, which remains above water, is two-storeyed and crowned by an āmalaka. The recess below the lower storey is carved with dentils and metopes. The temple is assignable to the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.

#### *Paṇḍrēṭhan, Śiva temple (Fig. 155e; Plates 775-776)*

Paṇḍrēṭhan (ancient Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, i.e. "old capital"), on the upland between the slopes of the Zebanwan hill and the Jhelam, now lies within the present limits of Śrīnagar. According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Śrīnagarī was founded by Aśoka; according to the same work, this old capital (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna) was adorned by Pravarasēna I (c. mid-sixth century A.D.) with many sacred foundations, including a Śaiva temple of Pravarēśvara and a Mātṛcakra (a circular establishment of the seven mothers).

The only ancient temple now standing at Paṇḍrēṭhan, however, is a Śiva temple that Cunningham erroneously identified with a Vaiṣṇava shrine of Mēruvardhana-svāmī constructed by Mēruvardhana, minister of Pārtha (A.D. 906-921). Dayaram Sahni was the first scholar to demonstrate that the standing shrine was Śaiva, now uniformly accepted. It is one of the best preserved shrines in Kashmir, intact from the jagatī to the śikhara. Its jagatī is submerged in a tank fed by natural springs. No traces have come to light of any enclosure or other structures.

The temple faces north, is dvi-aṅga from the jagatī upwards; the jagatī has usual mouldings which rise from a pair of plain bhīṭas and comprise kalaśa, kandhara, and kapōta underscored by a vṛttakarṇa (Fig. 155e). The jagatī provides a narrow passage for pradakṣiṇā. Bhadra projections accommodate the primary doorway on the north, similar doorways on the lateral sides, and a window on the south. In contrast to previous temples in Kashmir, the bhadras project more prominently, providing great contrast of light and shade, which constantly play upon the structure.

The temple (Plate 775) lacks vēdibandha, rising above a short, novel, upapīṭha



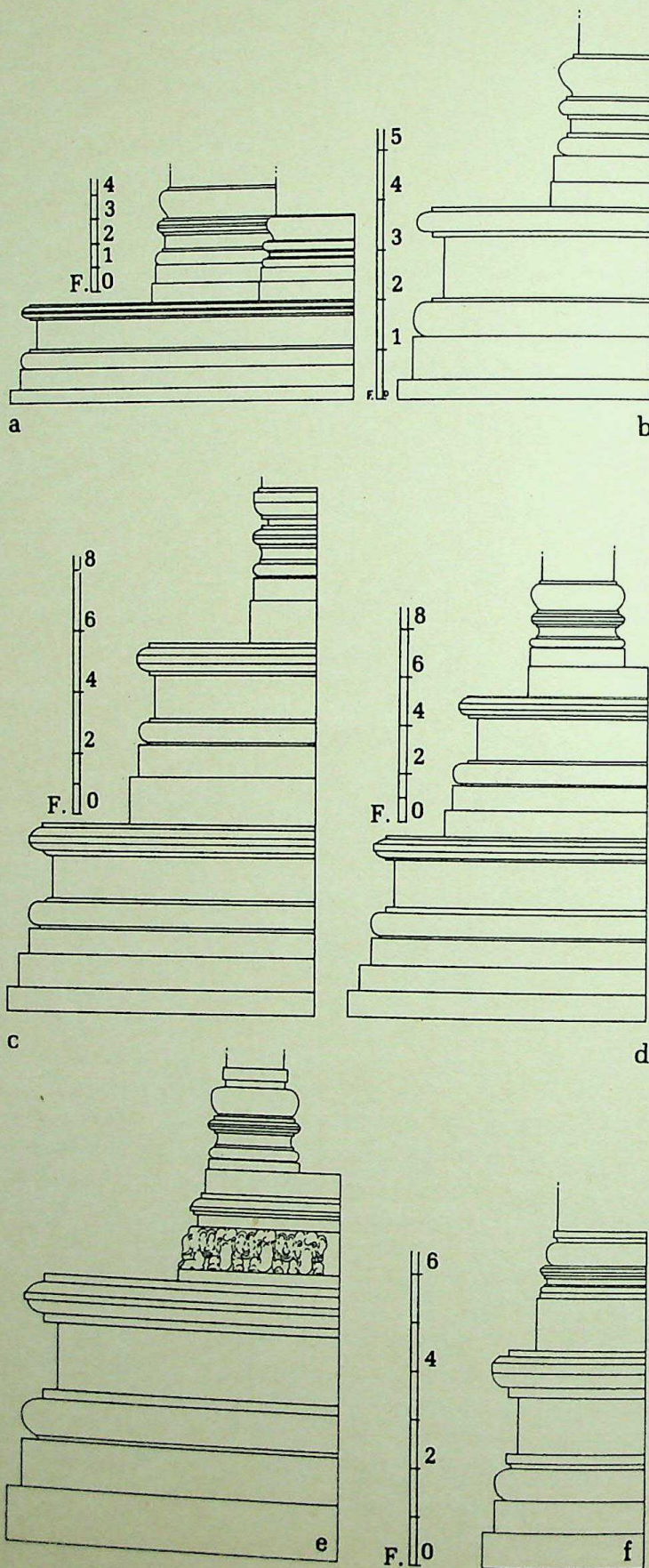


Fig. 155. Jagatis and vedibandhas:  
 a. Nārannāg. Jyēsthēśa;  
 b. Nārannāg. Jyēsthēśa  
 group, shrine no. 1;  
 c. Buniār. Viṣṇu;  
 d. Bāṇḍī. Dēthāmandir;  
 e. Paṇḍrēthan. Śiva;  
 f. Pāyar. Śiva.



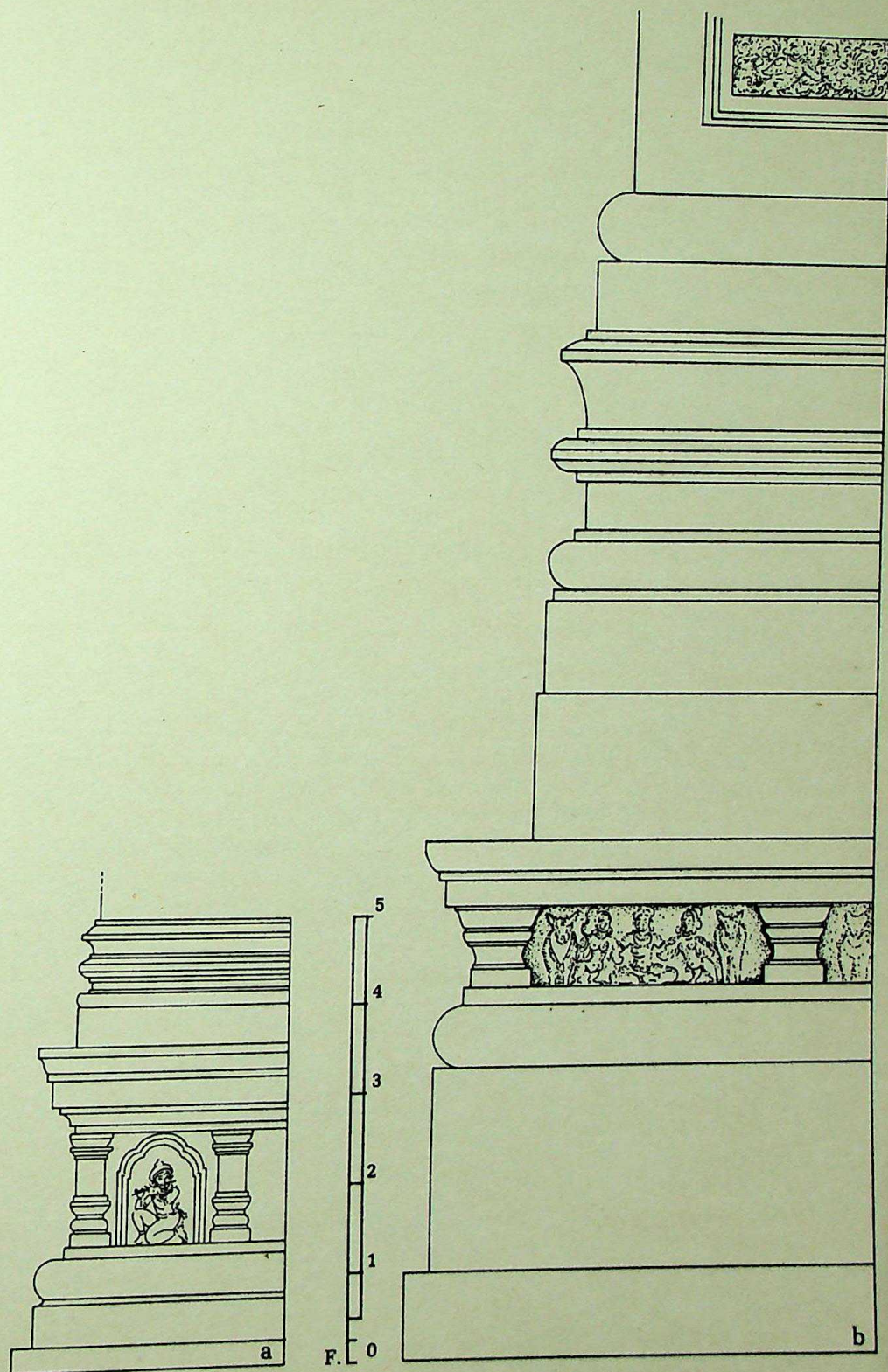


Fig. 156. Maṭṭan. Mārtanda temple: a. lower jagati; b. karna jāṅghā.



comprising a gajapīṭha, paṭṭikā, and a thin kapōta. The plainness of the surmounting jaṅghā is relieved by karṇa and bhadra pilasters which have the usual moulded bases but rather picturesque capitals carved with floral and figural ornaments depicting pairs of haṁsas, lions, etc. These capitals support splayed-out brackets embellished with a band of grāsamukhas alternating with recessed miniature trefoils. The bhadra pilasters carry a lofty pediment enclosing a conspicuous trefoil crowning a smaller, inner pair of pilasters; the cantoning karṇa pilasters support an entablature relieved by a band of large grāsamukhas alternating with arched niches, and the first Phāṁsanā storey of the roof.

The doorframes are faceted and were embellished with sculptures in a small pedimented trefoil above. Only the principal doorway retains a figure identifiable as seated Lakuliśa.

The śikhara was probably crowned by an āmalaka, now missing.

The interior ceiling is the most ornate surviving in Kashmir (Plate 776). It consists of three, intersecting, progressively diminishing squares; the soffit is carved with a handsome lotus-blossom and the twelve corners of the receding squares are embellished with dynamic figures of flying vidyādhara (singly or in pairs) carrying garlands or floral offerings. These figures are remarkable for their powerful modelling and vigorous movement.

Stylistic considerations suggest that this temple be assigned to the second quarter of the tenth century A.D.

#### Garur, Śiva temple (not illustrated)

The village of Garur (ancient Mahāpadmasara) is situated on the northeastern shore of the Wular lake. It has a small shrine atypical in its design. The shrine has a slightly projecting doorway on the northwest, while the remaining sides show ghanadvāras that are practically flush with the pilasters of the bhadra and with the karṇas. The pilasters so merge with the wall that they are distinguishable largely by their moulded bases and capitals. Each ghanadvāra has a shallow niche carved with a figure in relief (that on the back wall is a seated, three-headed image of Mahēśamūrti). The bhadra pilasters support a pediment with a truncated top (the trefoil arch conspicuous by its absence). The interior ceiling is built of overlapping stones; the roof itself is missing. This shrine may be dated to the mid-tenth century.

#### Pāyar, Śiva temple (Figs. 157a, 155f; Plates 777-778)

Pāyar, situated on the bank of a brook c. two miles from Pulwāmā, has one of the best preserved shrines of Kashmir.

The temple is hardly 11 ft. square externally. It is dvi-aṅga on plan, standing on a boldly moulded jagatī raised on a pair of plain bhittas and composed of kalaśa, kandhara, and kalaśa with madhyabandha (Fig. 155f). The shrine lacks a proper vēdī-bandha, and the jagatī itself, which provides a very narrow space for pradakṣiṇā, serves as adhiṣṭhāna.

The shrine has four doorways but is approached by a flight of steps from the east only (Plate 777). Each doorway has a plain rectangular entrance crowned by a large trefoil supported on a pair of plain Rucaka pilasters, their capitals carved with recumbent bulls. This trefoil is surmounted by a bold, undivided pediment resting on a pair of octagonal pilasters, their capitals adorned by haṁsas with floriate tails (their ghaṭa-shaped bases rest on lotus petals). The karṇas show cantoning Rucaka pilasters with bold ghaṭa bases, their capitals carved with pleasing patravallī.



Above the karna pilasters rises the pyramidal two-storeyed śikhara, each storey underscored by an ornate band of rosettes set in recessed compartments alternating with projecting stems. The upper level of the śikhara shows a circular niche on each side framed by pilasters and crowned by a pediment bearing a rosette in the tympanum.

The trefoil above the doorway on the east bears a seated figure of Lakuliśa, surrounded by four disciples; that on the north shows a seated figure of three-headed Mahēśamūrti flanked by four sages; those on the west and south show figures of six-armed Natarāja and a terrific form of six-armed Bhairava (Plate 777).

The plain interior of the garbhagṛha enshrines a Śivaliṅga. The domical ceiling, which is a single slab, has a small lotus on the soffit and four agitated figures of atlantid yakṣas in the corner spandrels (Plate 778).

It does not seem appropriate to date this temple on the basis of sculptural style, which is quite conservative, and which by itself might take us no later than the ninth century A.D. This temple resembles the Śiva temple at Paṇḍrēthan in its basic constituents, but is marked by a greater simplicity and lucidity, and would seem to reveal an advance in ridding the pilasters of cumbersome and multiple mouldings that hitherto had characterised Kashmir temples and in further simplifying the crowning design and ornaments of the jaṅghā and śikhara. Sculptures and decorative carving are also

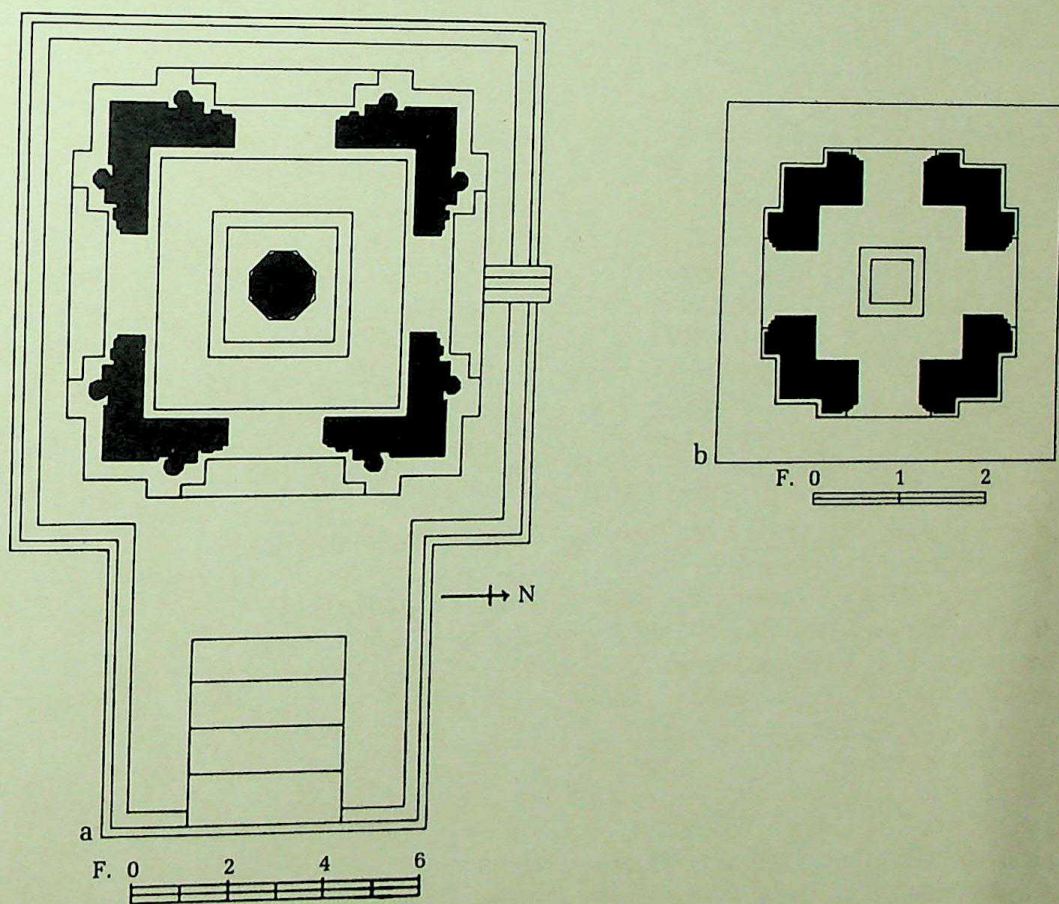


Fig. 157. Groundplans:  
a. Pāyar. Śiva temple; b. Pāṭan. Miniature Śiva shrine.



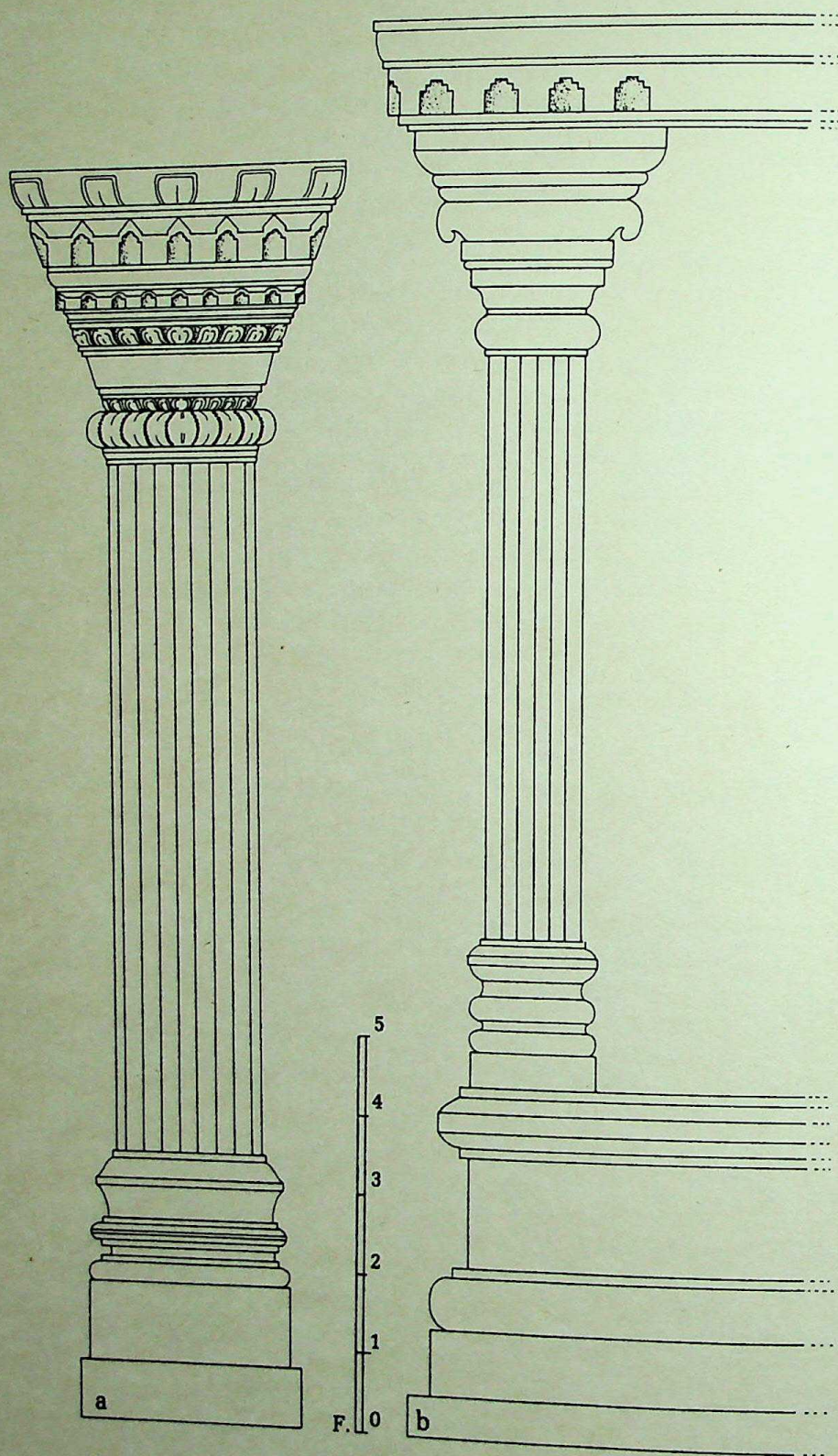


Fig. 158. Peristyle columns:  
a. Mārtaṇḍa; b. Buniār. Viṣṇu temple.



more developed than those at Paṇḍrēthan. Thus, if the Paṇḍrēthan structure is assignable to the beginning of the tenth century, Pāyar may be dated as late as the second or third quarter of the tenth century.

*Bumzu, cave-temple (not illustrated)*

About one mile north of the sacred springs of Bavan (Maṭṭan) is a group of caves excavated in the limestone cliffs overlooking the Lidar valley. One, partly rock-cut and partly structural, is of considerable architectural interest. It is a small dvi-aṅga shrine, 6.5 ft. square internally and 9.5 ft. externally, that rests on a vēdibandha 4.5 ft. high showing kalaśa, kandhara, and kalaśa with madhyabandha. The shrine's inconspicuous bhadra projection has a rectangular doorway flanked by pilasters that, unlike those on other Kashmir shrines, directly support a pediment with a trefoil arch. The edges of the pediment rest on the pilasters flanking the doorway; the outer band of the pediment sits on the inner edge of the broad karna pilasters, which have the same height as those flanking the doorway. The karna pilasters show sunk oblong niches on the shaft. The shrine carried a low, two-tiered, pyramidal roof, the top of which, oddly, was lower than the apex of the doorway's pediment.

The structure has been identified with the shrine of Bhīmakēśava, built by Bhīma, Śāhi ruler of Kabul and maternal grandfather of queen Diddā, during the reign of her spouse Kṣēmagupta (A.D. 950-958). Plausibly assignable to the mid-tenth century, this structure is helpful in evolving a chronological sequence for later Kashmir temples.

*Māmal, Śiva temple (not illustrated)*

The small temple of Māmal (ancient Māmalaka) is situated on a hill slope on the right bank of the Lidar (ancient Lēdarī) opposite Pahalgam.

It is a single-chambered dvi-aṅga shrine, 8 ft. square internally, preceded by a prāgrīva supported on a pair of fluted columns. The doorway and bhadra recesses are surmounted by pedimented trefoils. The absence of projection in the corner pilasters is a notable feature. The temple has lost its original superstructure, and enshrined a Śivaliṅga of which the original pīṭhikā has survived. The temple appears to pertain to the late tenth or early 11th century, and perhaps is identifiable with the temple of Mammēśvara that a minister's brother of king Jayasīṃha (A.D. 1128-1155) adorned with a golden āmalaka according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The same person is said to have constructed a maṭha adjoining the Bhūtēśa temple at Nārannāg.

## PAKISTAN

The table-land between the Indus and Jhelam rivers in Pakistan — the "Salt Range" — represents the ancient kingdom of Siṃhapura and came within both the cultural, and often political, influence of Kashmir. Siṃhapura now is represented by the fortified hill-sites of Amb, Kētās (or Katās), and Malōṭ, which preserve temple remains of c. tenth century A.D. that show the impact of Kashmir style. A much earlier structure is located at Guniyār in Swat.

*Guniyār (Swat), temple (not illustrated)*

This monument, located in Swat in present Pakistan, resembles the temple no. 1 at Lāduv in its square plan and circular interior; the two buildings were also similar in size and Guniyār partially preserves a pyramidal roof, which Lāduv also might have shared. Unlike Lāduv, the interior at Guniyār shows four corner niches and a window opposite the entrance. Some scholars have seen the Guniyār monument as a prototype



for Lāduv, which clearly post-dates it.

*Malōṭ, temple remains (not illustrated)*

Of the three Salt-Range sites, Malōṭ has the best preserved remains; these share the plan, design, and layout of a developed Kashmir temple of c. the early tenth century A.D. The structural remains consist of a garbhagṛha, a short antarāla, and a two-chambered gateway situated c. 58 ft. east of the prāsāda, forming part of a quadrangular courtyard. The prāsāda has three series of pedimented trefoils, each larger than the other, the first supported on a pair of thin circular pilasters framing a deep niche, the second supported on large fluted pilasters, the third, by very broad Rucaka pilasters that also support the main superstructure.

This temple has some distinctive features that are not seen in Kashmir: the deep niche of the bhādra is surmounted by a relief resembling a Kālīṅga style rēkhā-śikhara flanked by two smaller śikhara-models of the same design; the prāsāda has a tall vēdibandha showing two kaṇṭhas, one broad and one narrow, each capped by a bold kalaśa.

*Amb, temple remains (not illustrated)*

The hill-fort at Amb has three temples, one large, with a Latina śikhara but showing elements of Kashmir style, and two smaller ones, all three partly in ruins. The larger temple stands on an extensive jagatī, embellished with a running row of niches framed by plain Rucaka pilasters (the niches are now empty). The prāsāda rises on a simple moulded vēdibandha and consists of a tri-aṅga garbhagṛha preceded by a short antarāla approached by a tall flight of steps from the west. The bhādra projections on the three sides of the prāsāda have large deep niches surmounted by cinquefoil arches; the karnas have smaller, plain, rectangular niches. The prāsāda is roofed by a heavy rēkhā-śikhara. The pilasters cantoning the aṅgas of the wall have ghaṭapallava tops and bases with typical vēdibandha mouldings; the jagatī mouldings however, are reminiscent of the Mārtaṇḍa temple. The niches and door apertures, with their framing pilasters and crowning arches, are also inspired by the architectural designs of Kashmir.

The two smaller temples stand further west, facing the larger structure. Each consists of a garbhagṛha and antarāla, both entered through doorways framed by heavy pilasters which are surmounted by cinquefoil arches. The superstructures are not preserved.

The site has yielded two sculptures — eight-armed Narasimha and Śiva standing in ābhaṅga — the latter showing the clear impact of Kashmir. On the basis of sculptural and architectural style, the Amb monuments can be dated to the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

*Kētās, temple remains (not illustrated)*

The hill-fort at Kētās (sometimes "Katās") has about a dozen temples, of which a cluster of seven shrines is known as Satgharā. The principal shrine of the Satgharā group faces east and consists of a garbhagṛha and a short antarāla with a doorway that is surmounted by a double pedimented trefoil supported on fluted pilasters. This main shrine is flanked by two smaller shrines of similar design with doorways crowned by cinquefoil arches instead of trefoil. Two of the other smaller shrines are ruined, two are in fair preservation; a gateway stands east of the main shrine.

A sketch of the trefoil ornament on the principal shrine at Kētās shows a double



pedimented trefoil, not unlike that on the jaṅghā of the Śiva temple at Paṇḍrēṭhan assignable to the mid-tenth century A.D. The sketch shows a pair of flying vidyādharaś hovering above the inner trefoil as on the architrave of the door to the shrine at Mānasbal, which is almost coeval with the Paṇḍrēṭhan temple. The shrines at Kētās may therefore be dated in the latter half of the tenth century.

About 170 ft. east of the Satgharā group stands a larger and probably earlier ruined temple, its basement embellished with a row of panels framed by stunted pilasters of a design somewhat resembling that found on the mēḍhī of stūpas in Gandhāra. It is likely to represent the Buddhist stūpa mentioned in Hsüan Tsang's account of Simhapura.

Krishna Deva

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# Reference Glossary

An annotated glossary of architectural terms will appear as a separate volume in this series; this brief listing is intended only for reference.

Abhayamudrā	hand gesture of assurance or protection
adhiṣṭhāna	moulded basement (in South India, mouldings below wall-frieze)
ākāśaliṅga	"sky" liṅga placed above crowning āmalaka
akṣamālā	rosary
alaṅkāra-dēvatā	divine figure used as decoration
alinda	aisle
alpanāsī	nāsī (South India); dormer-window (decorative motif)
āmalaka	"myrobolan fruit"; crowning member of Latina-Nāgara temples
āmalasāraka	large "cogged wheel" stone crowning North Indian spire (broader than āmalaka)
āmralumbī	bunch of mango fruits (decorative motif)
amṛta-ghaṭa	crowning vase believed to contain elixir of immortality
anarpita	with detached hāra (South India)
aṇḍa, aṇḍaka	"egg"; spire
andhārikā	enclosed ambulatory
aṅga	principal horizontal or vertical division of temple structure, such as bhadra, pratiratha, karna
aṅkaṇa	bay formed by pillars
aṅkura	sprout, bud (decorative motif)
antarabhitti	inner wall; sanctum wall
antarāla	space in front of sanctum door; vestibule
antarapaṭṭa	recess between mouldings
antaraśākhā	intermediate band of doorframe



anuratha	flanking offset (wall division); pratiratha
apasmārapuruṣa	dwarf demon personifying "ignorance"
apsarā	divine nymph
arcā	image under worship
ardhacandra	moon-stone; semi-circular decorative motif
ardhadarpaṇa	half-mirror (decorative motif)
ardhakalaśa	ovolo moulding
ardhamanḍapa	half-hall articulated with the vimāna or manḍapa (South India)
ardhapadma	half-lotus (decorative motif)
ardhaparyāṅka	lalitāsana; sitting posture with one leg placed on ground and the other folded on seat
ardharatna	half-diamond (decorative motif)
āsanapaṭṭa	seat-slab
aṣṭagraha	eight planets
aṣṭamaṅgala	eight auspicious symbols
āsthāna-manḍapa	audience hall
atibhaṅga	exaggerated flexion
avalōkanaka	window-opening
avatāra	divine reincarnation
āyāgasabhā	hall for worship
āyatana	structural unit; shrine
āyudhapuruṣa	anthropomorphic form of weapon
Bahirśākhā	bāhyaśākhā; outer śākhā
bāhyaśākhā	outer door-jamb
bakula	flower of mimnsops elengi; minute rayed rosette (decorative motif)
bakulamālā	garland of "bakula" flowers (decorative motif)
bālapanjara	miniature front of an apsidal shrine (decorative motif); a chain of such motifs as a verticle recess between outer and inner latās of śikhara
balipīṭha	pedestal for oblation
bhadra	central offset (wall division)
bhadragavākṣa	opening at the central offset; balcony, window
Bhadraka	square, with "bhadrā"-like central projection (pillar type)



<i>bhadrapīṭha</i>	tier; tiered structure
<i>bhadraratha</i>	central offset (wall division)
<i>bhadrāvalōkana</i>	opening at the central offset; window, balcony
<i>bharaṇa</i>	top support; capital-part (usually fluted)
<i>bharanī</i>	fluted top-part of pillar
<i>bhārapaṭṭa</i>	beam
<i>bhāraputraka</i>	atlas; yakṣa figure supporting superstructure
<i>bhāravāhaka</i>	atlas; yakṣa figure supporting superstructure
<i>bhavana</i>	mansion; shrine
<i>bhiṭṭa</i>	foundation course, substructure
<i>bhittistambha</i>	pilaster
<i>bhūmi</i>	earth, level; storey
<i>bhūmi-āmalaka</i>	corner "cogged wheel" marking the storey of a North Indian spire
<i>bhūmikhaṇḍa</i>	segment supporting <i>bhūmi-āmalaka</i>
<i>bhūta</i>	goblin
<i>bhūtamālā</i>	register of goblins
<i>bhūtaśākhā</i>	door-jamb carved with <i>bhūtas</i>
<i>Bōdhighara</i>	shrine surrounding a Bōdhi tree
<i>Bōdhimaṇḍa</i>	pedestal on which the Buddha received enlightenment
<i>Brahmakānta</i>	tetragonal column-type (South India)
<i>Caitya</i>	object that acts as the focus for worship; the term is sometimes used by itself for the hall housing the caitya ( <i>caityagṛha</i> ) or for a barrel-vaulted-window motif based on that hall-type ( <i>caitya-gavākṣa</i> )
<i>caitya-gavākṣa</i>	dormer-window (decorative motif)
<i>caityagṛha</i>	hall of worship
<i>cakra</i>	wheel, discus
<i>Cakrapuruṣa</i>	anthropomorphic form of Viṣṇu's discus
<i>cakravāka</i>	ruddy goose (decorative motif placed on <i>kapōta</i> )
<i>cāmaradhārīṇī</i>	fly-whisk-bearing female
<i>campaka</i>	flower of <i>michelia campaka</i> (decorative motif)
<i>candraśālā</i>	dormer-window (decorative motif); open pavilion on upper storey



candraśālikā	diminutive of candraśālā
candrasilā	lowest step shaped like a "half moon"
candrāvalōkana	ornate window, window for viewing the moon
candrikā	architectural member between āmalaka and crowning kalaśa
cāpa	"bow"; apse
cāpākāra	apsidal
capētamudrā	posture of administering a slap
cāraṇa	mythical flying ascetic
catuḥśākha	having four śākhās
caturbhūma	four storeyed
caturmukha	four-faced, four-doored
caturmukhaliṅga	four-faced liṅga
catuṣkī	bay of four pillars
catustala	four-storeyed
caurī	fly-whisk
cētiya	Prakrit form of caitya
cētiyaghara	Prakrit form of caityagṛha
chādyā	eave
channavīra	ornamental jewelry resembling a cross-brace
chatra	umbrella, a symbol of royalty
chatradhāriṇī	umbrella-bearing female
cippikā	minor cyma moulding
citra	ornament, image, picture
citra-tōraṇa	ornamental tōraṇa-arch
cūlā, cūlikā	"hair on crown"; finial, crest
Daṇḍa	"staff"; pillar-shaft
daṇḍacchādyā	straight eave as opposed to khuracchādyā (curved eave)
daṇḍikā	pillaret
darpaṇa	"mirror"; circular decorative motif
dēvagrha	"house of a divinity"; shrine
dēvakōṣṭha	niche for a divinity
dēvakula	shrine



dēvakulikā	minor shrine, peripheral shrine
dēvalacāraṇi	demigod placed on top of the śikhara (Orissa)
dēvālaya	temple; shrine
dēvanikāya	temple of management committee
dēvāsurasāṅgrāma	mythical episode of "fight between gods and demons"
Dhanaputra	anthropomorphic form of "mythical treasure"; Nidhiputra
dhārānvita	facetted
dhārānvita uṣṇīṣa	facetted coping piece
dhārāvṛta	facetted
dharmacakra	Buddhist "wheel of law"
dhvaja	banner, cognizance
dhvajastambha	banner used as standard
diggajas	four mythical "elephants of the quarters"
Dikpālas	eight guardians of the directions
ḍimḍima	kettle drum
dīnāra	gold coin (adopted from "denarius")
dīpadhāriṇī	female lamp-bearer
Drāviḍa	South Indian temple-type
Drāviḍakūṭa	spirelet of Drāviḍa type
dvādaśādityas	12 varieties of Sun-god
dvāra	door
dvārakōṣṭhaka	gate chamber; doorway niche
dvārapāla	door-guardian
dvāraśākhā	band of doorframe ornament; doorjamb
dvārāṭṭālaka	gateway with a tall upper storey
dvi-aṅga	with two planes of offset (triratha)
dvibhūma	two-storeyed
dviśākhā	having two śākhās
Ēḍūka	a temple-type resembling a terraced stūpa (discussed in Viṣṇudharmōttarapurāṇa)
ēkamukhaliṅga	Śivaliṅga with one human face
ēkāṇḍaka	single spired
ēkāvalī	necklace having a single pearl-strand



ēkavalli-śūrasēna

foliate pediment with a single large gavākṣa dormer

Gadādēvī

anthropomorphic form of Viṣṇu's mace (female)

gāḍha

recess of gavākṣa

gagāraka

decorative motif comprising arrow between two spirals

gagārapattī

a frieze of gagārakas

gaja

elephant

gajākrānta-simha

lion pouncing on elephant (decorative motif)

gajamuṇḍa

elephant's head (decorative motif)

gajapīṭha

moulding of elephant figures

gajaprṣṭhākṛti

shaped after elephant's back

gajatālu

"elephant's palate" (decorative ceiling-course)

gajavyāla

vyāla with elephant head

gala

kaṇṭha; recessed moulding

galapāda

vertical partition in the gala

gaṇa

bhūta, pramatha; goblin

gaṇanāyaka

leader of the gaṇas

gaṇasākhā

śākhā ornamented with gaṇas

gandharva

celestial minstrel

gandharvamukha

head of gandharva (decorative motif)

gandharvasākhā

śākhā ornamented with gandharvas

garbhabhitti

sanctum wall

garbhagrha

womb-house; sanctum

garuḍa

mythical bird

Garuḍa

Viṣṇu's vehicle

Garuḍadhvaja

Garuḍa-standard; name of Viṣṇu

gavākṣa

"cow's-eye" (decorative motif); candraśālā

gavākṣajāla

lattice of gavākṣas

gavākṣanāṣī

nāṣī faced by gavākṣa

ghanadvāra

false door on the central offset

ghanṭā

bell

ghanṭāmālā

chain of bells or chain with bells (decorative motif)

ghaṭa

vase, pot; cushion-shaped pillar-part (above laśuna)

Ghaṭa

temple-type discussed in Bṛhatsaṃhitā and other śilpa texts



ghaṭapallava	vase-and-foliage (pillar-type)
gōdhāsanā	having "iguana" mount; form of Pārvatī
gōmutrikā	wave design (decorative motif)
Gōnētra	"bull's eye" (jālī design)
gōpānāsī	circular purlin; circular roof-covering
gōpuraṭṭālakas	city gateway with tall upper storey
graivēyaka	torque
grāsa	gorgon or gorgon head
grāsakiṅkiṇikā	jingling bells suspended from grāsamukhas (decorative motif)
grāsamālā	chain of grāsa motifs
grāsamukha	gorgon face or head; kīrttimukha
grāsapaṭṭaka	band of grāsa motifs
grāsapaṭṭī, grāsapaṭṭikā	band of grāsa motifs
gr̥hapinḍī	wall of an upper storey (South India)
gr̥ha-stūpa	temple hall containing stūpa
grīvā	neck; recess between the śikhara and crowning āmalaka
gūḍhamāṇḍapa	closed hall
Haṁsa	goose, gander (decorative motif)
haṁsa-tōraṇa	tōraṇa-arch adorned with haṁsas
haṁsamālā	band of haṁsas
haṁsa-mithuna	pair of geese
hāra	garland; balustrade or cloistered parapet (South India)
harmya	pavilion on the sky storey
hastihasta	stairway banister resembling elephant trunk
Īhāmrga	imaginary animal (decorative motif)
illikāvalaṇa	"convolution of caterpillar"; convoluting pediment
induśālikā	candraśālikā (decorative motif)
Jāḍyakumbha	lowest pīṭha moulding resembling "kumbha" (pot)
jagatī	plinth, platform; basal moulding of adhiṣṭhāna (South India)



Jāhnavī	Gaṅgā
jakkhāyatana (Prākṛit)	yakṣa shrine
jāla, jālaka	mesh design
jālamālā	garland of mesh design
jālavātāyana	window carved with mesh design
jālī	mesh, lattice, screen; perforated window
jambhaka	goblin
jaṅghā	wall, wall frieze; elevation between vēdibandha and śikhara
jaṭājūṭa	arranged mass of matted locks
jaṭāmukūṭa	crown of matted locks
Kacchapa	tortoise
kadalikākaraṇa	corbelling (construction technique)
kakṣāsana	seat-back
kalaśa	“pitcher”; torus moulding
kalikā	bud (conical decorative motif)
kalpavallī	wish-fulfilling vine
kampa	rectangular fillet (South India)
kandabhitti	garbhabhitti, sanctum wall
kandhara	broad recess between mouldings
kaṅkaṇapatra	“serrated leaf” (decorative motif)
kaṅkaṇapatra-pattī	register of kaṅkaṇapatra design
kaṅṭha	neck; recess between mouldings
kaṅṭha-pattī	frieze in the kaṅṭha
kapilī	wall projecting in front of the sanctum framing a vestibule
kapiśīrṣa, kapiśīrṣaka	parapet
kapōta	roll-cornice; overhanging cornice
kapōtapālī, kapōtālī	cyma-eave cornice
kapōtapālikā	cyma-eave cornice
karimakara	fanciful form of crocodile
karṇa	angle, corner; corner wall-division
karṇaka	arris moulding on pillar capital
karṇakuṇḍala	earring
karṇakūṭa	miniature square structure on corner of superstructure



karnālatā	corner band of śikhara; vēṇukōśa
karnāmalaka	corner āmalaka
karnāṇḍaka	corner spirelet
karnapattikā	corner frieze
karnaprāsāda	miniature temple coming at the corner
karnaratha	corner band of the spire (Orissa); karnālatā, vēṇukōśa
karnāttalaka	corner bastion
karnikā	knife-edged arris moulding
kaṭi	"waist"; wall (early synonym for jaṅghā)
kautuka	fanciful figure
khalva	plain recess
khalvaśākhā	plain recessed śākhā
khaṇḍa	segment (of outer band of curved spire)
kharasīlā	cap-stone of foundation platform
khattaka	ornate niche
khura	basal moulding of vēḍibandha
khura-kumbha	complex of khura and kumbha mouldings
khuracchādyā	curved eave, awning
kiṅkiṇīmālā	bell-garland
kinnara	celestial musician
kinnarivaktra	face of a divine female minstrel
kirīṭamukuta	conical crown
kīrttimukha	"face of glory"; grāsamukha
kōla	"boar"; decorative ceiling course
kōṣṭhikā	storeroom
kṣudrapadma	minor cyma moulding with lotus-petal pattern
kṣudrōpāna	minor sub-plinth course
kuḍyastambha	pilaster
kumāra	atlas; bhāraputraka
kumbha	"pot"; vēḍibandha moulding
kumbhaka	pillar base
kumbhāṇḍa	gaṇa with face in the stomach
kumbhikā	base of pillaret
kumuda	torus moulding



kunḍa	tank
kunda	a type of flower
kuñjarākṣa	a perforated decorative design
Kūṭa	superstructure-type
kūṭa	square aedicula; spirelet; kūṭāgāra
kūṭāgāra	a square chamber on the upper storey; square miniature shrine
kūṭāgāraśālā	rectangular miniature shrine
kūṭākāra	resembling square aedicula
Lalāṭa	central part (of door lintel)
lalāṭabimba (biṃba)	crest figure, central symbol on door lintel
lambana	"falling down"; depending ornament (decorative motif)
laśuna	vase-shaped part of pillar capital
latā	creeper; vertical band of śikhara
Latina	North Indian śikhara-type with curved vertical bands (latās)
liṅga	Śiva's phallic pillar
Liṅgākāra	liṅga-shaped shrine-type described in early śilpa texts
liṅgapīṭha	base of liṅga; pīṭhikā
Lōkapāla	guardian of one of the four principal quarters
Madhyabandha	middle band
madhyalatā	central band of Latina śikhara
madhyaśākhā	central śākhā of the door
madhyaśālā	central hall
mahādvāra	principal gate
Mahākāla	Śaiva dvārapāla
mahānāsi	large gavākṣa dormer (South India)
mahāpaṭṭa, mahāpaṭṭi, mahāpaṭṭikā	broad band
Mahārājatilāsana	"royal" sitting posture
mahāvihāra	eminent Buddhist monastery
makara	crocodile-monster; dolphin
makara-praṇāla	makara-shaped gargoyle



makara-tōraṇa	tōraṇa-arch emanating from makaras
makara-vāhinī	goddess riding on a makara; Gaṅgā
mālā	garland; decorative band
mālā-vidyādhara	flying celestial figure carrying garland
mālādhara	garland-bearing
mālāpaṭṭikā	garland-frieze
mālāsākhā	śākhā in the form of a mālā
mālāsthāna	pillar-part below capital decorated with floral festoons
mānasūtra	straight line marked by a measuring cord
mañca	dais
mañcikā	dais-like moulding supporting figures
maṇḍala	diagram
maṇḍapa	hall, generally with columns
maṇḍapikā	diminutive of maṇḍapa; temple-type with pillared walls and usually Muṇḍamāla
mandāraka	projecting central part of ornate threshold
maṇḍōvara	temple structure above jagatī and below chādyā; kaṭi; wall
maṅgalakalaśa	vase and foliage; auspicious vase
maṇibandha	band of diamonds alternating with rosettes (decorative motif)
maṇipadaka	jewelled pendant
maṇipaṭṭī, maṇipaṭṭikā	band of jewels (decorative motif)
mañjarī	spirelet
masūraka	“lentil”; cushion-shaped moulding
maṭha	monastery
mātrkā	mother-goddess
mattavāraṇa	kakṣāsana; seat-back ornamented with vēdikā pattern and often with elephant-head design at the base
mayūra	peacock
mēḍhī	basement terrace of stūpa
mēṣavyāla	monster with the head of a ram
Miśraka	“mixed”; pillar-type combining various forms from square to circular
mīthuna	auspicious couple



mithunaśākhā	śākhā bearing couples (sometimes erotic)
mukhacatuṣkī	four-pillared entry porch
mukhālinda	front aisle
mukhamāṇḍapa	front hall; entry hall
mukhapattī	front of ornate frame
muktādāma	pearl festoon (decorative motif)
muktāgrāsa	grāsamukha spewing pearls
muktāpuṣpa-pattikā	frieze of flowers fringed with pearls
mukula, mukulikā	floral bud (decorative motif)
mukūṭa	crown, tiara
mūlamañjarī	principal śikhara
mūlanāyaka	main enshrined deity
mūlaprāsāda	main shrine; shrine proper
muṇḍamālā	garland of skulls (decorative motif)
Muṇḍamāla	flat-roofed temple-type
musala	threshing staff, grain-pounder
Nābhicchanda	type of ornate ceiling with deep concentric bands
nāga	cobra; snake
nāgapāśa	design of intertwined serpents
Nāgara	generic name for North Indian temple-type
Nāgarāja	anthropomorphic cobra-king
nāgaśākhā	śākhā with nāga pattern
nāgī, nāginī	female serpent
nakula, nakulaka	a type of purse
Nandi (Nandin, Nandī)	Śiva's bull
Nandī	name of Śaiva dvārapāla
Nandi-maṇḍapa	pavilion for Śiva's bull
nāśī	gable-end of a wagon-vault; gavākṣa or "caitya-arch" motif (South India)
navabhūma	nine-storeyed
Navagrahas	nine planets
navāṇḍaka	having nine spires
navanidhis	nine mythical treasures



nidhi	mythical treasure
nidhighaṭa	treasure-vase
nidhikalaśa	treasure-vase
nidhiputra	anthropomorphic form of "mythical treasure"
nirandhāra	without ambulatory
Padma	lotus
padmabharāṇa	lotus-capital
padmadala	lotus petal
padmalatā	lotus vine
padmapatra	lotus foliage, lotus leaf
padmapaṭṭikā	lotus frieze
padmaśilā	lotus-pendant of ceiling
padmātapatra	lotus umbrella
padmavallī	lotus vine, same as padmalatā
padmōpāna	lotus-formed upāna (South India)
pañcabhūma	five-storeyed
pañcadēvōpāsana	worship of five divinities: Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, and Śakti
pañcāṇḍaka	five-spined
pañcaratha	with five offsets (tri-aṅga)
pañcaśākha	having five śākhās
pañcatala	five-storeyed
pañcāyatana	five-shrined
pañjara	front of apsidal shrine (decorative motif); central band of Latina śikhara (in later texts)
pañkti	register
paraśu	axe
paricārikā	female attendant
parikara	image-frame, retinue on image-frame
parikarma	niche frame
parikhā	moat
parivāradēvatās	surrounding divinities placed on temple wall
parṇapaṭṭī	band of foliage



pārṣada	courtier; gaṇa
pārśvadēvatā	attendant divinity (in Orissa, a synonym for parivāradēvatā)
patra	leaf, foliage
patralatā	leafy scroll
patraśākhā	śākhā adorned with foliage
patravallī	patralatā, leafy scroll
paṭṭa, paṭṭī	band, register
paṭṭikā	kampa; rectilinear fillet (South India)
pēdyā	lower block of door-jambs (often carved with figures of river-goddesses and door guardians)
pēdyāpiṇḍa	unworked lower section of door-jamb
phalaka	abacus (pillar-part supporting pōtikā)
phālanā	minor offset demarcating planes
phāṁsākāra	having pyramidal tiered form
phāṁsakūṭa	pyramidal tiered aedicula
Phāṁsanā	tiered, pyramidal roof-type
phāṁsanā (phaṁsana)	“wedge”; tier of pyramidal roof-type
pidhānaphalaka	covering slab of śikhara
pīṭha	pedestal, platform
pīṭhikā	image pedestal
pōtikā	bracket-capital
prabhāmaṇḍala	aureole
prabhāvalī	nimbus, halo
pradakṣiṇā	circumambulation
pradakṣiṇāpatha	circumambulatory path
prāgrīva	projection in front of sanctum; wall of such a projection
prākāra	walled enclosure
pramatha	gaṇa
praṇāla	sacred drain; water chute
prāsāda	“palace, mansion”; temple
prastara	entablature
pratibhadra	offset flanking bhadra
pratihāra	attendant, door-guardian
pratihārī	female door-guardian



<i>pratīkārṇa</i>	offset flanking <i>karṇa</i>
<i>pratīlatā</i>	flanking vertical band of <i>śikhara</i>
<i>pratīmā</i>	image
<i>pratiratha</i>	wall-offset flanking <i>bhadra</i>
<i>pratirūpaka</i>	dramatic figure-composition
<i>pratōlī</i>	gatehouse
<i>prēkṣāgāra</i>	theatre
<i>puṇyaśālā</i>	almshouse
<i>pūrṇaghāṭa</i>	vase-of-plenty (decorative motif)
<i>pūrṇakalaśa</i>	vase-of-plenty (decorative motif)
<i>pūrṇakumbha</i>	vase-of-plenty (decorative motif)
<i>puṣpa</i>	flower
<i>puṣpa-tōraṇa</i>	floral festoon
<i>puṣpadhara</i>	flower-bearing male
<i>puṣpadharī</i>	flower-bearing female
<i>Puṣpakhaṇḍa</i>	flower-segment ( <i>jālī</i> design)
<i>puṣpapatṭī,</i> <i>puṣpapatṭikā</i>	floral band
<i>puṣparatna</i>	floral diamond (decorative motif)
<i>puṣpavallī</i>	blossoming creeper (decorative motif)
<i>Rāja nivēśana</i>	royal residence
<i>rāja prāsāda</i>	royal palace
<i>rājasēnaka</i>	broad ornate fillet as substructure of <i>kakṣāsana</i> (usually decorated with diamond-and-double-volute pattern)
<i>ramaṇaka</i>	pavilion on landing platform
<i>raṅgamaṇḍapa</i>	open-type of pillared hall; <i>nṛtyamaṇḍapa</i>
<i>ratha</i>	“chariot”; wall division; central vertical band of <i>śikhara</i> (“ <i>rāhā</i> ” in Orissa)
<i>rathikā</i>	framed niche
<i>ratikriḍā</i>	erotic depiction
<i>ratnapatṭa, ratnapatṭī</i>	band of diamond pattern
<i>ratnaśākhā</i>	<i>śākhā</i> with jewel pattern
<i>rēkhā</i>	curvature (of <i>śikhara</i> )
<i>rēkhāśikhara</i>	curved spire



rēkhāsūtra	measure of curvature of śikhara
Rucaka	square pillar-type
Rudrakānta	round column-type (South India)
rūpa	figural ornament
rūpakaṇṭha	recess carved with figures
rūpaśākhā	śākhā with figure-ornament
rūpastambha	pillar/pilaster carved with figures
Sabhā	rectangular hall
sabhākāra	rectangular vaulted roof without gables
sabhāmaṇḍapa	open type of pillared hall
ṣaḍātala	six-storeyed
śākhā	decorative door-band; door-jamb
śākhā-vibhakti	division of doorframe into bands
śālā	rectangular chamber
śālā-śikhara	wagon-vault roof; Valabhī
śālabhañjikā	woman entwining a tree (decorative motif)
śālākā	grille
śālākāra	vaulted roof with gabled ends; Valabhī
salilāntara	recess between wall-bays
śālmali	silk-cotton tree or its blossom
samabhaṅga	standing posture in equipoise
Samātala	flat ceiling-type
samātala	flat
sāndhāra	with ambulatory
saṅghāṭī	monk's robe
śaṅkha	conch shell
śaṅkhanidhi	treasure flowing from conch
Śaṅkhaपुरा	anthropomorphic form of Viṣṇu's conch
saptabhūma	seven-storeyed
saptakhaṇḍā rēkhā	curvature of seven segments
Saptamātrkāś	Seven Mothers
saptātala	seven-storeyed
śārdūla	lion-monster



sarvatōbhadra	temple-type with four openings
sarvatōbhadrikā	four-faced image
ṣaṭkhaṇḍā rēkhā	curvature of six segments
sattra	free feeding-house
saubhāgyapaṭṭa	frieze depicting Lakṣmī
siddha	celestial ascetic
śikhā	pinnacle, crest
śikhara	tower, spire (North India); crowning dome (South India)
śikharikā	minor spire
śimhakarṇa	single candraśālā pediment
śimhamukha	lion's head
śimhapañjara	bay-window projecting from an upper storey
śimhavaktra	lion's head
śimhavyāla	lion monster
śīrṣa, śīrṣaka	pillar bracket
skandha	shoulder moulding; flat upper platform of śikhara
skandha-vēdī	lower profile of a Valabhī roof
śōbhāpaṭṭikā	ornamented frieze; carved band
sōpāna	steps
sōpānamālā	series of steps
śrīvṛkṣa	distinctively detailed vertical foliage pattern (decorative motif)
śrīvṛkṣaśākhā	śākhā carved with śrīvṛkṣa pattern
śṛṅga	spirelet
stambha	pillar
stambhajālaka	grille made up of pillarets
stambhaśākhā	śākhā in the form of a pillar
sthāna	sacred area
stūpa	solid hemispherical tumulus
subhadra	central offset of either ratha or latā
śukanāsa, śukanāsikā	antefix above the roof of the kapilī
suparṇa	goose (decorative motif)
suparṇa-mithuna	pair of suparṇas
śūrasēna, śūrasēnaka	pediment made up of caitya-dormers (candraśālās)



śūrpa	tier resembling pent-roof
śūrpacchādya	broad pent-roof
śūrpākāra	śūrpā-shaped
Tala	storey
tālapatra	palm-leaf
tamāla, tamālapatra	leaf of <i>xanthochymus pictorius</i> (decorative motif)
ṭaṅkitamañca	carved dais
tantraka	frame, line
taraṅga	wave (bracket-type)
taraṅga-pōtikā	pillar-bracket adorned with "wave" design
tāṭi, tāṭikā	minor dish-moulding over laśuna
ṭhakāra	minor caitya-dormer; candraśālīkā
tilaka	minor niche with saṁvaraṇā roof
tīrtha	sacred spot (near water)
tōraṇa	gateway; archiform gateway-pattern
tōraṇa-prāsāda	mansion pattern on gateway
tri-aṅga	with three planes of offsets
tribhaṅga	triple bend of human figure
tribhūma	three-storeyed
triṅṇasūtra	three-fold cord (delineation of śikhara's curvature)
trikhaṇḍā rēkhā	curvature of three segments
tripaṭṭa	with three facets
tripaṭṭa kumuda	kumuda moulding with three facets
Tripuruṣa	a type of prāsāda having three sanctums
triratha	with three projections
triśākha	with three śākhās
triśūla	trident
Triśūlapuruṣa	anthropomorphic form of Śiva's triśūla
tritala	three-storeyed
trivali-śūrasēna	foliate pediment of three parts
tulā	joist, joist-end
tulāpīṭha	frieze of joist-ends
tulāsaṅgraha	series of joist-ends



<i>Uccāḷaka</i>	attic pillar
<i>Udadhikumāra</i>	minor divinity allied to Varuṇa
<i>udgama</i>	pediment of interconnected caitya-dormers (candraśālās)
<i>udumbara</i>	threshold
<i>upabhadra</i>	minor offset flanking but forming part of the central offset
<i>upāna</i>	sub-plinth moulding
<i>upapīṭha</i>	substructure of pīṭha
<i>uparitala</i>	sky storey, upper storey
<i>ūrdhvakampa</i>	upper fillet moulding (South India)
<i>ūrdhwapadma</i>	inverted cyma-recta with lotus-petal pattern
<i>uṣṇīṣa</i>	coping
<i>utkuṭikāsana</i>	posture of sitting on haunches
<i>utpala</i>	blue lotus; water lily
<i>uttara</i>	architrave of the entablature (South India)
<i>uttaraṅga</i>	architrave of the entablature; lintel, beam
<i>uttaravēdī</i>	vēdī on upper part of superstructure; crowning slab of curvilinear śikhara; skandha
<i>Vāhana</i>	mount
<i>vājana, vājanapaṭṭī,</i> <i>vājanapaṭṭikā</i>	projecting upper band (South India)
<i>vajra</i>	thunderbolt (as weapon)
<i>Vajrāsana</i>	adamantine seat
<i>Valabhī</i>	temple-type with śālā-śikhara
<i>Valabhicchandaja</i>	belonging to Valabhī temple-type
<i>valikā</i>	curved rafter
<i>valli (vallī)</i>	creeper, scroll (decorative motif)
<i>valliśākhā</i>	śākhā carved with creeper design
<i>vanamālā</i>	long garland worn by Viṣṇu
<i>vandanamālā,</i> <i>vandanamālikā</i>	festoon of garlands (decorative motif)
<i>vāpī</i>	step-well; tank
<i>varaṇḍikā</i>	moulded parapet; elevational element separating jaṅghā from śikhara
<i>vasantapaṭṭikā</i>	broad band carved with floral scroll



Vāstumaṇḍala	sacred diagram on which a structure is founded
vātapāna	window
vātāyana	window
vēdī	altar
vēḍibandha (vēḍibandha)	basal wall-mouldings, consisting primarily of khura, kumbha, kalaśa, antarapaṭṭa, and kapōtapālī
vēdikā	railing, balustrade
vēṇukōśa	"bamboo-nodes"; outer nodal sheath of curvilinear spire
vētra	narrow recessed moulding; gala
vidyādhara	flying celestial figure
vihāra	monastery (sometimes with sanctum)
vijapūraka	pear-shaped citrus used as a pitcher-stopper
vikarṇa	intermediate direction
vimāna	main temple-structure
vimāna-vēdikā	vēdikā below the stūpī (South India)
vimānākāra	resembling South Indian temple-type
Viṣṇucchanda śikhara	octagonal śikhara-type (South India)
vitāna	ceiling
vitardi	vēdikā
vīthī, vīthikā	gallery
vṛtta	circular
vṛttakarṇa	ovolo-shaped moulding below kapōta
vṛttakumuda	kalaśa moulding
vṛttapaṭṭikā	minor roll-moulding
vṛttasphuṭita	round pillaret with pot base and nāsikā top (decorative motif) (South India)
vṛttāyata	elliptical
vyākhyānamudrā	hand-posture of exposition
vyāla	composite fantastic animal
vyālapaṭṭī	register of vyālas
vyālasākhā	śākhā decorated with vyālas
vyālavari	register of vyālas

## Yakṣa

a class of demigods with benevolent as well as malevolent aspects



yakṣī, yakṣiṇī

female yakṣa

yaṣṭi

staff

yōgapattā

scarf tied round the knees to assist in the practice of yoga







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